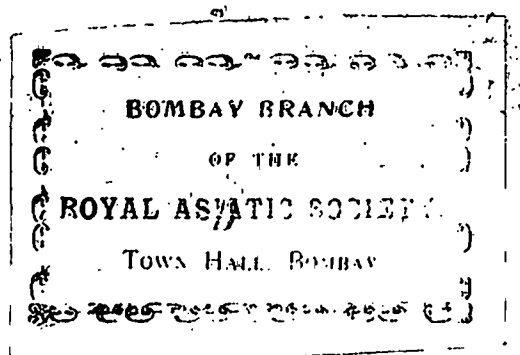




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Literary Society of Bombay

THE

CORRESPONDENT;

CONSISTING OF

Letters,

MORAL, POLITICAL, AND LITERARY,

BETWEEN EMINENT WRITERS IN

FRANCE AND ENGLAND;

AND, DESIGNED,

BY PRESENTING TO EACH NATION A FAITHFUL PICTURE
OF THE OTHER,

To enlighten both to their True Interests,

PROMOTE A MUTUAL GOOD UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN
THEM,

AND RENDER

Peace, the Source of a common Prosperity.

Consult in medium —

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THE Editor of The CORRESPONDENT, who has taken on himself that office, at the solicitation of the eminent writers engaged in the Work, both French and English, feels it necessary to apologise to the Public, for such deficiencies, as may appear, in his department of the publication. He is not sensible of having omitted any care, or exertion, which the time and circumstances permitted him to employ; but, in an undertaking so perfectly novel, it was not to be expected, that, at the first attempt, all the materials could be collected from such distant sources, in due time, so as to be arranged and adapted, in the best possible manner, to the ultimate design. Some local circumstances, to which it is not necessary more particularly to allude, but which, it may be hoped, are but temporary, have contributed (chiefly in France) to enhance the difficulty of execution. Nevertheless, the Editor feels confident, that the value and importance of the articles contained in the present Number will be deemed such, as far to outweigh any objections arising out of the unavoidable delay, in their communication. Though possessing considerable variety, they will all be found to be more or less closely connected with the great objects of the work, as succinctly announced in the *Prospectus*, published a few weeks ago, and more fully developed in the *Introduction*, prefixed to the present Number. The very few, and slight instances, in which the Editor has taken upon himself to correct the text of the different communications (without

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previous reference to the Authors) have been chiefly occasioned by the necessity of preserving a certain regularity in the *epistolary form*, and of rendering one or two of the French expressions more intelligible to the English reader. For the Notes, in general, he is more responsible : some few are by the writers themselves, but most of those which are of any considerable length (except the authorities subjoined in pages 110, 111, and 112., to the Declaration of Principles, by the Majority of the late Chamber of Deputies,) have been inserted as explanatory, or corroborative of the text, by the Editor.

CONTENTS.

OF

No. I.

	Page
INTRODUCTION	i

ENGLISH ARTICLES.

LETTER I. <i>On the Complaints of Agricultural and Commercial Distress, in England.</i> To His Grace, the Duke de L.	(J. S.) 1
II. <i>On the Municipal Corporations of England, in general, and on the Corporation of London, in particular.</i> To Monsieur de ———	(J. J.) 15
III. <i>On the Life of John Wesley, the Founder of the English Methodists.</i> To M. de C——	(R. S.) 26
IV. <i>On the Political Societies formed in Germany, during the Period of Buonaparte's Despotism; and especially on the Association, commonly denominated the LEAGUE OF VIRTUE.</i> To M. de L——	(G. H. N.) 48
V. <i>On the Affairs of Spain.</i> To the Baron de ———	(W. J.) 56
VI. (Extract.) <i>On Junius.</i> To Mons. de Fr——	(J. S.) 83

FRENCH

CONTENTS.

FRENCH ARTICLES. (Translated.)

	Page
LETTER VII. <i>On the Royalists of Britany, and the Marquis De La Rouerie.</i> To J. S. Esq. (A. B., G. B.)	85
VIII. <i>On the terms, Liberal Ideas, and Ultra Royalist,</i> To J. B. Esq. (C. d'E.)	95
IX. <i>On the Electoral Colleges, and Chamber of Deputies in 1815.</i> To (H. L.)	100
<i>Declaration of the Principles of the Majority of the Chamber of Deputies, (referred to in the preceding Letter,)</i>	108
X. <i>On the Means of eradicating Mendicity.</i> To R. S. Esq. (M. M.)	112
XI. <i>On the State of Parties in France.</i> To J. S. Esq. (C.)	123
XII. <i>On the Revision of the French Code.</i> To J. P. B——, Esq. (De S.)	130
XIII. XIV. XV. <i>On the Proceedings of the present Chamber of Deputies.</i> To ——— (X.)	136
XVI. <i>On Fouché's Letter to the Duke of Wellington.</i> To E. J. Esq. (S. V.)	147

INTRODUCTION.

IN the summer of 1816, an English traveller passed a week at the country-seat of a French gentleman, whose acquaintance he had previously formed in England. After viewing, with some surprise, the diversified grounds, and beautiful plantations, laid out very much in the English taste; and observing, that many English improvements had been adopted, in the cultivation of the surrounding estate, the Visitor began to dilate to his Host, on the pleasure of beholding sentiments of mutual esteem and affection, springing up between countries so long at enmity;—on the satisfaction of seeing the empire of morals re-established in them both, on common foundations;—and on the hope, that minds of genuine liberality, both in France and England, would labor earnestly, to cement and consolidate so propitious an union. The Frenchman, not only met, but went before the Englishman, in cordiality of feeling. He dwelt, at great length, on the absolute identity of interest between the two nations; and only lamented, that Public Opinion, on both sides of the water, was not steadily directed, by the combined and systematic exertion of well-informed, and well-disposed writers, to a point of such vast common importance. This brought on enquiries, which ended in the discovery, that each, in his own country, had separately pursued the same object. Each had sought for literary associates, with a view to the spreading and strengthening of those principles, from which, alone, Peace, and Order, and Harmony, can be derived, and without which they must soon cease to exist. The unseasonable rain, which at that time prevailed, (so greatly to the prejudice of the harvest,) had, at least, this good effect, that, by confining the two friends pretty much to the house, it gave them time for many conversations, in the course of which, their joint plans were gradually moulded into one, and became fit to be submitted to the discussion of a more numerous party. With this object, they went together to Paris, where their respective connections rendered it easy for them, in a short time, to assemble a number of men, eminent both in rank and talents, fit co-operators in the work which they had in view, honorable and independent, upright and enlightened. To such a body of associates it was, that our two friends laid open the motives and outline of their scheme, somewhat in the following manner:

Gentlemen,

You all comprehend, more or less distinctly, and you have all applauded, more or less warmly, the project, which we are assembled in common to discuss.

It is the project of an alliance, between the literary men of France, and those of England; a project intended, in its way, and in its degree, to promote the objects of that much higher alliance, which happily subsists between our respective governments. We have no pretension to guide the political action of states; but we pretend, and we hope, to promote between the two countries that spirit, with which "Peace is more of Peace, and War is less of War:"—we pretend, and we hope, to promote in both countries that spirit, which tends to order, to harmony, to the perfection and happiness of the social state.

You have thought the wish laudable, and as far as the means of prosecuting that wish have been yet developed, you have deemed them practicable; and in an attempt, which you consider to be both laudable and practicable, it is needless to say, that you are prepared to concur.

It now, therefore, becomes our duty, to go into the development of the scheme. We offer to you our ideas, with great diffidence: we solicit your co-operation in those which you approve, and your correction of those which you may find imperfect, ill-digested, or chimerical.

In pursuing our investigation, the questions which occur to us, as necessary to be resolved, are the following:

1. Are there any grounds for believing in the existence of a national hatred between France and England; or are there not, on the contrary, strong grounds, in the history, dispositions, and actual situation of the two countries, to consider them as naturally united, for the support of the same principles, conscriptive of them both.

2. Would not such an union be greatly promoted, by the systematic co-operation of well-informed and well-principled men, in enlightening public opinion, in both countries?

3. On what subjects, and in what manner, should they particularly exercise their talents, with a view to the common objects of their undertaking?

4. And lastly — How, where, when, under what title, and in what form, should their productions be given to the public?

Such are the questions, which we propose to examine; and such is the order of their examination.

I. It would doubtless be fatal to our scheme, if nature had planted an insuperable hatred between the two countries, to which we belong. But we appeal to your hearts, gentlemen; is this the

the fact? We know, that the words *hereditary hatred, national jealousy, divided interests*, have long sounded in our ears: But what are words? They are nothing, if they do not express truths; and truths are nothing to us to-day, if they were only the truths of yesterday, or of times long past, and never to return: the question is, whether the words are true now—now at the time they are spoken, and in the sense in which they are spoken. Let us then cast into this crucible, the words *hatred, jealousies, interests*; let us bring them to the assay of good sense and real history. Between nations, as between individuals, hatred is never the offspring of reason; it is the result of passion, or of ignorance, or of both. Where there is room for esteem, there is room for friendship. When, therefore, we see two estimable men, or two estimable nations, hating, or thinking that they hate, each other, what must we conclude? Assuredly, that they do not know each other. This was, for a long time, the case with France and England. For a long time, it was not a Channel, that separated the two countries, it was an Atlantic Ocean? seven leagues of sea interposed a world between them: and the man, who, quitting the sands, the houses, the manners, and the language of Calais, found, two hours afterwards, the rocks, shops, customs, and language of Dover, might think he had performed his journey upon the Hippogriff.

Yet many observing journalists, moralists, and picturesque tourists, had undertaken to inform both countries, as to their reciprocal condition. Many philosophers had travelled for a whole month round France and England, had been at Vauxhall, and the Ball of the Opera, dined at Méots, and at the London Tavern, seen the dome of St. Paul's, and that of the Invalids, St. Cloud, and Richmond, Windsor, and Versailles, seen, in fact, all that constitutes a country, and enlightened both nations—in a post-chaise! But all this light had been shed without avail. It might be said, indeed, that it had only thickened the cloud, which separated the island from the continent.

Hence, for very many years, the two nations, unacquainted with each other, yet pretending to be acquainted, estimated each other mutually as follows:

The English deemed the French to be trifling, inconsistent, superficial, and slavish; moralists in songs, reasoners in academic orations, cynics in saloons, and philosophers of the encyclopædia, amiable, full of gallantry, brave, and of a lively wit.

The French judged the English to be heavy, self-conceited, egotistical, and, at the same time, turbulent, and capricious; destitute of taste, grace, and manners; born and bred to tavern din-

ners, fox-hunting, clubs, and cock-pits, very foggy in short, but frank, generous, and honest.

This was, on both sides, judging merely from the surface, estimating the accommodations of the town, by the sign of the Inn.

There is a providence, which secretly draws the human race together, without their knowing it. All the families of mankind are inconceivably less dissimilar, at this day, than they were a century ago. But you will say, the Revolution has placed centuries between us, the Revolution created ramparts physical and moral, which cut us off from each other, more effectually than ever nations had been separated. True, you will find this, in the foolish fancies of men, in the *Continental System*, and such absurdities. But nature is stronger than tyrants. She brought us acquainted, whether we would or no; and, in a war, which seemed to be internecine, produced (and this is a fact easily verified) a greater mutual respect, even between the combatants of France and England, than between the soldiery of any other two nations. We must be just to the Revolution. It was, as a whole, a tremendous evil: but it produced at least this good, it caused a growing affinity between France and England. It occasioned a change in the manners, the character, and the laws of the French, which insensibly placed them, morally speaking, much nearer to England, and thus the two nations became neighbours, not merely by their shores.

You still insist — If the hatred is not of modern growth, it is ancient, it has, in its favor all the respectability of traditionary prejudice! What of that? A thing does not necessarily exist, merely because it existed in the time of our grandfathers. But let us go back to those old times. People had reasons for their loves and hatreds then, as well as they have now; and without those reasons, they would have acted otherwise; and when the reasons were different, there was a correspondent difference in their conduct; and so it has been, and must be, in all ages.

Now what were the facts? We will begin as far back, as you please: and we will begin with a period of animosity. We will admit, that France and England were enemies, — nay, still more, natural enemies; and *that*, even from the day, when a Norman Prince usurped the throne of England, and thus rendered the monarchies of France and England conterminous, on the frontier of Normandy. The hostility, we grant, must have been aggravated, when the marriage of a Duchess of Aquitaine strengthened the continental power of the English. It must have risen to its height, when, among the vicissitudes of an endless

war, the battles of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt had put all France in mourning, and when, at the close of the woes that overwhelmed her, in consequence of the claims of Edward III., she saw her lawful monarch excluded from his throne, and his crown usurped by a King of England. But at length, after struggling for more than three centuries, heaven withdrew from these nations the pretext for their interminable feud. There wanted only a weak prince in England, and a wise monarch in France. The former, born in the height of greatness, died in a prison; the latter, educated in adversity, left his kingdom augmented, and at peace.

Then commenced a new era, with both nations. The claims ceased with the separation of territory, and the war ceased with the claims, and the hatred with the war. For a long time, the seasons of peace had been merely intervals of truce. Thenceforward, the wars were nothing but occasional disagreements. The new power of Spain tended even to convert peace into alliance; and, as the two nations had been natural enemies, only whilst their mutual interests set them at variance, of course they became natural allies, when they were united by a sense of common danger. This feeling originated with Francis I. It increased, when those two great sovereigns, Elizabeth, and Henry IV. reigned at the same time, on the same plans, and with the same views of policy. It still subsisted, under the reign of the two first Stuarts, when the energy of Cardinal Richelieu was occupied in the east of Europe; and, doubtless, it would have been of longer continuance, if the new prospects which both the Indies offered to the ambition of Europe, had not remotely prepared the fatal causes of new combats. Cromwell roused England from her languor, by creating her naval power. From that moment the gauntlet was thrown down, and discord would have been promptly excited, if the weakness of the last Stuart, and the preponderance of Louis XIV. had not for some time rendered the balance unequal. But when a revolution, an able chief, and a personal enemy of Louis XIV. were at once given to England, that kingdom recovered her energy. She entered, on equal terms, upon the career of the ocean: the two nations again became rivals; and, as they could no longer dispute for the land, they disputed for the sea.

This trial, of which the issue could be no other, politically speaking, than either to reduce England to nothing, or France to her intrinsic value, was virtually decided against the latter, so early as the period of Cardinal Fleury's administration. She long and repeatedly appealed from the decision; but when, in the course of a fatal revolution, she had lost, first her navy, then

her pretensions, and lastly, her habits, she was at length forced to acknowledge, that the empire of the seas was not a fit object of litigation for her; and that, between two claimants, nature had determined in favour of that party, to whom the seas were an object of necessity, against that, to whom they were a mere luxury.

Thus, at two epochs of our history, the one comprising three centuries and a half, the other about a century, two objects of mutual ambition involved these nations in fierce wars, and hatreds equally violent, until the time when the boon contested for was, not shared, but conquered. At the present day, France no more lays claim to the sovereignty of the seas, than England does to the sovereignty of Aquitaine. Heaven has ordained for them no other subjects of dispute; and, for the second time in these seven centuries, a state of concord between them becomes, if we may so speak, inevitable.

We have spoken of the war of the Revolution, as a war waged by France against England. We have spoken the common language of every-day politicians; but you know, gentlemen, that that language is incorrect. It was a war waged against England, against liberty, and against social order, by a criminal, but for the moment a triumphant faction, before which the French throne, the French nobility, the French clergy, the French constitution, had all fallen. France, the true France, she, whom alone the immortal BURKE honored with that name, exiled, and persecuted, was, during her martyrdom, the unshaken and natural ally of England: she combated on the banks of the Rhine; she combated on the plains of La Vendée: she encountered suffering, or braved death, in distant regions of the globe; but wherever she was, and whatever she suffered, her wishes and her efforts were always leagued against the scourges of the world, and in favour of its defenders.

Besides, and here only a Frenchman must speak, it was not a simple bond of alliance, which attached France to England. France had another debt to discharge. At the time when Fouché exclaimed, "may the infamous Island which produced those monsters be for ever buried in the sea;" at that time, and in that Island, gratuitous schools were founded for her children; immense subscriptions were opened for her relief; protestant pulpits called a whole people to the succour of the catholic church. There too the *torch of David was finally re-kindled for her*, and the return of her princes was hailed with so much triumph and joy, that they might have believed themselves already in their native land. In the days of Louis XIV., it was
said,

said, "there are no Pyrenees now:" in those of Louis XVIII. it may be said, with more justice, "there are no Straits of Dover."

What, gentlemen, is the necessary result of all these facts? Why, that the two nations, so far from being naturally abhorrent from each other's ways, are daily approximating to a common standard. Of any person who knows them both intimately, (for it is useless to interrogate prejudice or ignorance,) we may boldly ask the following questions:

Which of the two has public spirit, lofty patriotism, a sense of its rights, and its duties, profound notions of morals, politics, and public economy? France? or England? Both.

Which of the two governs itself by a triple power; elects its representatives; and takes great interest in its elections, its parliaments, and its laws?

Which of the two exhibits pure and chaste manners in domestic life? In which are the great landed proprietors passionately devoted to rural life and agriculture?

In which are youth distinguished, by fixed principles, solid acquirements, an early maturity, a serious character, inclined to profound, or sublime researches?

Which of the two, lastly, is remarkable, even in trifles, for constancy of taste, and adherence to established usage? Is it France? Is it England? Both.

- We shall not proceed critically to examine, whether, in most of these points, England may not have a legitimate right of seniority and precedence over France; or again, whether in the career of amenity, of urbanity, which has much affinity with the virtues; in that of taste and of the graces; in short, of all that constitutes the charm, or the solace of life; France may not in turn take precedence of England. These are, on either hand, the fruits of the soil, of which peace facilitates the exchange, and which, by means of an active commerce, will soon become common to both countries.

But then, the good seed must not be left to the uncertain chances of the soil and climate. You, gentlemen, must be the husbandmen, to give it culture, to fence round its growth, to trim and prune its pernicious luxuriance, to guard it from the wild boar of the forest, which would root it up, and scatter to the winds the hopes of the season. For we must never forget, that whatever the wise, and the good, the truly liberal, and the real Patriots, and the best Friends of the People labour to preserve, the impostors, who falsely assume these noble and honorable titles, are as indefatigable in endeavouring to destroy.

Gentlemen, it may not be amiss to describe this faction, the real enemy of France, of England, and of Europe, an enemy

unarmed indeed, and who never attacks, but always undermines, and decomposes; an internal enemy, who practising for crime, the rules which we trace for virtue; is actuated, in both countries, by one mind, and one soul; and is realising for their ruin, that intimate union, which we require for their prosperity; an enemy, whose electric thought communicates from one shore to the other, or unites, like volcanoes, by subterraneous channels. Political nicknames are seldom very desirable to be used, for they generally exasperate, and never define; yet, if we must give a name to this faction, we prefer giving them that, which is their most ancient and undoubted right, and which obnoxious as it is, will be claimed by few, and may reasonably be rejected by all; but the most dangerous, and the most criminal, among the enemies of the state. These men, then, the only persons against whom we profess a constant and watchful hostility, are the *Jacobins*. You cannot mistake them, although at the present moment, their appearance, their system of warfare, and their relative situation in society, be so very different in France, from what they are in England.

In France, where the people are no longer counted by the head, the Jacobins are now but a small number of chiefs, who are shocked at their old name, and speak ill of "the Jacobins." That is to say, having laced clothes, they despise the *carmagnoles*; wearing plumed hats, they disdain the red *cap*; and being decently clad, they abhor the *sans-culottes*. Let them but govern, and all will go on gently with them; you shall travel, without the slightest accident, one of the finest roads to ruin, in the world. They hate monarchical principles and institutions, but not with their old cry of *à bas le Veto*. They detest religion, the priesthood, the gentry, but without carousing from chalices, or hanging aristocrats at the lamp-posts. They do not pull down churches; they let them fall. They do not kill good men; they leave them to die. In short, they love rank if they are elevated, and equality if in a low station. Their dogmas have undergone no change, for twenty-seven years; only they were formerly preached by the multitude, in the midst of bloodshed and carnage; they are now taught by a small number, in terms conciliating and civil. Surely, that ferocious Jacobin, armed with a pike, red with murder, and howling an atrocious carol, and that genteel Jacobin, gilt and powdered, with a sword by his side, speaking in a mild tone, among a social circle, are two different men! But whence come they? Whither are they going? From the same starting-point, to the same goal. All the difference, as to what regards the state, and happily it is a great one, is that the Jacobins were formerly a hungry and irresistible multitude,

titude, and that they are now gorged, manageable, and few in number.

In England, it is true, the Jacobins, properly so called, are also few in number, they are mean in condition, they are contemptible in character; but perhaps from these very causes they may really be the more dangerous; for having never there gone through the changes, which their brethren did in France, no one suspects, no one fears them; on the contrary, many parties, of far different views caress, and flatter, or at least tolerate and assist them. Meanwhile, it is forgotten, that the mob is an instrument always at their disposal, when they see fit occasion to use it. Throughout the greater part of the war, their seditious murmurs were lost in the general cries of loyalty and triumph, which resounded through the kingdom; but a season of distress, a falling off in trade, a bad harvest, any public calamity, in short, always renews their audacity; and in proportion to the difficulties, and embarrassments, and weakness of the ruling powers, do they grow more insolent in language, and more daring in action. It is nevertheless possible to conceive, that circumstances may so far favor the schemes of these men, as to enable them to appear in a new and more tremendous light. The fire, that is now slumbering, may burst forth, and ravage the British monarchy, as it did the French. The Jacobins, on their part, are ready to go through all the scenes of the tremendous drama; and when the whole is over, they will no doubt be equally ready, like their brethren in France, to turn round on their deluded followers, and cry, "We are no longer Jacobins." Let us not be deceived. The men who desire the subversion of all old governments, and ancient laws, and privileges, and institutions, because in the scattering of wealth and power, they hope for rapine and command—these men form one and the same faction all the world over; they correspond, they flatter, and cry up each other; they corrupt the press; they calumniate all that is wise, and virtuous, and orderly; and they do all this with a common jargon of liberality and justice! If the present circumstances of England are such, as to give a more than usual effect to the efforts of the seditious, in that country, it is the strongest of all possible reasons, why she should cultivate an intimate alliance and connection with France; that is, with the true, honourable, loyal France, which, as we have before said, has been her constant ally, throughout the whole Revolution. If England would subdue her own Jacobins, she must defeat their allies abroad, their prophets, and fathers, the French Jacobins. If she would secure her crown and her charter, she must unite with the French Royalists, to protect the crown and the charter of France.

II. Thus,

‘II. Thus, Gentlemen, we trust, we have sufficiently proved, that we ought to consider our two countries, as not only not natural enemies, but as naturally united, for the support of the same conservative principles. Let us proceed to the next point in our enquiry; namely, whether the systematic coöperation of well-informed and well principled men, in enlightening public opinion; be not a most desirable mean of promoting this so necessary union?’

“*Opinione, Regina del Mondo!*” Be it so, Gentlemen, Let men be guided by rational and sound opinion, and not by brute force, or infuriated prejudices, old or new. Away with the calumny, which represents the friends of religion, of morals, of order, of public peace, as conspiring to force on the neck of unwilling mankind an ignoble yoke. We — we, Gentlemen, are the true friends of liberal ideas — but we assuredly do not call those ideas liberal, which are taught us out of the bloody pages of the Revolution. We abhor the doctrine: we reject the teachers, as convicted by their own testimony, not merely of crime (all the world knows that) but of ignorance, gross, sheer, brutal ignorance. They feed opinion with a mawkish, washy, food, a little sweet in the mouth, but poisonous to the vitals: we offer it a sound, substantial nutriment, which requires time to digest, but when digested, strengthens and invigorates the whole man. They correspond from Prague to Brussels, from Brussels to London, from London to Paris, on their own liberality forsooth! — on the spirit of the age! — on the happy prospect of new revolutions! We unite, on the opposite sides of the Channel, to present to the two nations a series of exact observations; on their manners, laws, institutions, and actual situation; to give them such information as may leave them ignorant on no point which concerns them mutually: we invite them to a great moral and political market, where they may exchange, lend, and borrow, may learn to know each other, and may in time, as it were, amalgamate into one friendly and brotherly people.

‘In this busy age, Gentlemen, we are well aware, that opinion is not formed by books, especially by books in folio, in an old Gothic type, or with cramp quotations from the Latin and Greek, and old French and Anglo-Saxon. We dare hardly hope, that there will be a very large number, out of our own circle, who will sit down patiently to read all through, and to meditate carefully upon, such authors as BURKE, or MONTESQUIEU. The army of literature, in modern days, consists almost wholly of *Traillieurs*: the most important service is done by journals; and he who has them under his legal censure and control, or can actually control them, by the power of reason, is the great master of Opinion.

Of the journals of France, Gentlemen, you will expect us to say but little; because it is well known that in that country, (still but so far convalescent, as not to bear the substantial regimen of a free press,) it has been wisely provided, since the restoration, that the public papers shall contain no opinion, the pure royalism of which might shock the Revolutionists; and that the Revolutionists, as a fair return on their part, shall propound their principles under a monarchical formula; whence results this reasonable, this golden mean, namely, that the Royalists perforce suppress their thoughts, and the Revolutionists utter freely the very reverse of their own. Yet there is one French journal of which we may hereafter make considerable use; for, take it altogether, it is the most instructive work of the present day; it gives us an indubitable touchstone of principles, of events, and above all, of men — of men now living, now acting, now directing and influencing the fate of France, of England, of Europe, of us, and of our posterity. Such is the value of the *Moniteur*!

As to England, it is a common observation, that in that country the number, the conflicting sentiments, and the habitual use of the journals, weakens their danger. There is some truth, and some error, in this observation. Perhaps we are not directly called upon to combat those daily, or weekly papers, which have been, from 1792 to the present hour, the scrupulous echoes of the Revolutionary party, faithful alike to its glory and to its reverses; which have offered incense indefatigably, and doubtless without hire, to that portion of the party, which chanced to be in power; following its metempsychoses through more shapes, than ever Vishnou assumed — from the Girondists to Robespierre, from Robespierre to the Directory, from the Directory to Buonaparte, from Buonaparte the Republican to Buonaparte the Emperor, and ready to have raised altars to Buonaparte the Deity, had not our age been spared the shame of such an idolatry. It may be, that these journals, however inflammatory, however mendacious, however guided by a secret and traitorous influence, are beneath the notice of such an assembly, as this, which we address. But the case is different with a periodical work, proceeding from men of repute in the literary world, edited at long intervals, and therefore naturally supposed to be written with care, and from authentic information*; which consequently possesses

* It would be desirable to know, on what sort of information, the work, here alluded to, founds its notions of the actual state of France, which, as far as we can comprehend them, seem to be these, that the *immense majority* of Frenchmen are unanimously in favor of the *acte additionel*, of the Conscrip-
tion,

sesses a certain degree of weight with the reading and reflecting part of the community; which speaks *ex cathedra*, and prescribes, as with the authority of a whole medical college. If the lecture from the chair, be in direct opposition to the wisdom of all ages, and to the evidence of all fact; if the medicine be a poisonous drug, of potency enough to carry disease and destruction through the frame of a Hercules, and if —

———— ingannato intanto ei beve,
E dall' inganno suo, morte riceve ; —

then, Gentlemen, it is high time to guard the health of other patients, by the aid of other advice, and of different remedies. We are aware, that this has been undertaken, and is faithfully executed, by a most respectable Journal *, with which we by no means pretend to enter into competition, and with which, indeed, we cannot clash, if you shall approve of the form and mode of publication, which we shall presently recommend. But there is room for more than one laborer in this vineyard; nor is it sufficient to neutralise the venom of bad doctrine, to save reason from actually giving up the ghost: she must revive and flourish. It is surely needless to observe, Gentlemen, that the devoting talents, such as yours, to this honorable task, will be a public benefit to both countries, and will powerfully conduce to the stability of that peace, of which they both stand so much in need.

III. We come, then, to the next head of our enquiry, what subjects particularly demand the exercise of your talents? This is easily answered. Whatever tends to bring the two nations better acquainted with each other; whatever tends to remove the prejudices that keep them asunder; whatever tends to lay the foundations of mutual esteem — and there is no want of such subjects, nor can you ever be at a loss how to treat them — all, or any of these topics, will furnish important truths to be told, or will suggest the means of rectifying important errors. These truths, and these errors, may be considered as relating to words, to things, to facts, or to persons.

It would be a fatal error to see in *Words*, nothing but words. When Sophists set about to pervert our understandings, or to

tion, and of the Liberal Ideas of the Buonaparte school; but that they are prevented from shewing these natural and laudable sentiments, by a *very small number* of Royalists, all emigrants, without fortune, without respectability, without talents, without force, who govern France by despotism and terror.

* The Quarterly Review.

corrupt our hearts, they begin by vitiating our language. They do not always give us new words; for languages receive newcomers less amicably than nations do; but the Sophists give us what is more dangerous, new meanings for old words. It will be for you, Gentlemen, to be always on your guard against the circulation of this money, and to notify to the unwary, that it has been diminished in its true value, and is no longer to be taken at its old standard. Unfortunately, Gentlemen, these cheats try their operations principally on the most valuable productions of speech. They distort terms dear to every heart, and precious in every eye. Philosophy! Glory! Honor! inestimable treasures of the soul, what have ye become in the barbarous dialect of the false teachers of the age? *Philosophy* is no longer synonymous with Christian Morality, it is no longer the *contemplatio mortis*, of the wise Heathen: it is an antisocial dogma through life, and at the awful hour of death it announces an eternal sleep. *Glory* is no longer the just and solid renown of good actions, the tribute paid by a grateful world to its benefactors: it is the battle-shout of a GENGHIS KHAN, or a BUONAPARTE, and it is refused to a HOWARD, and a ST. VINCENT DE PAULE. And what is *Honor*, in the new *Dictionnaire de l'Académie révolutionnaire*? Is it an incorruptible faith, a rigid probity, an elevation of soul, which does not forbid us to render humble services, but absolutely incapacitates us from committing base actions? No; it is a nervous sensibility of the vain and the insolent, which is neither willing to practise the virtues, nor to allow its neglect of them to be questioned. It weeps over the grave of NEX, and passes by that of LA ROCHE JAQUELIN. There are many other views, in which the study of words will afford you means of instructing and enlightening public opinion. How strikingly, for instance, do a few short words paint the soul of a man, and afford the key to all his conduct. You have all doubtless heard of the expression of FOUCHÉ, when some one, in his presence, expressing a due horror of the execrable murder of the Duke D'ENGHEN, called it a *crime*. "It is worse," said he, "it is a *blunder*." Contrast the soul, from which such a remark could proceed, with the soul of young LA ROCHE JAQUELIN, leading his countrymen into his first battle, with those noble words: "If I advance, follow me; if I fall back, kill me; if I die, avenge me." Contrast it, with the modest energy of NELSON'S dying command to his crews: "England expects every man to do his duty." Again, Gentlemen, when HENRY IV. said, "enough of playing the King of France; it is time to play the King of Navarre:" when CHARLES II. expired with the words, "farewell, King;" when BUONAPARTE defined the throne to be "four deal planks;"

we recognise by turns, a frank-hearted, lively, and courageous Prince, fond of pleasure, but a slave to duty; an inactive and sceptical King, who believed in nothing, not even in his own throne; a scoundrel stage-player, who thought to raise himself into a specious importance, by depreciating all lawful greatness. Grave History seldom preserves to us those words which paint the character, "they are generally thrown to the servants," says Montaigne, "and lost in bye-places;" yet the pourtraying of man by his sayings is a science worthy to be studied. Witticisms, pleasantry, ridicule, according to the degree of favour which they obtain, illustrate the gravity, or the frivolity of a people: the nation, which wants instruments, or talent, to manufacture those arms abundantly, is perhaps upon the whole to be envied; but the nation, among whom a good saying atones for a bad action, or a sarcasm is sufficient to stifle a virtue, is much more certainly to be pitied. We may judge of the steadfastness of a people, in their laws and national character, when the main words, the patriarchs of their language, are preserved from generation to generation in a robust and venerable old age; when the words *God, King, Liberty, Virtue, Duty, Country*, subsist for centuries, without any sign of decrepitude; when foreign terms with difficulty obtain currency among them; and when the indigenous words bear a national stamp, with clear and well-defined outlines. On the contrary, it may be judged; that a people are labouring under some great change, are moulting as it were, when the *neological* virus attacks the vital sources of their language, so that there is an incongruity between phrases and ideas, words clash in sentences like parties in the state, and a conflict takes place between their academical laws and their grammatical charter. By the attentive study of the sedifferent symptoms, it may be ascertained, through what career, more or less rapid, and more or less fortunate, languages and nations grow up, develope, and improve themselves, pass from youth to maturity, retard the advance of old age by moderation, hasten it by excesses, or, lastly, become corrupt, and ceasing to be themselves, sink into dead languages, and extinct nations, from whose wrecks arise new communities, and new idioms.

If, after surveying the subjects that words may furnish, you examine those which *Things* present, you will find occasion to compare the interests of the two nations, the masses which constitute them, their rank, weight, and influence in the state, the compact which unites them, the political laws which regulate and preserve them. You will also compare their political and commercial relations, their legislation, as well moral and religious, as civil, agricultural; and financial. Lastly, you will consider, upon what manners and customs, what national character,

racter, what leading principles, or what ancient usages, has been raised, the structure of all those institutions, and consequently, on what moral basis rest the very pillars of the Social Edifice. If you speak of Religion, it will certainly not be to enter into polemical controversies, on articles of faith, but to examine the ravages effected in both nations, by the atheistical philosophy of France, to enquire what new evils may be prepared for them by the illuminated philosophy of Germany, and what idols of darkness are fanatically worshipped in either nation: besides which, the emancipation of the Irish Catholics, the equality of all forms of worship in France, their increasing multiplicity in England, the French system of religious missions, and other subjects of a similar nature, may afford you opportunities for the application of your principles. If you treat of the state of prisons, of hospitals, of laws concerning mendicity, you will have occasion to ascertain, why public spirit, in one country, compensates for a multitude of establishments, which public authority alone establishes and directs, in the other. If you speak of the system of police, you will consider its civil, moral, and political functions, its different models of administration, and its necessary dependence on the judicial order. This will lead you to examine the judicial system itself, as it exists in both countries; their magistracy; and how far it may be of consequence, that in one of them, that body should be comparatively more numerous, and invested with greater dignities; the institution of Juries, and Justices of Peace, common to them both: in short, the state of their legislation, civil as well as criminal; the respective character of each, more or less severe, more or less religious; the comparative estimate, of their results, and the relations which different laws bear to manners and political institutions. After the judicial system, you may attend to political legislation, and there observe, what occasions, among either people, the order or the disorder of ranks: how they are constituted in the one, and how they should be constituted in the other; what are those classes, ascending in gradation to the proximity of the crown, and what, in both countries, renders each different class a body, and not a mere nomenclature. You may examine what serves, in both countries, as a political bond for these bodies, the modifications they have from time to time undergone, and the state-laws which serve for their support, as well as those which consecrate the rights of persons and of property, the liberty of the press, the responsibility of Ministers, the order of elections and of representation; lastly, the inviolable right of succession of one presumptive heir to the throne, and how this principle of perpetual peace was held so sacred in England, that even in the very

act

act which infringed it, all the efforts of her statesmen tended to its consecration. Were we to add to this enumeration, already too extended, topics relating to administration, finance, commerce, and also to arts, sciences, and literature, there would be some reason to apprehend that we meant to follow the example of a certain French writer, who proposed to treat of the *universality of things, and some other matters*. Perhaps we have already to justify ourselves against such an accusation. But we shall not do so, for this reason: If the work be always interesting, it will always be read, and we shall not have undertaken too much; if it prove tiresome, it will signify little, that so much has been promised; the work will not be read.

Events present you, Gentlemen, a more limited scope. Of the remotely past you have nothing to say, and of the recently past but little, since upon it every thing has been said by every body; still less of the future, which would afford nothing new now-a-days, when every one knows it by heart, defines, describes, and even regulates it so precisely, that it is the only thing respecting which it is not allowable to be ignorant. You will therefore be obliged to confine yourselves to the observation of the present, as it passes. Yet you cannot render an account of it, with watch in hand; or enter, as certain Journals too often do, into the petty details of private life; you must behold it, as you behold kings and heroes; that is to say, on the public stage, and in important transactions. Under this point of view, your experience, your knowledge, and the access which some of you have to superior means of information, as to the motives and real object of measures, will enable you to detect, and to disappoint the attempts which may be made to mislead the public. Our undertaking rests on truth as its basis: to our opponents we leave the arts of falsehood and misrepresentation.

Of *Persons*, you will speak but rarely, and with circumspection: — rarely, because there are few eminent examples of virtue or vice, compared with the *sine nomine turba*, who would fain jostle themselves forward into notice—circumspectly, because the sanctity of individual motives is not to be invaded, where they do not trench upon great and important public interests. You will not hold yourselves bound, to draw up a statistical account of the Balls, Dinners, Concerts, Births, Marriages, and Deaths, of the Fashionable World. Whatever pleasure you may derive from studying them, in certain London Newspapers, you will not be inclined to disturb the harmless glory, which surrounds the heroes and heroines of such narratives. Far different are the portraits you have to design. France, Gentlemen, possesses, in her highest rank, one of those rare and bright examples of suffering with dignity, and of shining with modesty — of sus-
taining,

taining, with equal firmness, the most piercing afflictions, and the loftiest elevation — in short, of greatness of soul — of piety — of unaffected, and unassailable virtue — which, as they defy the narrative talent of the Historian, and are above the praise of the Panegyrist, you will, doubtless, hesitate to touch. Yet some detached traits of the character of MADAME — her more than manly heroism, at Bordeaux — her more than womanly kindness, at the death-bed of the venerable Edgworth — these you may perhaps venture to attempt delineating. Other subjects, there are, which will well deserve your freer pen. If you discover a character like NELSON's, issuing from the humble home of a quiet parsonage, and bearing with it, the domestic affections, love of duty, frankness, simplicity, integrity, honor, through all the trials of the world, until it falls, in the ripeness of fame, and in the arms of victory; — or, if you read of those famous wars of *La Vendée*, where true glory seems to have set up her standard, in opposition to the false glory, elsewhere so madly worshipped; — with what zeal, will you not add your suffrage to that of the public, in honor of the illustrious Conqueror! with what pious solicitude, will you not rake among the ashes of the Heroes, to rescue from oblivion, one of the least of those names, which will depose in favor of their country, when History shall weigh its virtues against its crimes!

• If, on the contrary, you meet with any of those misdeeds, which have the odiousness of crime, without its celebrity, you will not drag them forth to light, for the mere sake of marking them with a public brand. You will pass, in silence, the regicide, whose crime was owing to his pusillanimity, and who now, driven from his native land, and wandering, without bread, and without a country, goes to hide his remorse, in an obscure cottage of Silesia, among innocent villagers, who never heard of his name, or of his history: but if any great criminal, rejecting this generous oblivion, should think it as easy to escape disgrace, as he may have found it to blunt the shafts of justice; if he should surround his crimes with pomp, and boast of a life, which he ought to weep in bitterness: on such a man you will seize, and drag him before a tribunal which he will not be able to decline.

Finally, there will remain to you a more consolatory task, that of choosing in the two countries, men dignified by an honorable career, but who, though immortalised in the one, are not yet sufficiently known in the other. Thus, France may present to the view of England, her MALESHERBES, and England may exhibit to France, her EDMUND BURKE.

The one (you will say, to the English) of illustrious birth, of eminent rank, as a magistrate, and, at length, elevated to the

ministry, owed yet, the chief splendör of his reputation to himself. Uniting to the most brilliant acquirements, a noble heart, and a soul modest and pure, he was the friend of a virtuous King, and showed himself worthy of such a friendship. The Protestants were indebted to him for the amelioration of their lot. All grand, all noble, all truly liberal ideas, were cherished by him. Perhaps, for in judging great men we must be rigidly severe, perhaps he showed himself too easy in admitting novelties, without sufficiently calculating their results; too backward in repressing the licentiousness of thought, and of writing, exhibited by certain dangerous men; in short, too much inclined to the predominant illusions of the age: but if his virtue did not sufficiently distinguish the danger of those illusions, Heaven drew from thence a striking lesson, and allotted to him a noble reparation. He saw, in his old age, his friend, and King, precipitated from a throne to a dungeon, and thence dragged, first to appear before his judges, and then to mount the scaffold. At that epoch, he sought his Royal Master, in prison, embraced his defence, pleaded his cause. He could not save him, but he could perish with him; and, as if something would have been wanting to his glory, if he had not bought it with his blood, he went to bind his aged brows, on the same spot, with the same crown of martyrdom.

The other (you will say, to the French) formed by a deep study of law, of sound philosophy, and of political economy, passed through a long parliamentary career, with unshaken independence, and unsullied integrity. He was the friend and guide of the most celebrated statesmen of his day; and Fox, who was justly proud of being his pupil in politics, never wandered into any dangerous error, until he quitted *his* footsteps. Sacrificing every narrow personal consideration to the great interests of truth and justice — whether, as the representative of Bristol, he defended the trade of Ireland against English monopoly; or, as a Protestant, he advocated the cause of the Catholics, or, as an Englishman, condemning the revolt of the Americans, he yet boldly maintained their rights; or, as the citizen of a free country, he combated the abuse of freedom in all countries — he was profound with clearness, magnificent with measure, vehement in feeling, but never carried away by his vehemence, except when the success of crime rendered indignation a virtue. His name, his character, and his eloquence, formed an union of irrésistible weight, and even, at certain epochs, constituted him alone a third power, between the Ministry and the Opposition. He contended long against the Revolution in France; he, perhaps, prevented a similar Revolution in England. His affections and his counsels followed the Bourbons, in that exile, in which they were forgotten

gotten by the world. He loved and succoured their unfortunate subjects. He excited all the nations of Europe to that crusade, which was always fruitless, until it became what he wished it, sacred and unanimous. Finally, he was to France the apostle of her virtues, and the prophet of her crimes; he was also the prophet of her chastisements, and of her restoration. He went further. One part of his predictions is yet suspended over that empire; and if Heaven had not refused him the joy of beholding any of his oracles accomplished, he would probably be still disquieted, at seeing, that whilst none of the past have been uttered in vain, those which relate to the present time are inconceivably neglected.

These two great men, and others dear to their country, or worthy to be so, will offer on each side articles proper to our aim, inasmuch as they will show that there are in both nations, objects of common affection, and models of equal virtue; for great men know no frontier; their country is the universe; they rise above the hatreds of instinct or of policy, and maintain the alliance of arts, of letters, and of morals, amidst the war of arms: they conciliate opinions, they draw closer the bonds of empire, and they establish, between nations, the true, and only *Perpetual Peace*.

IV. If you are satisfied, Gentlemen, that one common policy, a policy founded on morals, uniting the present with the past, and both with a happy future -- is the joint interest of France and of England; if you think, that that Policy can be promoted by your combined exertions in instructing and entertaining the public; if we have laid before you abundant topics, with which to furnish out a new and interesting work, destined to this important end, it only remains, that we should briefly propose the establishment of such a work, requesting your sanction to, and assistance in its execution.

We submit, then, that it should be carried on by a *Correspondence*, founded on the bases explained in this address; that we should, as it were, interrogate each other from shore to shore, and contribute the result of our mutual information, on important topics, to a joint stock; from which, a Director in Paris, and another in London, should select the articles best adapted to the ends of the proposed publication. Each writer, we conceive, should compose in his native language, in which the current of his thoughts will naturally have the freest flow, and his ideas will assume the most accurate expression. We propose, that when a certain quantity of composition, in about equal proportions on the two sides, shall have been collected, and reciprocally translated, it shall appear, in the shape of a number, or volume, at one

one and the same time, in Paris and in London. The title of the work, and the time of publication, we submit, the one to your taste, the other to your convenience.

This address obtained the general suffrage of the audience. Each individual present renewed his promise of co-operating in the projected enterprise; and, after a short discussion, it was agreed, that the work should be called *THE CORRESPONDENT*; and that it should make its first appearance, at the commencement of the year 1817.

THE CORRESPONDENT.

LETTER I.

*On the Complaints of Agricultural and Commercial Distress in
England.*

To His Grace, the Duke de L——.

My Lord Duke,

London, Dec. 1. 1816.

ON my late visit to Paris, I found Your Grace, like many other eminent persons, much struck with the complaints of agricultural and commercial distress in England. You were anxious to appreciate the statements, on this subject, at their true value; and if evils should be found existing, to discover their remedies; for Your Grace is not one of those weak and short-sighted politicians, who see, in the ruin of neighbouring nations, nothing but a subject of exultation. You would not, if it were in your power, lay desolate the country of men, who have benefited, or enlightened mankind. You would not convert the seat of laws, and morals, and liberty, into a haunt of wretchedness and barbarism. The sentiments, which you have publicly avowed, on this point, do you too much honor, for me not to cite your very words. “I confess,” say you, “that I neither conceive, nor partake that feeling of jealous hatred, which is sought to be confounded with the noblest of passions, the love of our country. Envy is, on the contrary, the very basest of all the passions; and why should we think it less base, when directed against millions of our fellow-creatures, than when levelled at a single individual?” In the true spirit of these elevated and manly feelings, Your Grace has drawn a picture of English industry, and its extraordinary results, which is far from being overcharged. You have traced, in a few pages, but with the hand of a master, the outlines of our system of public credit, and of our agricultural,

ral, manufacturing, and commercial operations; you have shewn these causes accelerating the progress of population, animating the spirit of enterprise, augmenting the national capital, and enabling us to act a part, which nature seemed to have forbidden, in the great cause of order and lawful government, on the continent of Europe. I shall presently cite a few striking facts, in support of all that Your Grace has said; but it will be asked — whence then the cry of distress? I answer briefly, it is a necessary consequence of the course, which we have hitherto followed, which has been attended with so much benefit to ourselves and to the world at large; but which nevertheless bore within itself the seeds of disorder, and was certain to break out, sooner or later, into actual suffering. We have hastened to be great by commerce, as you hastened to be great by war; and each country has overshot the mark. Your Grace will perhaps pardon me, if I here repeat, what I said, in my earliest original publication, which was written in the year 1800. There was not perhaps much novelty in the observation, but it was the spontaneous suggestion of my own thoughts at the time: and it is not wholly inapplicable to the present circumstances. Adverting to the great commercial enterprises then on foot, I thus expressed myself: “The first sentiment of the mind is admiration of that
“wonderful principle, which has wrought so surprising a change
“in the moral and physical constitution of the globe. We
“seem inspired with enthusiasm, to fall down and worship the
“golden idol of *Commerce*; but reflection bids us pause, and
“consider, whether this mighty engine may not be over-
“wrought. Commerce is a great instrument, in the hand of
“reason, to connect and intermarry the wide-spread families of
“mankind; but let us not wholly submit our feelings to our
“purses, and counters, and ledgers. We may be very rich in
“products and manufactures, and very poor in the spirits and
“minds of men.”* I do not mean to say, that England is, at the present moment, poor in the spirits and minds of men; but I do mean to say, that the engine of commerce has been overwrought.

The root of all the evil is to be found in that lamentable *Revolution*, which has dislocated the whole frame of society, in every part of Europe. The Revolution put to the hazard the dearest interests of mankind; inflamed the best and purest, as well as the most brutal of our passions, to a state of extravagance; and rendered unavoidable a war more violent and more

* Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland, vol. i. p. 11.

comprehensive, than the world had ever yet witnessed. In this awful state of things, threatened with dangers from without, and closely beset with domestic factions, it was not easy, it was not possible, for governments to proceed always cautiously and deliberately, in the choice of their means. They were often forced to throw the reins on the necks of the coursers, and even to stimulate their speed, when already dangerous and excessive. The great instrument of power, in the hand of the English minister, at the breaking out of the Revolution, was public credit, an instrument acting reciprocally, as cause and effect, on the national resources. The minister skilfully availed himself of this. He set in motion all the springs of industry and enterprise; and the movement was equalised by the system of taxation, which produced a general rise of prices; but the vast money operations of government, and the peculiar nature of the war, while they maintained those prices at their extraordinary level, tended, at the same time, to stretch credit far beyond the bounds of capital, and to convert industrious enterprise into hazardous speculation.

A few facts will illustrate what I have been saying. Let us begin with what first occurs to the imaginations of most men, when they talk of wealth — I mean, with *money*, the sign and measure of exchangeable value. The simplest notion of money is that of the metals bearing the stamp of the sovereign, to ascertain their weight and fineness. Of the legal coinage of copper in England, I have not just now the particulars before me. It cannot have been very considerable, but during the present reign, that of gold and silver has amounted to above *sixty-seven millions* of pounds sterling, principally in gold.* Of this large mass of money, perhaps nineteen twentieths have disappeared from circulation; but we have more than supplied their place, by various other circulating media; and our currency now consists of:

1. A small portion of the legal coinage;
2. The stamped dollars and other silver tokens, issued since 1797 by the Bank of England;
3. The notes of the Bank of England; and
4. The country bank notes.

Let us endeavour to form some estimate of the whole. The

* The pound sterling has a different value in French money, according as it is reckoned in gold, or silver. The gold pound, or $\frac{20}{21}$ of a guinea, is equal, at the lowest calculation, to 25.084 francs: the silver pound, or 20 shillings, to 24.4 francs. Hence the coinage of the present reign was:

Gold	67,363,875 <i>l</i> .	=	1,688,755,440 francs.
Silver	64,588	=	1,575,776
	<u>67,428,463<i>l</i>.</u>	=	<u>1,691,331,216</u>

dollars and other tokens have amounted to *four or five millions* sterling.* The greatest number of Bank of England notes in circulation, at any one time, was in July 1814, when they amounted to upwards of *thirty-one millions*† sterling. The country bank-notes, being issued by nearly two thousand different individuals forming six or eight hundred establishments, in various parts of the kingdom, with no other limitation, than their own personal credit, cannot, of course, be ascertained, with the same accuracy, as the notes of the Bank of England. They were, however, estimated in 1810,‡ at 32,961,169*l.* and I am inclined to think, that they have since been higher. Probably in 1814 they were above thirty-three millions; so that Your Grace will hardly deem, that I overrate the circulating media of Great Britain, on the first conclusion of peace, at *seventy millions of pounds sterling*; a sum, indeed, less by two-ninths, than the currency of France before the Revolution, as estimated by M. Necker; but yet, in operative power, much greater, owing to the improvements adopted in the mode of carrying on the banking business, and to the state of general credit, which was such, that a witness examined by the Bullion-committee in 1810, considered ten millions of bank-notes to be capable of keeping afloat nearly as much business then, as fifteen millions in the year 1800. Hence I conclude, that our seventy millions of circulating medium, at the peace, were more than equivalent to 100 millions before the war; at which period, however, there existed only about eleven millions of Bank of England notes, probably much less gold, and a still smaller amount of country paper. So that the whole may perhaps be taken at little more than *twenty-five millions*, and if so, the pro-

* The total current value was 5,009,560*l.*; but the intrinsic value was only 4,071,944*l.* = 99,355,433 francs.

† Viz. 31,301,510*l.* This sum cannot be exactly valued in the precious metals; because the bank-note has not been convertible into them, at any certain standard, since 1797. The popular estimate of the pound sterling (viz. 24 francs) would make it 751,236,240 francs; but the pound has varied, according to the course of exchange, from 17 francs to 26.

‡ See the speech of the late Mr. G. Johnstone in the House of Commons, 19th July, 1811. The grounds of the estimate are these: notes of 5*l.* each and upwards must by law be cancelled at the end of three years; notes below that sum are supposed to be generally worn out in the course of the same period. All these notes pay an *ad valorem* stamp to government. Hence, it is assumed, that the number of stamps issued in three years antecedent to any given period will shew the value of the notes in circulation at that period, with tolerable accuracy. Reckoning on these data, the country bank-notes in circulation in 1814 will be found to have been 32,330,427*l.* viz. issued in 1812, 10,116,292*l.*, in 1813, 12,166,955*l.*, and in 1814, 10,047,202*l.*; but it is probable, that when no considerable failures take place within the three years, this calculation is rather below, than above the real circulation.

perty in circulation must have been multiplied fourfold during the war. I say, the *property*, not binding myself down to that, which is real and tangible, but including every thing, that bore the value of property to its possessor, and was considered and treated as such, by those, with whom he formed contracts, and had dealings.

Thus, the growing capital of the national debt did, in point of fact, enter, as property, into the dealings of individuals, according to its value in the market. A holder of 10,000*l.* stock in the three per cents, when they were at 60, was a *bonâ fide* proprietor, to the amount of 6,000*l.*, liable to fluctuations in value, as his property would equally have been, had it consisted of corn, sugar, tallow, or indeed any other exchangeable commodity; and he could of course deal, like any other proprietor, for an estate, or a cargo of merchandize, not beyond the probable limits of fluctuation, in the value of his stock. In truth, a national debt, like that of England, is a mode of converting into immediate exchangeable capital, the labour and the produce of future years. The capitalist advances to government the fruits of past economy, which are instantly employed for the demands of the state; but which nevertheless remain as a fund of credit, to be exchanged against new surplus capital, as fast as the latter is created. This credit fund, if I may so speak, includes both the funded and unfunded debt*, more particularly the latter, which consists principally of Exchequer bills bearing a certain interest, and therefore the most negociable of all government securities. The sinking fund, though during the war it greatly facilitated the conversions of capital, which I have described, cannot itself be considered as capital. Of its peculiar character I shall speak hereafter.

The system of creating property, as it were, by anticipation, was not confined to the public revenues. It was, in truth, the operation of almost every merchant, of almost every manufacturer, and even of almost every farmer. Consignments that were yet to be shipped, cloths that were yet to be made, corn that was yet to be sown, formed so many pledges for money advanced toward new and more extensive undertakings; and these operations spreading rapidly through all parts of the kingdom, created a vast number of local banks, founded, as I have before stated, on local credit. It is easy to conceive, that this substitution of anticipative for real capital, was attended with no small hazard; and in the end, it was undoubtedly carried to a pernicious

* The funded debt is properly to be estimated by its annual charge, which, on the first of August 1816, was 28,952,017*l.*, answering at the legal rate of interest in England to a capital of 579,040,340*l.* The unfunded debt, on the fifth of January 1816, was 48,725,359*l.*

extreme; but in the meanwhile, it gave a life, a spirit, an activity, and a productiveness to business, which became visible, as it were, to the eye, in an increased population, in more and better food, clothing, and lodging to all classes of men, in the improved and extended cultivation of land, in mines, manufactories, shipping, roads, canals; in short, in all that forms the physical strength and wealth of civilised communities. The population of England and Wales, which in 1710 was only 5,240,000, was, exactly a century afterwards, more than double, viz. 10,488,000, and the rest of the United Kingdom advanced in a like proportion. Of the extent of our manufactures, some idea may be formed, from the quantity of *cotton wool* imported,—from the declared value of our *wollen cloths* exported,—from the quantity of *Irish linens* imported into Great Britain, and there retained for home consumption,—from the value of *British and foreign linens* exported,—from the *British iron and hardware* exported*;—in short, from the official accounts relative to almost every article, which we fabricate. The English shipping, which at the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, consisted of only 95,266 tons, amounted in 1815 to 2,366,227 tons; an increase almost incredible, and of which above a million tons were added during the last war! and the British produce and manufactures exported in these vessels, of which the value in 1784 was 18,693,000*l.*, amounted in 1815 to 53,217,445*l.* I have adverted to the superior accommodation afforded to the people in point of lodging, which is evidenced by the increased number of houses: those erected in Great Britain between 1801 and 1811 being not less than 245,005, of which the augmentation in the suburbs of London was 15,131 on the Middlesex side, and 5,638 on the Surrey side. Cleanliness, as conducive to health, is a consideration of some moment; and on this head, I am informed by an eminent soap manufacturer, that the consumption of that article in England has increased, at least a third, within the last thirty years. The duties alone on soap, during the last year, amounted to 648,216*l.* In fine, the sums raised for the use of government by taxation or loan, afford, by their progression, a similar inference of the growth of national wealth. In 1792 they amounted

* The articles above specified are taken, at random, from a mass of official statements laid at various times before parliament; viz.

<i>Cotton Wool</i> , imported in 1811,	-	-	136,570,103 <i>lbs.</i> weight.
<i>Woollen-Cloths</i> , exported in 1815,	-	-	10,200,936 <i>l.</i> declared value.
<i>Irish Linens</i> , imported in 1814,	-	-	31,026,491 yards.
<i>British and Foreign Linens</i> , exported in 1815,	-	-	1,618,575 <i>l.</i> official value.
<i>British Iron</i> , exported in 1814,	-	-	40,855 Tons.
<i>British Hardware</i> , do. do.	-	-	6,162 Tons.

to

to 19,673,265*l.* and in 1814 to 184,034,673*l.* Your Grace will not be surprised, at my citing the public debts and taxes, in proof of a growing prosperity; since it is clear, that they are in general the produce of surplus capital; and though, in a single instance, a government may seize on the capital destined to reproduction; yet, in a course of years, the progressive increase of the surplus necessarily implies a correspondent improvement of the reproductive powers of industry. Thus, I trust, I have proved the rapid advance of our national prosperity, by showing, that the signs of property have been multiplied in specie, in paper currency, in government securities, and in the state revenue; that the property of individuals, whether invested in the produce of the soil and of human industry, or applied to general support, accommodation, and comfort, has been alike augmented; and finally, that our national strength has been invigorated, in its radical sources, the numbers, and the labour of man.

Proudly as we had advanced, in this triumphant course, it was not without many and severe checks. I shall not go back to the gloomy period of 1797, when the British navy was in a state of mutiny, the revenue fell short, and the payment of cash at the Bank of England was for the first time suspended, except it be to quote one more passage from the work, to which I have before alluded. Speaking of the events of that day, I said: “these examples show, that the health and preservation of a country depend on no single one of its energies, however mighty. Before it can fall, the whole head must be sick, and the whole heart faint; and this dissolution of the body politic may be engendered in peace, in plenty, in power; for its antidote is not any one of these, but it is a general union of the natural affections, a family bond between all the children of the state.” *

Commercial distress, however, may arise from causes of a peculiar and less comprehensive nature. Your Grace has well described them. You seem, indeed, to have anticipated the very particulars of our present embarrassments, where you observe, that “whenever Fortune opens the gates of her temple, the crowd rush in, with an eagerness, that approaches to frenzy: they press against, they overturn each other, without a possibility of preventing these fatal accidents. Thus it is, that cupidity becomes inflamed, at the sight of extraordinary success; speculations are multiplied without bounds; markets are glutted; the first comers had made enormous gains; those who follow become bankrupt. The rebound is felt in the manufactories, with the rapidity of lightning: in an instant, the de-

* Remarks on Local Scenery, &c. vol. i. p. 19.

“mand ceases, orders are revoked, the forge is silent, the loom is still, and the workman is reduced to idleness and want.”

A few months sufficed to realise, in many parts of England, these anticipations of Your Grace's judgment. During the war, our naval victories had given us almost a monopoly of colonial produce; and that senseless project, called the *Continental System*, backed, as it was, by the equally weak, and treacherous policy of the American government, drove us, in self-defence, to monopolise the supply of both continents with manufactures, which no prohibitions were strong enough to exclude. It is pretended, that the *Continental System* was favourable to continental manufactures; the best answer to that suggestion is, that in 1806, (the date of the vain-glorious *Berlin Decree*, which, without a flag on the sea, pretended to blockade the whole British dominions,) our exports were *officially** valued at 34,954,845*l.*; and that from that time they have gone on regularly increasing till last year, when they were, by the same standard, 60,983,894*l.* Inconsequent reasoners will tell you, almost in the same breath, that “the *completion*† of our commercial monopoly tended powerfully to augment the cultivation of this island;” and that “the *complete* execution of the enemy's project of excluding us from the Continent, in 1812, increased our distresses.” Now, as it happens, that these two pretended *completions* were exactly coincident, in point of time, it is needless to observe, that the writer must be wrong, on one side, or the other, of his dilemma. Unhappily for his last remark, it turns out, that the very year, in which he says we were excluded from the Continent, we exported more by 10,833,501*l.* (official value) than we had done in the year preceding, and more of *British produce and manufactures*, than in the first year of the war, by 17,352,455*l.* The same writer, with the same degree of accuracy, tells us, that “the American war, which followed, added to the mischief.” The truth is, that our dangers were of the very opposite kind. In 1812, the *Continental System*, so far from being *completed*, was actually broken up. It was in October of that year, that Buonaparte began his disastrous flight from Moscow; at the news of which, port after port was successively opened to our commerce. It is curious enough, that a great orator should talk, in the House of Commons, of “the events of the spring of 1814, having

* I take the *official* mode of estimation, because it remains the same at both periods; whereas the market price, or declared value, though always far above the official value, is liable to fluctuations, which derange comparison. In 1806 the official value was about five-eighths of the value computed at the average market prices.

† See an article on the distresses of the country, in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 52. pp. 261—265.

suddenly opened the Continent.”* That operation had been almost wholly effected in the course of the preceding year. Neither was it upon our *export* trade, that speculation first exerted its destructive influence. The purchase of corn, in the Baltic ports, for *importation* into England, was the first unfortunate transaction — unfortunate, not, merely to the parties who embarked in it, (many of whom were ruined,) nor indeed so much from the magnitude of the undertaking itself, as from the alarm, which it instantly spread among the English farmers. “I do not allude,” says a witness before the House of Commons, in 1814, “to any particular quantity of corn lately imported; but the farmers are very much *alarmed*, and of course bring every bushel to market.” The succeeding harvest in England was abundant, and the home market was consequently glutted. It became a question, whether the legislature should protect the farmer, by prohibiting importation, below a certain price. This matter was warmly disputed between the manufacturing and agricultural interests. At length the *corn-bill* passed, which satisfied neither party. By raising the import price from 63s. a quarter to 80s. a quarter, it tended to load manufactures with an augmentation, in the wages of the workmen; whilst on the other hand, by not having been passed at an earlier period, it had given time for the alarm to sink agricultural prices far below their just level. Such was the *first* cause of our present embarrassments. It fell primarily on agriculture, and of course, by impoverishing the agriculturist, injured, in a very serious degree, the home market for manufactures.

The *second* evil related to our exports, and it was derived from a similar source with the former, viz. the opening of the continental ports. It is not, however, to be explained, (as Mr. Brougham thinks it is,) “by the previous restrictions we had been labouring under;” because, in point of fact, our commerce had, for some time previously, been less restricted, than any other in the world. It might, perhaps, be more reasonable to say, that the manufacturers had been misled by the absurd declamations, which were so liberally poured forth against these fancied restrictions; but, however that may be, they did certainly export in 1813, 1814, and 1815, immense quantities of goods, upon mere speculation; a speculation rather prompted by their own wishes or necessities, than by those of their expected purchasers. This, however, was no novelty, in our commercial history. The same thing had happened, when the Buenos Ayres trade was opened; and the same has since taken place, on the renewal of peace with the United States. The simple fact is this: as soon as a ship can go *direct* to a port,

* Speech of Mr. Brougham, 9th April, 1816.

and deliver her cargo freely, her freight and insurance are of course lowered, and, consequently, the articles, which she brings, may be sold so much the cheaper. This, perhaps, in some small degree, augments the number of purchasers; but where we have been in the habit of supplying a country *indirectly* by a contraband trade, the mere circumstance of a direct communication cannot very materially affect the vent of our commodities. I believe, our merchants and manufacturers were well enough aware of this. I believe, they knew, that "the enemy's project of excluding us from the Continent," far from having been "completely executed," had never obtained the slightest success; and that the great majority of those, who might be expected to become our customers in peace, had in fact been so throughout the war. What made our merchants so eagerly rush toward the newly opened ports, was, first, the loaded state of their own warehouses; and secondly, the desire of anticipating their competitors in the market. The consequences were such, as Your Grace anticipated. "Fortune had opened the gates of her temple, and the crowd eagerly rushed in." The sales became dull, and the prices fell below prime cost; because it was not worth while to reship the articles to the place of their produce. Add to this, that the foreign manufacturers took the alarm. They petitioned their respective governments to impose prohibitory duties, which of course diminished the consumption; and thus we had, in the foreign markets, the two elements of depressed price, namely, excessive supply, and inadequate demand.

The *third* blow fell, with equal weight, on agriculture, manufactures, and every other species of industry. It was produced by the cessation of the war-demand for provisions, clothing, implements of war, shipping, and every thing else, in which the wasteful operations of hostility create, or enlarge the wants of government. This was, indeed, a great and sudden falling off. In the year 1814, the expenditure of the three services (army, navy, and ordnance) amounted together to 60,237,852*l.*; in the year following, notwithstanding the new war, and the great battle of Waterloo, they were less by 17,727,953*l.*; and in the present year, they will not amount to two-fifths of the expence of 1814.

The causes of embarrassment, which I have hitherto mentioned may be said to be accidental or temporary. I come to others more radically inherent in our system. Of these, one, which has hitherto been little adverted to, results from the very nature of mechanical improvement. The first effect of machinery is to displace a certain quantity of manual labour; but as it, at the same time, produces the manufactured article cheaper, it extends the demand, and thus not only re-absorbs the labour before displaced,

placed, but occupies an additional number of hands, in producing a fresh supply; until at length, the demand ceasing to enlarge itself, while the machinery is still going on, the manufacturer becomes overburthened with his stock, and is forced to suspend his undertakings, leaving the workman to find support, as he can. In this country, an immense capital had been invested in machinery; the owners were very unwilling to put an entire stop to their operations; and many of them continued to work at a loss, rather than to incur a ruinous destruction of their machinery by disuse.

This evil was the more fatal, where the foundation of the building, if I may so speak, was insecure — where sanguine spirits had been prompted, by the facility of obtaining credit, to erect cotton mills, without a reasonable prospect of sale; to dig mines, which could not pay for working, and to throw away money on the cultivation of moors, which could produce nothing but losing crops.

It was worse still, where a temporary success had encouraged the projectors to believe, that their gains would be perpetual; had justified them, as they thought, in living up to the bounds of an income in its nature temporary; and had enabled them to obtain unlimited credit from their monied neighbours, dazzled like themselves, by the golden prospects, which imagination described, and credulity listened to.

Where the operative manager of a great concern finds enough to do in the production of his commodities, he is easily persuaded to employ a middle-man, who offers to take upon himself the trouble of finding a market, for their disposal. In this manner, arose the great commission houses of London, which drew to themselves vast quantities of all kinds of products, gave a momentary stimulus to the country trade, occasioned a rise of wages to the workmen, and ended, in too many instances, by ruining both themselves and their employers.

A failure, in the usual employments of industry, throws the superfluous hands out of work, and diminishes the wages of those, who are continued in employ. These evils form our greatest immediate pressure, at the present moment; and they are weighty, in proportion to the rapidity, with which we had previously advanced in population. They are aggravated, in England and Wales, by the operation of the Poor Laws, which have tended to increase the numbers, without improving the morals of that class of society; and they are augmented, throughout the United Kingdom, by the circumstance, that so large a part of the army and navy has been disbanded, at the very moment, when there was a falling off in our agriculture and manufactures. The numbers of men, who are able and willing to work, but can find no employment,

ployment, must produce a large increase of pauperism, mendicity, and vagrancy; whilst the higher and middle ranks, being straitened in their circumstances, cannot afford that charitable relief, which is prompted by their inclinations.

Add to this, that the war has made a large addition to the unproductive classes of society, which, as such, subsist on the labour of others. The persons, to whom I allude, are stockholders, soldiers, sailors, and pensioners of various sorts, including the orphans, widows, and relatives of men, who have fallen in the holiest of causes, or employed the labour of their lives in the service of their country. The wealth, the talents, the blood, which have been devoted to our preservation, constitute sacred debts, which we must pay. The national honor is too pure, to hesitate at their discharge, in full; but still they must be reckoned among the burthens, which impede us, in struggling with our present difficulties.

In a healthy order of things, while the population meets the labour, the labour is kept in motion by an adequate capital, circulating within the kingdom; besides which, there is a reserve fund, for supplying the inevitable necessities of each class of society: and those, who live on the future, are balanced by those, who live on the past. But with us, at present, this salutary distribution of property is deranged, in various ways. I have already spoken of the internal derangement: besides which, large payments have been made, out of the country, to foreign stockholders. It would appear from the accounts of exemptions under the property-tax, that above *two millions* sterling must have been thus paid in the year 1814; for the dividends exempted in 1813 amounted to 697,076*l.*, answering, at 5 *per cent.*, to a capital of 13,941,520*l.*, and in 1814 only to 626,778*l.*, answering to a capital of 12,535,560*l.*; consequently in the latter year a money-capital of 1,405,960*l.* must have been sold out, which added to the dividend of 1814, makes 2,032,738*l.* The sums remitted to English travellers on the continent may, I think, be moderately estimated at *three millions* sterling, during the twelvemonth immediately succeeding your Monarch's second restoration. Your Grace will probably ask, how it is possible to reconcile a drain of *five millions* sterling, in money, with a course of exchange so favourable to England, as has for some time past existed: I can only answer, by referring you to what I have stated of the amount of our exports to markets already glutted. In those markets, British manufactures have been sold so low, as to tempt even poverty to purchase; whilst, our embarrassments at home having greatly lessened our imports, the balance of commercial payments has been more than those five millions in our favour; and it is upon that balance, that the course of

exchange hinges, as a practical man * very clearly stated to our Bullion-committee in 1810, although he was not so fortunate as to obtain their assent to the proposition.†

It must not be forgotten, that the evil effect of all the causes of distress, to which I have adverted, is extremely aggravated by the state of moral and political feeling, which the war has nourished. War is an unnatural state, for nations, as it is for individuals. It diverts attention from domestic to foreign evils. In our case, it has occasioned a relaxed police, and an alarming progression of crimes; and besides, it has left the revolutionary leaven still subsisting, and ready to ferment, at every moment. There is a party in England, as there is in every other part of Europe, which will never pardon the re-establishment of lawful government in France; because that event is incompatible with the reputation and power, which they still hope to enjoy, by the triumph of revolutionary principles.

If I am right, in my general principles, it will follow, that agriculture must have suffered; and such is the fact. Cases are to be found, where the landlord has found his estate falling in price, his rent in arrear, his farms thrown up, or uncultivated, or at least ill cultivated — where the tenant's capital has been sunk, his stock diminished, his means of manuring and dressing the ground consequently taken away, — where his strength and spirits have decayed, under this pressure, — he has lost his credit, and has become insolvent, — where the labourer has been unable to obtain adequate wages, or has been altogether thrown out of work, has become a mere pauper, or betaken himself to dishonest courses, or has sunk a prey to disease and famine. These, however, are extreme cases, and in England extremity of misfortune is sure to excite humanity, and ultimately to obtain relief: but still such cases have existed, in agriculture, and *mutatis mutandis*, in mining, in manufactures, and in all great undertakings of that nature. Hence the miseries of the farming labourers in the isle of Ely, of the silk

* Mr. Greffulhe.

† The committee, on the contrary, adopted a theoretical principle, which it would be difficult to reconcile with the recent exchanges. Their words are, "that the difference of exchange resulting from the state of trade and payments between two countries, is limited by the expense of conveying and insuring the precious metals from one country to the other."—"The truth of this position," say they, "is so plain, and it is so uniformly agreed to by all the practical authorities, that your committee will assume it as indisputable." Now, the pound note has for a long time past produced in England $6\frac{1}{2}$ tokens, intrinsically worth, in French silver, $19\frac{1}{2}$ francs; and yet the exchange has been as high as 26 francs: hence it would follow, on the indisputable principles of the Bullion-committee, that the expence of conveying and insuring $19\frac{1}{2}$ francs from Calais to Dover was six francs and a half, or above 35 per cent.!!!

manufacturers in Spitalfields, of the iron and coal workmen in Staffordshire and Wales, &c. &c.; but I have this remark to make, that wherever I have found any remarkable instances of suffering, I have almost always heard of great previous speculation. The landlord, who did not raise his rents; the merchant, who was satisfied with the old moderate profits, stand firm and undisturbed, while their neighbours are falling around them on all sides.

Let us shortly review the nature of the evils complained of. Take, for instance, a farmer; he lives, like any other dealer, by buying and selling. But his outlay is increased. His tradesman's bills are high: his rent is exorbitant, his taxes heavy; and if he does not pay his labourers high wages, he is forced to contribute largely to the poor-rates, because the population is excessive, the habits of the poor are far from economical, and they are stimulated to inebriety by the number of alehouses, which all accounts state to be greatly increased of late years. On the other hand, his receipt is diminished; he cannot expect to find a foreign market for corn, which is grown dearer in England, than any where else; the home market is narrowed by the distress of the manufacturing class; the supply has meanwhile been increased, not so much by importation, as by his own fears or necessities, which have driven him to sell double or triple as much as he used to do; the natural consequence of which is a general fall, in the price of agricultural produce. In these difficulties, he applies, for relief, to his old friend, the corn-factor, and the corn-factor falls back upon the country-banker, who far from being able to enlarge his accommodation, either narrows it to half its former amount, or perhaps spreads distress through a whole county, by his insolvency. From these causes, it is calculated, that there has been a diminution of two and one-half or three millions in the paper currency of Lincolnshire alone, though this is probably exaggerated. What is certain is, that the number of licences to country banks has decreased, in the following gradation: in 1814, they were 916; in 1815, 831; and in 1816, (to November 30.) only 713. It is within my own knowledge (and I believe the case to be very common) that in a country town, where there are two banks, each of which, two or three years ago, issued paper to the amount of 40,000*l.*, they do not now circulate more than that sum, between them. Calculating on these data, it would appear, that as 916 banks were supposed to have formerly issued 33 millions sterling, 713 banks may be taken to have then issued about 25½ millions, and to have since reduced that amount to 12½, leaving a diminution of 21½ millions of country bank paper, to which is to be added a decrease of nearly 5½ millions, on the bank of England notes,

at

at the date of the last published accounts.* So that the 70 millions of currency, assumed in the former part of this letter, to have some time ago existed in Great Britain, may be supposed to have been reduced to 43 millions; and our circulating property (fictitious and real) to have suffered a like diminution. If this be deemed a national loss, in one respect, it is a national benefit, in another. What remains is incomparably more solid, in its nature, than what has perished; we are placed in the path of recovery, and I am even persuaded, that we have made some advances towards it.

From what I have said, Your Grace will have perceived, that I am not at all inclined to palliate, much less to disguise the evils, of which we every where hear so much complaint. Indeed, where is the policy of deception? The evils exist, but they are not fatal. Let us know the seat of the disorder, and we shall be half way advanced toward the cure. When I began this letter, I had flattered myself, that I should find room and leisure, to include in it my view of the remedies most essential to our relief, but I have already trespassed so far on my limits, in both respects, that I must postpone this part of my subject till a future opportunity; only remarking, that I am not one of those, who consider our situation as in any degree hopeless, or our disorder as requiring the revolutionary caustic.

I have the honour to remain,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's most obedient servant,

J. S.

LETTER II.

On the Municipal Corporations of England, in general, and on the Corporation of London, in particular.

To Monsieur De ———.

Dear Sir,

London, October, 1816.

THE late debates, in our Common Hall, and Common Council, the re-election of the Lord Mayor, and various other occurrences, of a similar nature, with which the public papers have acquainted you, appear to have given you much curiosity, to learn the nature of our municipal corporations, in general, and of the corporation of London, in particular. You are pleased to consider, that my official experience, as a member of that body,

* Viz. 15th May, 1816.

must enable me to satisfy your enquiries; and therefore, without further preface, I will lay before you such information, as I possess.

Permit me to observe, that, in my mind, the existence of corporations, in this country, is a circumstance by no means indifferent to the general interests of rational liberty and good government, throughout Europe. You will doubtless admit, that England, during the last twenty-three years, has exhibited to the world an interesting spectacle—a nation comparatively small, yet wielding most powerful energies—first, in the successful opposition, which she made, by sea, against the disorganising schemes of the republicans, and the gigantic ambition of Buonaparte; then, in the assistance, which she gave to the subdued nations of the Continent, to shake off their yoke; and finally, in her successful efforts, towards the destruction of the mighty fabric, raised by revolution and war. The most remarkable circumstance, however, attending this signal display of strength and power, is, that the sacred fire of freedom still burns, among us, with the same brilliancy of lustre, and emits the same ardent flame, for which it has been hitherto so distinguished. The stormy period of the French Revolution has passed on; the deadly code of the “Rights of Man” has been promulgated, and put in practice; almost all the nations of Europe have been convulsed with the fever of political innovation; but Britain has been throughout unmoved; her laws and institutions are still fixed and unshaken.

To a philosophical mind, the causes of this singular phenomenon must afford matter for interesting contemplation; and they will doubtless engage the attention and enquiry of future historians. It cannot, I apprehend, be the result of chance; nor can it altogether flow from the wisdom of the British councils. The effect is without precedent, in our own, or in any other history, and must have originated in ultimate causes, beyond what were merely accidental, in the skill of our statesmen, however wisely their plans may have been formed, or their diplomatic combinations arranged. Storms, during this period, have arisen, which, to the eye of the observer, seemed to threaten the political existence of the British empire; but they soon subsided into a perfect calm; the waves beat against the majestic vessel of the state, with the most violent rage; but they became easily appeased, and she continued on her course, unshaken by the howlings of the tempest.

It has been usual, to attribute this perseverance and unchangeableness of the British character to the excellence of our political form of government. It is true, that to the unity and force, which our monarchy possesses, much of the promptitude and energy of public measures have been owing; while our legislature, uniting every valuable combination of aristocratic and republican talent, has given strength and efficacy to the executive power; but

but it seems surprising, that notwithstanding the lengthened political discussions, both at home and abroad, which the freedom of our press allowed to be made public; notwithstanding we have had amongst us, for the last one hundred and sixty years, a strong republican party, whose zeal and numbers were increased by the *new lights* of modern philosophy; and notwithstanding that tendency to change, which successful novelty always engenders; yet no innovation has taken place in any of our institutions, every one of which is now as firmly established, as before the portentous era of 1789. I admit, that this may have been owing, in part, to our insular situation, and in part to the high spirit and patriotism of the British people; but much also appears to have proceeded from the variety and admirable construction of our *civil*, or as we may fitly call them, our *minor political* establishments, the *corporations and chartered foundations*; the great number of which has, for many ages, kept alive the soul of public liberty, in all parts of the kingdom; and together with our more recent *funding system*, has identified large masses of private feelings and interests, with the stability and permanence of the state.

When the levelling doctrine of the "Rights of Man" made its appearance *practically* in France, all corporate bodies, of course, fell before it, together with the throne and the altar; but in England, corporations subsist, in all their original rights, and with much, if not all, of their original value: and although it has become a sort of selfish fashion, among some individuals of the mercantile class, to affect to despise them, and to avoid their offices; yet by every reflecting mind they are still deemed of inestimable use and importance. In former times, they were the cradles of commerce and of civil liberty: and now, in most cases, they are the strong holds of constitutional loyalty and patriotism. There are now in England, as formerly in France, two classes of corporations, the *Lay* and *Ecclesiastical*. Of the latter, I shall, at present, say but little. They consist of those clergymen, who are members of cathedral or collegiate institutions: and they possess landed estates, which are part of the remains of church-property, not secularised at the Reformation. Indeed, it may be said, that the entire hierarchy is one great corporation; for every clergyman exercises his rights, and enjoys his emoluments, under the guarantee of the law, as they were transmitted to him by his predecessor, and as he must hand them down to his successor. Thus, the Church and State compose one united interest; and every man, who is educated for the former, becomes, as an individual, interested in the preservation of the latter; which the clergy, moreover, consider it to be their duty to uphold, as ministers of that religion, which teaches its followers to "fear God and honour the King." You must, how-

ever, observe, my dear Sir, that our church-establishment in no degree interferes with the most unbounded liberty of conscience. We consider the regular and due support of the church ministers as necessary to the *certain* performance of religious rites; but other sects, which support their preachers by contributions merely voluntary, exist here, under the security of a complete toleration, and chiefly abound in the capital, and in the great towns.

The *lay corporations* consist of the municipalities, or communities, of the various cities and towns of the kingdom, which enjoy particular rights and privileges, arising from prescription, or ancient charters; and also of the great chartered companies, such, as the Bank, the East-India Company, &c. &c. I wish especially to draw your attention to the former of these classes, as illustrating the gradual growth of those liberties and franchises, now so firmly rooted in the minds and hearts of Englishmen.

At the Norman invasion, A. D. 1066, the great mass of the people in England were in a state of actual bondage to their *Lords*, similar to the present condition of the peasantry in Russia and Poland. This is evident, from the general survey (still extant) made in 1086 by William I. called the *Doomsday-book*, which recites the names of forty-six towns, then called *burghs*, the inhabitants of which were not incorporated, by charter or otherwise, but had their patrons, among the powerful barons, under whose protection they traded, and to whom they paid acknowledgment for such privilege. It appears by the instrument (or charter as it is called) granted by that King to the inhabitants of London, that they were allowed to be "law worthy," and that "their children should be their heirs." This grant evinces the miserable state in which the unprivileged classes at that time were, not having power to appeal to the laws for redress of injuries, nor to dispose of their property, but holding their lands and goods at the will of the lord.

The three succeeding Norman Kings, having all defective titles to the crown, and wishing to become popular, granted charters to several other burghs, or towns, allowing them to have *guilds*, or trading companies, and giving them liberty to exercise such commerce, as the times allowed, on payment only of the fee-farm rent, which was usually a tenth of their moveable goods: these rents were, in consequence, so much augmented, trade increased so greatly, and the benefit of the system became so evident, that the free burghs were rapidly multiplied, the early Kings finding it their interest to encourage them, by every means in their power, both as a source of public revenue, and as a strong
barrier

barrier against the overgrown power of the Barons. In consequence of its chartered rights, the *City of London* appears, by its foreign and domestic commerce, to have made rapid strides, in attaining riches and power; the former naturally producing the latter. It accordingly soon acted a distinguished political part. Sometimes, in the dissensions between the King and the Barons, it took advantage of the wants of the Sovereign, and obtained new grants, as the price of assisting him: sometimes it caballed with the Barons against him. In consequence, the charters were often withdrawn, but upon a pacification, were restored for money; and generally with additional privileges, the progressive increase and long duration of which, it may be curious to notice.

Henry I. (the third sovereign of the Norman line) granted to the Londoners, for the sum of 300*l.* *per annum*, to farm the county of Middlesex, with the appointment of its sheriffs; together with power for a creditor to attach any sums of money belonging to his debtor, in the hands of a third person, within the city; which privileges are held at this day; the latter (technically known by the term *foreign attachment*) constituting an important title in our law books. The succeeding Kings, *Henry II.* and *Richard I.* granted other charters, confirming and enlarging the former. Of this date, is the important immunity, that the citizens shall not be obliged to go to war out of the city; which exemption they now retain; so that no enlistment for the army and navy, or impressment for the latter, ever takes place within its jurisdiction; and if by accident a freeman be impressed, he is immediately discharged, upon his claim being proved; which is usually effected through the chief magistrate's application to the government. No soldiers are permitted to be billeted or quartered in the city; nor are the inhabitants liable to contribute to the raising a militia, or any other warlike force; unless it be voluntarily done, by vote of the Court of Common Council. You read, in our old comedies, many laughable passages, relative to the *Trained Bands*. These were formerly the armed force of the city, probably not very warlike in their habits or appearance, but somewhat considerable in point of number; for so late as the restoration of King Charles II., in 1660, they mustered twelve regiments of foot, consisting of 1500 men each, and one of horse, and all the colonels and lieutenant colonels of these regiments were knights; but within the last century, this kind of force has been discontinued. During part of the late war, two regiments of 600 men each, were raised, upon condition, that they should not serve, at a greater distance, than ten miles, from London; but

the motion was carried, in the Common Council, with great difficulty; so tenacious are the citizens of their ancient privileges. The men were provided by the parishes, in equal proportions, or paid for, to the commanding officers who enlisted them, at a fixed price; the minor expences of the regiments were supported by a small assessment on the citizens, called the *Trophy Tax*; but that of the pay and clothing was defrayed by government, as in the other militia regiments.

To return to the historical view of our municipal immunities, King *John* granted the city of London five charters, confirming and augmenting its privileges. By that bearing date A. D. 1202, it appears, that several of the trading companies had been previously incorporated and formed into distinct *Guilds*; to one of which (the Weavers) the King gives additional franchises; but at the same time, he raises the annual rent for such grant. In 1215, he grants the citizens liberty to choose a mayor annually, who must be presented to the King, or his Justices, for approbation; which custom is now followed. *Henry III.* granted to London nine distinct charters; one of which is found valuable, by many of its freemen, at present, viz. that exempting them from all tolls and customs on merchandise, in every port and town, in the kingdom, with the exception of taxes imposed by parliament.

About this time it is, that we find the institution of municipal corporations display a new and singular degree of importance: we see the citizens and burgesses called to act in a higher sphere; and those privileges, which were at first local, become national. In order, fully to understand this great change, it is necessary, to advert to the feudal principles, then common to our nation, with the whole of Europe, not utterly barbarous. The King was the sole head and chief of a sort of military confederacy, formed by the Barons, who held their lands of him, by military service; and the inferior classes of society depended on the Barons, either by similar, or baser tenures. Whilst the Barons, the King's immediate tenants, were not too numerous, it was natural, that they, together with the higher clergy, (the principal depositaries of learning in that age,) should alone be summoned to the council, by which the sovereign was advised, and assisted, on all great emergencies. Such, in fact, (excluding from our present consideration the more ancient, but very obscure and doubtful composition of the Saxon *Wittenagemots*) were our first *Parliaments*, whether known by that, or the then more general appellations of *Commune Concilium*, *Concilium Magnum*, and the like. PRYNNE, indeed, one of our most careful and accurate investigators of ancient

ancient records, says * that the first use he has been able to find of the word *Parliament* in this sense, is in a record of the 28th year of King *Henry III.* (A. D. 1244,) but long before that period, councils, such as I have described, were certainly held by our Kings; at which, it would appear, that all Earls and Barons originally used to attend and vote. We learn, from *Domesday-book*, that there were, in the time of *William I.* not more than 760 persons holding baronies, in the whole kingdom; and of these, about the half were invested with peculiar offices and dignities, which probably rendered their attendance more frequent and regular, than that of the other Barons.

The civil contests, which arose in the latter part of the reign of *Henry III.*, rendered each party anxious to strengthen itself, by an accession of numbers; and with this view, in the year 1264 *Simon de Montford* Earl of Leicester, issued, in the name of the King, whom he then held captive, a summons directed, not only to the former members of the *Commune Concilium*, but to two other classes of men, who, as far as appears, were never before assembled for such a purpose. These classes were the representatives of the shires or counties, and those of the cities and burghs; and the writ, by virtue of which they were summoned, is still preserved, among the ancient records of the kingdom. † The measure, though contrived for an unlawful purpose, was found so admirably suited to the then state of society, that Edward I., the wise and energetic son of *Henry*, deemed it a fit model for imitation, and the first legal parliament, accordingly took place in the 23d year of his reign, (A. D. 1295.) The writs, which, with little variation of form, are in use at the present day, were directed to the sheriffs of each county, ordering them to cause to be chosen two *Knights* for the county, two *Citizens* for each city, therein, and two *Burgesses* for each burgh, “ of the most discreet and fit for business; so that the said knights might have power for the *community of the county*, and the said citizens and burgesses (separately from the knights) to have power for the *com-*

* See PRYNNE's animadversions on the Fourth Institute 1669, p. 2. About 35 years after this publication of Prynne's, the great and valuable collection of RYMER was given to the world. It begins with the year 1101, and contains very many documents speaking of the *concilium magnatum*, but none in which the word *parliamentum* is employed to signify such an assembly, in *England*, until 1264. Every one knows that the authenticity of the *modus tenendi parliamentum* cited by COKE, as prior to the Conquest, has been fully disproved by Prynne. There exists, in the library of Trinity College Dublin, a MS. entitled “ *Modus tenendi Parliamenta in Hibernia, ordinatus per Henricum II.*” but it is probably of much later date, than that sovereign's reign.

† It is printed, at length, in the first volume of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 802.

munities of the cities and burghs." The persons, thus chosen, were to meet the King, on an appointed day, at his royal palace, where he was to have a conference with the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other great men of the kingdom; and the representatives above described were "to do what should be ordained by the *Commune Concilium*." Henceforward, the political constitution of the country received a totally new form: the *Commune Concilium* was gradually modified into a *House of Peers*, and the representative body into a *House of Commons*; but upon the manner, in which the change was operated, I wish to make one or two remarks.

1. You will observe, that the institution of municipal corporations, instead of proving unfavourable to general liberty, produced a result the very reverse. It placed the landed and trading interests, on one and the same footing; and gave to the term *Commons* a greater latitude, in England, than in any other country. From the time of William I. the number of baronies having greatly increased, it had become impossible, that all those, who held of the King directly (or *in chief*, as it is termed,) should attend the *Commune Concilium*; and therefore, in 1254, the minor Barons were probably well enough satisfied, to send their representatives, the Knights. On the other hand, the municipal corporations, having gradually acquired a considerable degree of weight and influence, their representatives were probably on a level, in point of respectability, with those of the * minor Barons. I shall not go into the disputed question, whether these different classes, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, which now form our House of Commons, did actually sit and vote together, from the very beginning.† All that is material to my observation, is, that upon, or soon after, the first summoning of the Citizens and Burgesses to Parliament, they were indiscriminately confounded with the Knights, under the general term *Commons*; which word, therefore, did not, like your expression, *Tiers Etat*, exclude all notion of feudal superiority; as on the

* In fact we find writs directed to the Mayor and Barons of London, as in 1 Rymer. 222. A. D. 1217.

† *Brady* and some other modern writers state, that the Knights, at first, sate with the Earls and greater Barons; but *Prynne* cites a record of 6 Edw. III. (A. D. 1352,) by which it clearly appears, that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, then sate together, and also that they sate apart from the Clergy and greater Barons. The words are "as queux prelatz ove la clergie par eux mesmes, & les countes & barons par eux mesmes, chivalers & gentz des countes, & gentz de la commune par eux mesmes." It may also be observed, that the preamble to the statute of York, A. D. 1355, clearly shows, that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses proceeded, on petition, together, for the *Commons*, and that the King thereupon took the advice of "his Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other Nobles of his realm."

other hand, the term *nobility*, did not, with us, comprehend the whole landed interest, or convey the idea of a separate feudal order; but was merely employed to express a high dignity, connected with certain hereditary duties and privileges. I know not, that any writer has viewed the subject, precisely in this light; but it appears to me, that the chief difference, between the constitution of society in England, and that which has obtained in most of the continental kingdoms, may be traced to this fortunate equalization of the representatives of counties, with those of cities and burghs; in other words, to the early importance of our municipal corporations.

2. The next remark, which occurs to me, as material, is, that from the very origin of our representative system, population never was the basis of representation; but privilege and property alone were so. You have observed, that the writs speak of two kinds of communities, the community of the county, and that of the city or burgh; but you are not to suppose, that in either case, the whole of the inhabitants were comprehended, under this description. The *community of the county* comprised only the free proprietors of land in the county, men who, in general, had vassals under them, and formed a highly privileged class, called in the Norman dialect, *Barons*, and in the Saxon, *Free-holders*.* These were the persons, who voted at the elections of Knights of the Shire: nor was there any particular limitation, as to the extent or value of the † *franktenement*, on which their elective franchise depended, until the year 1429, when it was settled by law, at the annual rent of *forty shillings*, the money price of land being then extremely low. ‡ This enactment, however, has never since been varied: and it has consequently happened, by the progressive rise of prices, that almost every landed proprietor, in the kingdom, has become entitled to a vote; so that the number of county electors is probably now above a hundred thousand.§ As to the *communities*

* In German and Danish they were called *Frey-Herr*, *Free Herre*, (free Lords) as we still say *Lords* of manors.

† The word *franktenement* employed in the statute of 1429, (8 Hen. VI. c. 7.) is also used in the old Norman *Coutumier*, which *Houard* supposes to be founded on the Ripuarian laws, confirmed by *Rollo*, Duke of Normandy.

‡ Nearly about this time, three horses sold for three shillings each, and six cows for two shillings and eight-pence each. See *Fleetwood*, Chron. Prec.

§ The following has been published; as a statement of the number of electors in Great Britain; but its authority is uncertain:

England	-	-	112,875
Wales	-	-	6,512
Scotland	-	-	2,697

122,084

of cities and burghs, they were a select number of persons, consisting of the magistrates, or men of the largest property, in each city or burgh, who held the management of the municipal affairs; but they, by no means, included the common, or inferior class of inhabitants, who were always under the direction of the communities. It is true, that at present, the members of parliament, for some particular burghs, are chosen on a more comprehensive principle, as, by the freemen, the inhabitant householders paying scot and lot, or the like; but this has happened, partly from charters of Kings subsequent to Edward I., and partly from acts of the legislature disfranchising some corporations, on account of gross misconduct at elections, or from other local and particular causes. Hence, however, has resulted a considerable diversity in our representative system: and perhaps general liberty is, on the whole, better preserved by the different modes of distributing influence, than if it all flowed in the same channel; for, I apprehend, you know human nature too well, to believe, that in any form of society, elections, or high and important trusts, can be wholly carried on, without the influence of superior wealth, or rank, or eloquence, or intrigue.

3. I shall trouble you, with only one more remark on the circumstances attending the calling the citizens and burgesses to parliament. Undoubtedly, the great object of *Edward I.*, in so doing, was the same, which prompted your *Philip le Bel*, in 1302, for the first time, to convoke the *States-General* of France, namely, the raising a revenue, with greater ease and certainty. At first, the representatives of the Commons only met to do what should be ordained, in this respect, by the *concilium magnatum*; and when the subsidies were granted, they went home. In a short time, they became so bold, as to accompany their grants with petitions* for the redress of grievances, which were sometimes attended to, but more frequently disregarded: and it is remarkable, that up to the present hour, certain acts of the English Parliament retain the form of a petition to the King, beginning, after a short preamble, thus: "May it please Your Majesty that it may be enacted." This, however, has long been mere matter of form; for in the reign of *Edward IV.* about A. D. 1410, the representatives of the Commons formally laid claim to a share, in the general exercise of the legislative power: and the King, who held his crown by a disputed title, assented to their demand. Ever since that period, the weight

* Boulainvilliers observes, that in 1302 the *Tiers Etat* presented only a petition, and that kneeling.

and influence of corporate bodies has been distinctly visible, in the proceedings of the legislature: and civil liberty has found its most secure guarantee, in the permanence of those establishments, throughout the kingdom. So sensibly was this felt by the evil counsellors of *Charles II.* and his brother *James*, that wishing to establish a corrupt and despotic power, they thought the success of their plan impossible, without first depriving the city of *London*, and other municipal bodies, of their charters, which, partly by force, and partly by chicane, they, in many instances, effected; but the celebrated authors of the Revolution of 1688, totally unlike the revolutionists of the present day, made it their first care to re-establish those bulwarks of the social edifice; and whereas some persons had thought the dissolution of the corporations, in strictness of law, within the royal prerogative, they took care to put the matter beyond dispute, for the future, at least, as far as regards the metropolis, by a* statute solemnly enacting, that the franchises of the city of London should never thereafter be seized or forejudged, for any forfeiture or misdemeanor whatever.

In the early periods of our parliamentary history, the summonses to cities and burghs appear to have been very irregular. When the legislative authority of the House began to be fully recognized, the rule of issuing writs to all the cities and burghs, which had been *accustomed* to send members, was adopted; but still the successive Kings, up to *Charles II.* exercised the power of imprivileging other towns, by charter, to be represented in Parliament. In Charles's reign, the members for England and Wales, including the Knights of Shires, amounted to 513, since which period, the Union with Scotland has added 45 members, and that with Ireland 100; making in all 658, the number now fixed by law. Various propositions have been tendered to the House, from time to time, for reforming its constitution; but the great danger of touching chartered and prescriptive rights, of such moment and antiquity, has hitherto conduced, together with other weighty and important reasons, to the rejection of all novel theories, of this kind, however specious and captivating. Besides, it is seen, that though, in a few particular instances, corporate privileges may be abused; yet our chief municipal corporations are still so admirably composed, as at once to foster public spirit, to insure obedience to the laws, to convert party itself into a salutary spring of action, and to unite, in an extraordinary degree, the principles of loyalty and liberty.

* Stat. 2. Will. & Mar. Sess. 1. c. 8.

Of this, you will be more fully convinced, when I lay before you a sketch of the present constitution, and usages of the corporation of London. I have, however, so far intruded on your patience already, that I must reserve what I have to say, on these topics, to a future letter; and hasten to subscribe myself,

Dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. J.

LETTER III.

On the Life of John Wesley, the Founder of the English Methodists.

To the Viscount de C —.

Dear Sir,

YOU are aware, that the sect of Methodists has existed, in England, for the greater part of a century; that it has become very numerous, and reckons its annual increase by thousands; that it has its seminaries and its hierarchy; and, in short, that it forms a distinct people in the state, an *imperium in imperio*. Wherever one sees mankind thus congregated, and thus animated by an identity of feeling, one naturally wishes to learn something of the founder of their union, who, in the present instance, was an Englishman, named *John Wesley*. His history is perhaps little known in England, beyond the limits of what is called the "religious public;" and I apprehend, that in France it is scarcely known at all. Yet the curiosity is far from unreasonable, which leads one to inquire into the life of a great man; and Wesley is entitled to that appellation, not less by his talents and his virtues, than by his objects and his success. I therefore, with pleasure, take up my pen, to begin the portrait, which you solicit, though well aware, that my present limits will not allow me to finish it; but I will trace the apostle of methodism, up to the period of his first mission: and in a future letter, I will present you with the continuation of his spiritual labours.

The Jesuit historians have remarked, with much complacency, that in the year of Luther's birth, Loyola was born also; Providence, they say, having wisely appointed, that when so large a portion of Christendom was to be separated from the Catholic church, by means of the great German heresiarch, the great Spanish saint should give birth to an order, by which the Catholic faith should be strenuously supported in Europe, and disseminated widely in the other parts of the world. Voltaire and Wesley

Wesley were not, indeed, in like manner, children of the same year, but they were contemporaries, through a longer course of time; and the influences, which they exercised, upon their age, and upon posterity, have not been less remarkably opposed. While the one scattered, with fatal activity, the seeds of immorality and unbelief; the other, with equally unweariable zeal, laboured in the cause of religious enthusiasm. The works of Voltaire have found their way, wherever the French language is read; the disciples of Wesley, wherever the English is spoken. The principles of the arch-infidel have been more rapid in their operation: he, who aimed at no such evil, as that, which he contributed, so greatly, to bring about, was himself startled at their progress; and in his latter days, trembled at the consequences, which he then foresaw; and indeed his remains had scarcely mouldered in the grave, before those consequences brought down the whole plan of government in France, overturned her altars, subverted her throne, carried guilt, devastation, and misery into every part of his own country, and shook the rest of Europe; like an earthquake. Wesley's doctrines, meantime, were slowly and gradually winning their way; but they advanced, every year, with accelerated force; and their effect must ultimately be more general, more powerful, and more permanent; for he has set mightier principles at work. Let it not however be supposed; that I would represent these eminent men, like agents of the Good and Evil principle, in all things contrasted: the one was not all darkness, neither was the other all light.

Fortes creantur fortibus. Wesley was emphatically of a good family, in the sense, wherein he himself would have used the term. His grandfather, John Wesley, during his studies at Oxford, under the Commonwealth, was distinguished for his piety; and his progress in the oriental tongues; by which he attracted the particular notice and esteem of Dr. Owen, the Vice-chancellor, a man, whom the orthodox dissenters still regard as the greatest of their divines. If the government had continued in the hands of Cromwell's family, this patronage would have raised Wesley to distinction. The Act of Uniformity ejected him from the living of Blandford, in Dorsetshire; and he thought of emigrating to Maryland, or to Surinam, where the English were intending to colonize; but reflection and advice determined him to take his lot in his own country. There, by continuing to preach, he became obnoxious to the laws, and was four times imprisoned; his spirits were broken, by the loss of those, whom he loved best, and by the evil times; he died at the early age of three or four and thirty; and such was the spirit of the times, that the vicar of the place, in which he died, would not allow his body to be buried in the church. His wife

wife was of a good stock, being niece to Fuller the church-historian, a man not more remarkable, for wit and quaintness, than for the felicity, with which he clothed fine thoughts in beautiful language. He left two sons, of whom Samuel, the younger, was only eight, or nine years old, at the time of his father's death. The circumstances of the father's life and sufferings, which have given him a place among the confessors of the Non-conformists, were likely to influence the opinions of the son; but happening to fall in with bigotted and ferocious men, he saw the worst part of the dissenting character. Their defence of the execution of Charles shocked, and their Calf's Head Club disgusted him, so much, that, while yet a boy, he separated from them; and, because of their intolerance, joined the church; which had persecuted his father. This conduct, which was the result of feeling, was approved by his riper judgment; and Samuel Wesley continued through life a zealous churchman. About the age of sixteen, he walked to Oxford: entered himself of Exeter College; and began his studies there, with no larger a fund, than two pounds sixteen shillings, and no prospect of any future supply. From that time, till he graduated, a single crown was all the assistance he received from his friends. He composed exercises, for those, who had more money than learning; and he instructed those, who wished to profit by his lessons; and thus, by great industry, and great frugality, he not only supported himself, but had accumulated the sum of ten pounds fifteen shillings, when he went to London, to be ordained. Having served a curacy one year, and as chaplain, during another, on board a king's ship, he settled upon a curacy in London, and married Susannah, the daughter of Dr. Annesley, one of the ejected ministers.

No man was ever more suitably matched, than the elder Wesley. The wife, whom he chose, was, like himself, the child of a man eminent among the Non-conformists; and like himself, in early youth, she had chosen her own path: she had examined the controversy, between the dissenters and the church of England, with the utmost diligence, and satisfied herself, that the schismatics were in the wrong. The dispute, it must be remembered, related wholly to discipline; but her enquiries had not stopt here, and she had reasoned herself into Socinianism, from which she was reclaimed by her husband. She was an admirable woman, of highly improved mind, and of a strong and masculine understanding; an obedient wife, an exemplary mother, a fervent Christian. Her husband soon attracted notice, by his learning and ability. Talents found their way, in that age, less readily into public, than at present; and therefore, when they appeared, they obtained attention the sooner. He was thought
capable

capable of forwarding the plans of James II. with regard to religion; and preferment was promised him, if he would preach in behalf of the King's measures. But instead of reading the King's declaration, as he was required, and though surrounded with courtiers, soldiers, and informers, he preached boldly against the designs of the court; taking, for his text, the pointed language of the prophet Daniel. "If it be so, our God, whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace; and he will deliver us out of thy hand, Oh King! But if not, be it known unto thee, Oh King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up." When the Revolution was effected, Mr. Wesley was the first, who wrote in its defence; this work he dedicated to Queen Mary, and was rewarded for it with the living of Epworth, in Lincolnshire. It was a large parish, containing about 2000 souls; but he found them in a profligate state; and the zeal with which he discharged his duty in admonishing them of their sins, excited a spirit of diabolical hatred in those whom it failed to reclaim. Here, on the 17th of June, 1703, his second son John, the subject of my present letter, was born.

The wretches, who hated their pastor, had twice attempted, without success, to set his house on fire: they succeeded in a third attempt. At midnight, some burning pieces of wood fell upon one of his daughters, and awoke her. At the same time Mr. Wesley, hearing a cry of fire, from the street, started. His wife was very ill at the time, and therefore slept in another room. Bidding her and the two eldest girls go shift for themselves, he burst open the nursery-door, where the maid lay with five children: she snatched up the youngest, and bade the rest follow her; the three elder did; but John, who was at this time six years old, was not awakened by all this; and in the alarm, he was forgotten. By the time they reached the hall, the flames were all round them, and Mr. Wesley then found, that the keys of the door were above stairs. He ran, and recovered them, a minute before the staircase took fire. When the door was opened, a strong north-east wind drove in the flames with such violence, that none could stand against them. Some of the children, however, got through the windows, others through a little door, into the garden. Unable to do either, owing to the state in which she then was, Mrs. Wesley, after three times attempting it in vain, rushed through the flames, into the street, naked as she was, and escaped with some slight scorching of the head and face. At this time, the child was heard to cry in the nursery: until that moment he had not been remembered. The father ran to the stairs, but they were then so nearly consumed, that they could not bear his weight; and being utterly in despair, he fell on

on his knees, in the hall, and in agony recommended the soul of the child to God. John, meantime, who had been awakened by the light, ran to the door, and finding it impossible to escape there, climbed up upon a chest that stood near the window. He was seen from the yard: there was no time to fetch a ladder; but it was happily a low house, one man was hoisted up upon the shoulders of another, and was then able to take him out at the window: a moment later, and it would have been too late; the whole roof fell in, but it fell inward, or they must have all been crushed together. When the child was carried into the house where his parents were, the father cried out, "Come neighbours, let us kneel down, let us give thanks to God! he has given me all my eight children; let the house go; I am rich enough!" This providential escape was ever remembered by John Wesley, through life, with the deepest gratitude. Under one of his portraits, there is the representation of a house in flames, with this motto: "Is not this a brand plucked out of the burning?"

Mr. Wesley had no less than nineteen children; of these only three sons and three daughters seem to have grown up. The manner, in which they were taught to read, is remarkable: the mother never began with them, till they were five years old, and then they were taught the alphabet perfectly in one day. The next day, they were put to spell, and read one line, and then a verse, never leaving it till they were perfect in the lesson. If Queen Mary had lived longer, Mr. Wesley would have obtained more preferment. A poem, which he printed, upon the battle of Blenheim, pleased the Duke of Marlborough, and he rewarded the author with the chaplainship of a regiment. A farther and better reward was held out to his expectations; and he was invited to London by a nobleman, who promised to procure him a prebend. This, the dissenters were, at that time, powerful enough to prevent. The dissenters are good haters, and they hated Mr. Wesley the more cordially; because they looked upon him as one who, having been born in their service, had cast off his allegiance. They intercepted his preferment, "they worked him out of his chaplainship, and brought several other very severe sufferings upon him and his family." Mr. Wesley was, indeed, one of their most conspicuous antagonists, and a man, whose life, as well as his learning, gave weight and authority to his opinions. The high estimation, in which he was held, by the high churchmen, cannot better be proved, than by the circumstance, that he was the person, who composed Dr. Sacheverel's defence. He was so well versed in the languages necessary for a biblical scholar, as to have planned an edition of the Bible, in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Septuagint, and Vulgate. As a poet, he failed

in attempting the Life of Christ; but his minor performances are of respectable merit. His name, indeed, appeared in an Irish edition of the Dunciad, coupled with that of Watts. Pope retracted this satire, as far as it was possible to retract it: he had become acquainted with Mr. Wesley's eldest son, Samuel; and the attack upon a man so blameless as Dr. Watts, so distinguished for genius, as well as for every christian virtue, recoiled upon himself, and has left one of those stains upon his memory, which are not to be removed. For Wesley and Watts, he substituted the names of Wither and Quarles; and the alteration was as little creditable to him, as the original.

Mr. Wesley usually attended the sittings of convocation. This, upon his principles, became a part of his duty, and he performed it at an expence of money, which he could ill spare, from the necessities of so large a family, and at a cost of time, which was injurious to his parish. During these absences, as there was no afternoon-service at Epworth, Mrs. Wesley prayed with her own family, on Sunday evenings, read a sermon, and engaged in religious conversation. Some of the parishioners, who came in accidentally, were not excluded; neither did she think it proper, that they should interrupt the duty of the hour. Others then requested permission to attend; and in this manner, from thirty to forty persons usually assembled. But one year, she happened to find an account of the Danish missionaries in her husband's study, and was deeply impressed by the perusal; it strengthened her desire of doing good; she chose "the best and most awakening sermons," and spoke with more freedom, more warmth, more affection, to the neighbours, who assembled at her evening prayers; their numbers increased, for she dared not deny any who asked admittance; more came, at length, than the apartment could hold; and the thing was represented to her husband, in such a manner, that he wrote to her, objecting to her conduct, because, he said "it looked particular," because of her sex, and because he was, at that time, in a public station and character, which rendered it the more necessary, that she should do nothing to attract censure; and he recommended, that some other person should read for her. She began her reply by heartily thanking him, for dealing so plainly and faithfully with her, in a matter of no common concern. "As to its *looking particular*," she said, "I grant it does, and so does almost every thing, that is serious, or that may any way advance the glory of God or the salvation of souls, if it be performed out of a pulpit, or in the way of common conversation; because in our corrupt age, the utmost care and diligence has been used, to banish all discourse of God, or spiritual concerns out of society, as if religion were never to appear out
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of the closet, and we were to be ashamed of nothing so much, as of confessing ourselves to be Christians." To the objection, on account of her sex, she answered, that as she was a woman, so was she also mistress of a large family; and though the superior charge lay upon him, as their head and minister; yet in his absence, she could not but look upon every soul, which he had left under her care, as a talent committed to her, under a trust, by the great Lord of all the families of heaven and earth; "If," she added, "I am unfaithful to him, or to you, in neglecting to improve these talents, how shall I answer unto him, when he shall command me to render an account of my stewardship?" The objections, which arose from his own station and character, she left entirely to his own judgment. Why any person should reflect upon him, because his wife endeavoured to draw people to church, and restrain them, by reading, and other persuasions, from profaning the Sabbath, she could not conceive; and if any were mad enough to do so, she hoped he would not regard it. "For my own part," she says, "I value no censure, on this account; I have long since shook hands with the world, and I heartily wish, I had never given them more reason to speak against me." As to the proposal of letting some other person read for her, she thought her husband had not considered what a people they were: not a man among them could read a sermon, without spelling a good part of it; and how would that edify the rest? And none of her own family had voices strong enough to be heard by so many. While Mrs. Wesley thus conducted herself, in a manner, which she thought, must prove convincing to her husband, as well as to her own calm judgment, the curate of Epworth (a man who seems to have been entitled to very little respect) wrote to Mr. Wesley, in a very different strain, complaining, that a conventicle was held in his house. The name was well chosen, to alarm so high a churchman; and his second letter expressed a decided disapprobation of these meetings, to which he had made no serious objections before. Some days elapsed, before she answered it; deeming it necessary, that both should take some time to consider, before they determined, in a matter, which she felt to be of great importance. She expressed her astonishment, that any effect upon his opinions, much more any change in them, should be produced by the senseless clamours of two or three of the worst in his parish; and represented to him the good, which had been done, by inducing a much more frequent and regular attendance at church, and reforming the general habits of the people; and the evil, which would result from discontinuing these meetings; especially by the prejudices, it would excite against the curate, in those persons, who were sensible of the benefit, which they

they derived from these religious opportunities, which would then be taken away, through his interference. After stating these things clearly and judiciously, she concluded thus, in reference to her own duty as a wife: "If you do, after all, think fit to dissolve this assembly, do not tell me, that you *desire* me to do it, for that will not satisfy my conscience; but send me your *positive command*, in such full and express terms, as may absolve me from guilt and punishment, for neglecting this opportunity of doing good, when you and I shall appear before the great and awful tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Mr. Wesley made no farther objections; and thoroughly respecting, as he did, the principles and the understanding of his wife, he was perhaps ashamed, that the representations of meaner minds should, even for a moment, have prejudiced him against her conduct. John and Charles were, at this time, under their mother's care, and it is evident, that these circumstances had no inconsiderable influence upon their conduct, when they became the founders and directors of a new community of Christians. The providential escape of John from the fire, had deeply impressed his mother, as it did himself, through all his after life. Among the private meditations, which were found among her papers, was one written not long after that event, in which she expressed in prayer her intention to be *more particularly* careful of the soul of this child, which God had so mercifully provided for; that she might instil into him the principles of true religion and virtue: "Lord," she said, "give me grace to do it sincerely and prudently, and bless my attempts with good success." The care, which was thus taken of his religious education, the habitual and fervent piety of both his parents, and his own surprising preservation, at an age, when he was perfectly capable of remembering all the circumstances, combined then to foster in the child that disposition, which afterwards developed itself with such force, and produced such extraordinary effects.

Talents of no ordinary kind, as well as devotion, were hereditary in this remarkable family. Samuel, the elder brother, who was eleven years older than John, could not speak at all, till he was more than four years old, and in consequence was thought to be deficient in understanding. But it seems, as if the child had been laying up his stores in secret, till that time; for one day, when some question was proposed to another person concerning him, he answered it himself, in a manner, which astonished all who heard him, and from that time continued to speak without difficulty. He distinguished himself first at Westminster, and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford, by his classical attainments. From Christ Church he returned to West-

minster, as usher, and then took orders, under the patronage of Atterbury. But he regarded Atterbury more as a friend, than a patron; and holding the same political opinions, he attracted the resentment of the ministers, by assailing them with epigrams and satires. On this account, when the situation of under master became vacant, and he was proposed, as a man eminently qualified to fill it, by experience, talents, and character, the appointment was refused, upon the irrelevant objection that he was a married man. Charles was placed under him at Westminster, and going through college in like manner, was also elected to Christ Church. John was educated at the Charter House, and had some reason to complain of the tyranny, which the elder boys were permitted to exercise. This evil at one time existed very generally in English schools, through the culpable negligence of the masters; if a system had been designed for cultivating the worst dispositions of human nature, it could not more effectually have answered the purpose. The boys of the higher forms, at the Charter House, used then to take their portion of meat from the younger ones: and during great part of the time that Wesley remained there, a small daily portion of bread was his only daily food. Those theoretical physicians, who recommend spare diet for the human animal, might appeal with triumph to the length of days which he attained, and the vigorous constitution which he enjoyed. He himself imputed this blessing, in great measure, to the strict obedience with which he performed an injunction of his father's, that he should run round the Charter House garden, three times, every morning. Here, his quietness and application made him a favourite with the master; and through life he retained so great a predilection for the place, that on his annual visit to London, he made it a custom to walk through this scene of his boyhood. To most men, every year would make a pilgrimage of this kind more painful than the last; but Wesley seems never to have looked back with melancholy upon the days that were gone over; earthly regrets of this nature could find no room in one, who was continually pressing onward to the goal.

At the age of seventeen, he was removed to Christ Church; he had acquired some knowledge of Hebrew, under his brother Samuel, before he went to Oxford; and continuing his studies there with all diligence, became noticed for his attainments, and especially for his skill in logic, an art, by which he frequently put to silence those, who contended with him. A charge was once brought against him, that he delighted to puzzle his opponents, by his expertness in sophistry. This he repelled with indignation; "It has been my first care," said he, "to see that my cause was good,

good, and never, either in jest or earnest, to defend the wrong side of a question; and shame on me, if I cannot defend the right after so much practice, and after having been so early accustomed to separate truth from falsehood, how artfully soever they are twisted together." Like his father and both his brothers, he was no inexpert versifier at this time; this practice, however, he discontinued, when ascetic opinions began to influence him, and the honour of being the "sweet singer" of methodism was reserved for his brother Charles. While indeed he was an undergraduate, his manners were gay and sprightly, and that activity of disposition, which carried him afterwards through such unintermitted labour, displayed itself in wit and vivacity. But when the age arrived, at which he might have taken orders, Wesley, who was not a man to act lightly upon any occasion, and least of all upon so solemn a one, began to reflect seriously upon the importance of the office, and to feel some scruples, concerning the motives, by which a man ought to be influenced, when he determines to take upon himself so awful a charge. These scruples he communicated to his father, who answered them sensibly, hinting to him at the same time, "that he thought it too soon for him to be ordained, and encouraging him to work while he could." The letter was written with a trembling hand: "you see," said the old man, "time has shaken me by the hand, and death is but a little behind him; my eyes and heart are now almost all I have left, and I bless God for them." The mother, however, thought, that the sooner he was a deacon the better, because it might be an inducement to greater application in the study of practical divinity. "And now," said she, "in good earnest, resolve to make religion the business of your life; for after all, that is the one thing that, strictly speaking, is necessary, all things beside are comparatively little to the purposes of life. I heartily wish, you would now enter upon a strict examination of yourself, that you may know whether you have a reasonable hope of salvation by Jesus Christ. If you have, the satisfaction of knowing it will abundantly reward your pains; if you have not, you will find a more reasonable occasion for tears than can be met with in a tragedy."

The advice of his mother, and his own devotional feelings, which were now rapidly strengthening, made him become more desirous of entering upon his ministerial career. The father seeing this, judged it advisable also that he should be ordained in the ensuing summer; "but in the first place," said he, "if you love yourself or me, pray heartily." Two books, which he read in the course of this preparation, laid strong hold upon him; the first was the famous treatise *De Imitatione Christi*, imputed,

upon insufficient and disputed evidence, to Thomas a Kempis. The view, which is taken in that work, of human life and of Christian duties, revolted him at first, and upon this, as upon all other subjects, consulting both his parents as his natural and best advisers, he represents it with humility, as a misfortune, that he differed from the writer in some main points. "I cannot think," said he, "that when God sent us into the world, he had irreversibly decreed, that we should be perpetually miserable in it. If our taking up the cross imply our bidding adieu to all joy and satisfaction, how is it reconcilable with what Solomon expressly affirms of religion, that *her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace*. Another of his tenets is, that mirth or pleasure is useless, if not sinful; and that nothing is an affliction to a good man; that he ought to thank God even for sending him misery. This, in my opinion," he adds, "is contrary to God's design in afflicting us; for though he chasteneth those whom he loveth, yet it is in order to humble them." His mother agreed with him, that the author of this treatise had more zeal than knowledge, and was one of those men who would unnecessarily strew the way of life with thorns. "Would you judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of pleasure," she said, "take this rule: whatever weakens your reason, impairs the tenderness of your conscience, obscures your sense of God, or takes off the relish of spiritual things, — in short, whatever increases the strength and authority of your body over your mind, that thing is sin to you, however innocent it may be in itself." Well might Wesley consult, upon such questions, a mother, who was capable of reasoning and writing thus. The father expressed a different opinion; "all men," he said, "were apt to verge toward extremes, but mortification was still an indispensable Christian duty. If the young man will *rejoice in his youth*, let him take care that his joys be innocent, and in order to this, remember, that *for all these things* God will bring him into judgment." The book had been his "friend and old companion, and he thought that making some grains of allowance, it might be read to great advantage, — nay, that it was almost impossible to peruse it seriously, without admiring, and in some measure imitating it's heroic strains of humility, piety, and devotion." But he referred him to his mother, saying, "that she had leisure to bould the matter to the bran." This reference to the judgment of a woman, upon such a subject, will appear less extraordinary, if it be remembered, that the practice of giving girls a learned education, which began in England with the Reformation, had not been laid aside in the days of Mrs. Wesley's youth; that she understood Greek and Latin;

Latin; and that her education had been theological, as well as learned. Her attainments, however, had not made her pedantic, neither had her talents, and the deference, which was paid to them by her husband and her sons, rendered her presumptuous. She speaks of herself, in this correspondence, as infirm and slow of understanding; but expresses the delight which it gave her to correspond with her son upon such subjects.

The treatise *De Imitatione Christi* appeared to offend Wesley's reason, as well as the instincts of hilarity and youth. But the impression, which Thomas à Kempis, or Gerson failed to make, was produced by the work of a far more powerful intellect, and an imagination infinitely more fervent, Jeremy Taylor's *Rules of Holy Living and Dying*. He had been trained up in religious habits, and when his religious feelings were excited, they soon became pre-eminent over all others. That part in particular of this splendid work, which relates to *purity of intention*, affected him exceedingly. "Instantly," he says, "I resolved to dedicate *all* my life to God, — *all* my thoughts, and words, and actions, being thoroughly convinced, there was no medium; but that *every part* of my life (not *some* only) must either be a sacrifice to God, or myself, — that is, in effect, to the Devil." The book, which he had found repulsive at first, appeared so no longer. Bishop Taylor had prepared the way for the ascetic author, and he began to find in the perusal, "sensible comfort, such as he was an utter stranger to before." His father, who had once thought him wanting in theopathy, and probably for that reason had wished him to delay his ordination, perceived the change with joy. "God fit you for your great work!" he said to him. "Fast, watch, and pray; believe, love, endure, and be happy, towards which you shall never want the most ardent prayers of your affectionate father." He removed some scruples, which his son expressed, concerning the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed, (that creed of which Tillotson wished the church of England were well rid,) and Wesley soon afterward, in the autumn of 1725, was ordained by Dr. Potter, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the ensuing spring, he offered himself for a fellowship at Lincoln College. Even in college elections there is play enough for evil passions, and too much license allowed them. Though Wesley was not yet eccentric in his habits of life, the strictness of his religious principles was sufficiently remarkable, to afford subject for satire; and his opponents hoped to prevent his success by making him ridiculous. Upon this occasion, his father told him it was a callow virtue, that could not bear being laughed at. His mother encouraged him in a different manner. "If,"

said she, "it be a weak virtue that cannot bear being laughed at, I am sure it is a strong and well confirmed virtue, that can stand the test of a brisk buffoonery. Many people, though well inclined, have yet made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, merely because they could not bear raillery. I would therefore advise those who are in the beginning of a Christian course, to shun the company of profane wits, as they would the plague or poverty, and never to contract an intimacy with any but such as have a good sense of religion." Notwithstanding this kind of opposition, he attained the object in view, and was elected Fellow in March 1726, being much assisted by his brother Samuel's influence, and by the good-will of the rector of the college. This was a great joy to his father, who was now far advanced in the vale of years. In writing to congratulate him, he says, "What will be my own fate before the summer be over, God knows; *sed passi graviora*. Wherever I am, my Jack is Fellow of Lincoln."

The elder Wesley held, at this time, the living of Wroote as well as Epworth. Age and infirmity made him unequal to the duty of both, especially as the road between them was bad, and sometimes dangerous in the winter. His son John, therefore, officiated as his curate at Wroote about two years, and was then summoned to his college by a regulation, that the junior fellows who should be chosen moderators, should in person attend the duties of their office. Taking up his residence at college, he there became a tutor, and presided in the hall, as moderator, in the disputations, which were held six times a week; an office which exercised and quickened his habits of logical discrimination. Some time before his return to Oxford, he had travelled many miles to see what is called "a serious man." This person said to him, "Sir, you wish to serve God and go to heaven. Remember, you cannot serve him alone; you must therefore *find* companions or *make* them: the Bible knows nothing of solitary religion." Wesley never forgot these words; and it happened, that while he was residing upon his curacy, such a society was prepared for him, at Oxford, as he could have wished. His brother Charles, who was five years younger than himself, was elected from Westminster to Christ Church, just after he obtained his fellowship. He was diligent in his studies, and regular in his life; but when John sought to press upon him the importance of austerer habits, and a more fervent devotion, he protested warmly against becoming a saint all at once, and turned a deaf ear to his admonitions. The process, however, which John vainly sought to accelerate was going on; his disposition, his early education, and the example of his parents and
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of both his brethren were in unison, and meeting with two or three under-graduates, whose inclinations and principles resembled his own, they associated together, for the purpose of religious improvement, lived by rule, and received the sacrament weekly. Such conduct would, at any time, have attracted observation in an English university, and at that time more especially, when a laxity of morals and opinions obtained, and infidelity was becoming so prevalent, that the Vice-chancellor had, in a *programma*, exhorted the tutors to discharge their duty towards their pupils by a double diligence, and had forbidden the under-graduates to read such books as might tend to the weakening of their faith. The greatest prudence would not have exempted men from ridicule, who, at such an age, and in such a scene, professed to make religion the great business of their lives, and prudence is rarely united with enthusiasm. They were called in derision the Sacramentarians, the holy or the godly club.* One person, with less irreverence and more learning, observed, in reference to their methodical manner of life, that a new sect of *methodists* was sprung up, alluding to the ancient school of physicians, who were known by that name. Appellations of opprobrious origin have often been adopted by the parties to which they were applied, as well as by the public, convenience legitimating the inventions of malice. In this instance, there was no maliciousness, and little wit; but there was some fitness in the name; it obtained vogue; and though long and sometimes still indiscriminately applied to all enthusiasts, and even to all who observe the forms of religion more strictly than their neighbours, it has become the appropriate designation of the sect of which Wesley is the founder.

It was to Charles Wesley and his few associates, therefore, that the name of Methodists was originally affixed; but these meetings acquired more form and consistency, when John returned to Oxford, and obtained an accession of numbers. His standing and character in the University gave him a degree of credit, and his erudition, and keen logic and ready speech, commanded respect wherever he was known. One of the earliest members, Mr. Morgan, seems to have been a man morbidly constituted, both in body and mind, and to have injured, by the practice of rigorous fasting, a constitution, which required a

* The elder Wesley says in a letter, "I hear my son John has the honour of being styled the Father of the Holy Club: if it be so, I am sure I must be the grandfather of it: and I need not say that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished, than to have the title of His Holiness."

very different treatment: but if his religion, in this point erroneous, led him to impose improper austerities upon himself, it made him indefatigable, in acts of real charity towards others: his heart, as well as his purse, was open to the poor and needy; he instructed little children, he visited the sick, and he prayed with the prisoners. In these things, he led the way, and the Wesleys have commemorated his virtues, as they deserve. Morgan died young, after a long illness, in which the misery of a gloomy religion aggravated the sufferings of disease. Wesley was accused of having been the cause of his death, by leading him into the austerities, which undoubtedly had accelerated it; but in these things Wesley had only followed him; and of this the father (who had at first expressed great indignation at the extravagance of his son's friends) was so well convinced at last, that he placed one of his children under his care. Two others of the party were men of considerable celebrity; Whitefield was one, who, after long co-operating with the Wesleys, separated from them, upon the question of predestination, and became the founder of the Calvinistic branch of the Methodists, or, as they now call themselves, Lady Huntingdon's Connection. James Harvey was the other, author of the *Meditations*, a book which has been translated into many languages, and for the shallowness of its matter, and its tinsel style, as much as for its devotional spirit, has become singularly popular.

Archbishop Leighton, one of the most exemplary ornaments of the English church, thought that a great and fatal error had been committed at the Reformation, in abolishing the religious orders, instead of purifying them? — Certain it is, that if such orders had existed, Wesley and Whitefield would have found their appropriate station in them, instead of becoming founders of a formidable schism. These first Methodists, who were about fifteen in number, drew up a scheme of self-examination, in which the obvious faults are, that so much self-examination would leave little time for any thing else; and that the proposed simplicity would end in producing the worst of artificial characters, where it made one saint out of a thousand, making the rest inevitably hypocrites. In this scheme, religion is defined to be *a recovery of the image of God*, nor can it be doubted, that they who framed it possessed, in an eminent degree, the love of God and of man, however injudicious, in some respects, were the means by which they proposed to promote and strengthen this disposition in themselves. But when Wesley had advanced in his career, he considered himself, at this time, in a state of great spiritual ignorance, and the two ministers, who drew up, for the use of the Methodists, and with their sanction, the life of their founder, say, that in this

scheme the great sincerity and earnestness of Wesley and his friends may be seen, but that "the darkness of their minds, as to gospel truths, is very evident to those, who are favoured with true evangelical views." To the younger members of the University, their conduct, which now rather affected singularity, than avoided it, was matter of general ridicule; and there were elder and wiser heads, who disapproved their course, as leading fast toward enthusiasm and extravagance. Wesley had not yet that confidence in his own judgment, which he afterwards displayed, and he wrote to his father for advice.♦ The principles upon which he proceeded were unexceptionable, the motives excellent, and the circumstances which gave offence and just alarm, would not only be unintentionally softened in his own representation, but would lose much of their weight when reported from a distance, and through this channel, to one prepossessed by natural affection. The father says in reply, "As to your designs and employments, what can I say less of them than *valde probo*; and that I have the highest reason to bless God for giving me two sons together at Oxford, to whom he has given grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the devil, which is the best way to conquer them." He advised them to obtain the approbation of the Bishop for visiting the prisoners, and encouraged them by saying that when he was an under-graduate he had performed this work of charity, and reflected on it with great comfort now in his latter days. He advised them to walk prudently, though not fearfully, and prayed that God would keep them humble. "Be not high-minded," said he; "preserve an equal temper of mind, under whatever treatment you meet with from a not very just or well-natured world. Bear no more evil than is necessary, but steer steady. The less you value yourself for these unfashionable duties, (as there is no such thing as works of supererogation,) the more all good and wise men will value you, if they see your actions are of a piece; and what is infinitely more, He by whom actions and intentions are weighed, will both accept and reward you."

Thus encouraged, and thus advised, he consulted the Bishop, who sanctioned and approved these proceedings. Of the principles and the acts themselves he could not but approve; the points which he might have disapproved were precisely those upon which it would not be thought necessary to consult him. About this time, Wesley became personally acquainted with William Law, a man whose writings completed what Jeremy Taylor and the treatise *De Imitatione Christi* had begun. Law is indeed a powerful writer; and it is said, that few books have ever made so many religious enthusiasts, as his *Christian Perfection*, and his
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Serious Call. The youth who should read them without being perilously affected, must have either a light mind, or an unusually strong one. But Law himself, who has shaken so many intellects, sacrificed his own at last to the reveries and rhapsodies of Jacob Behmen. Perhaps the art of engraving was never applied to a more extraordinary purpose, than that of expressing the nonsense of the German shoe-maker, in a series of prints, after Law's designs. His own happiness, however, was certainly not diminished; the system of the ascetic is dark and cheerless, but mysticism lives in a sunshine of its own, and dreams of the light of heaven; while the visions of the ascetic are such as the fear of the devil produces, rather than the love of God. It was in his happier state of mind, that Law was found by Wesley: and in this spirit he said to him: "You would have a philosophical religion, but there can be no such thing. Religion is the most plain, simple thing in the world. It is only *we love him because he first loved us.*" Wesley, on one occasion, confessed to him, that he felt greatly dejected, because he saw so little fruit from his labours. "My dear friend," replied Law, "you reverse matters from their proper order. You are to follow the Divine light wherever it leads you, in all your conduct. It is God alone, that gives the blessing. I pray you, always mind your own work, and go on with cheerfulness; and God, you may depend upon it, will take care of his. Besides, Sir, I perceive, you would fain convert the world! but you must wait God's own time." Perhaps he perceived the ambition, as well as the impatience of his friend's nature; but Wesley remembered his words, and loved to repeat them, when they came in aid of the system upon which he afterwards preached.

These visits to Law, who resided at that time near London, were performed on foot; the Wesleys travelling in this manner, that they might save the more money for the poor. It was then so little the custom for men in his rank of life to walk any distance, as to make him think it a discovery, that four or five and twenty miles are an easy and safe day's journey. He discovered also, that it was easy to read while walking. In after life, when Wesley carried his economy of time to the utmost, he used to read on horseback; till some severe falls, which he met with in consequence, convinced him that this practice might very probably cost him his life. The brothers also accustomed themselves to converse together in Latin, whenever they were alone; they found the advantage of acquiring this power, in their intercourse with the Germans. It is indeed a remarkable defect in modern education, that the habit of speaking a language, which is every where understood by all educated men, should nowhere

be taught in schools, as a regular part of the course of instruction. Yet at this time Wesley's mind was in that perturbed and restless state, that he began to doubt the utility, or even lawfulness of carnal studies. In a letter to his mother, written under great disquietude, he says, "To all who give signs of their not being strangers to it, I propose this question, and why not to you rather than any? Shall I quite break off my pursuit of all learning, but what immediately leads to practice? I once desired to make a fair show in languages and philosophy; but it is past: there is a more excellent way; and if I cannot attain to any progress in the one, without throwing up all thoughts of the other, why fare it well! Yet a little while, and we shall all be equal in knowledge, if we are in virtue." The elder brother, who was of riper judgment, and of less ardent disposition, began at this time to think that John was carrying his principles to excess, and exciting injurious prejudices against himself, by affecting singularity in things which were of no importance. Wesley, in defending himself, observed justly, that the practices which made him most singular, were those of early rising, and keeping little company, in the propriety of which there could be no difference of opinion between them. He gave up, however, one peculiarity, that he might give more to the poor. He would not be at the expence of having his hair dressed; he wore his hair remarkably long, and flowing loose upon his shoulders. His mother then feared that the practice injured his health, (for he was often indisposed,) and repeatedly urged him to have it taken off. Samuel proposed the middle course of cutting it shorter, by which means the singularity of his appearance was lessened, and the purposed economy was not interrupted. Samuel soon afterwards went to Oxford, that he might form a better opinion, upon the spot, than could be done from the contradictory accounts, which reached him, of his brethren's conduct. Their general conduct and all their principles received his most unqualified approbation; but he perceived that Morgan was far gone in his fatal malady, was diseased in mind as well as body, and had fallen into that wretched state of sickness, in which religion; instead of food and comfort, was, by a deplorable perversion of intellect, converted into a cause of wretchedness; and that Wesley was pursuing habits of austerity, in such disregard of health, as if he were eager for death, and was an enemy to his own "frail carcase." Morgan did not live long, and it appeared as if Wesley would soon follow him to that world, the preparation for which they seemed to consider not merely as the most important, but as the sole business of this. Hard study, exercise carried, sometimes in his journies, beyond his

his strength, the exertion of frequent preaching and discoursing, fasting upon all the appointed days, (for he and his associates had agreed to observe the fasts of the church,) and a most abstemious diet at all times, had reduced him to an alarming state. Frequent spitting of blood indicated the consequences which might be apprehended: at length, he was awakened at midnight by the breaking of a blood-vessel, and he has recorded in his private diary, that thinking himself on the brink of eternity, he cried to God, "Oh! prepare me for thy coming, and come when thou wilt!" This attack made him put himself under the direction of medical men, and after a time he thoroughly recovered.

Samuel, at this time, finding that promotion at Westminster was hopeless, on account of his obnoxious politics, accepted the mastership of Tiverton school, and before he removed to it, went to visit his father, at Epworth, where his brother met him, that the whole family might, for the last time, in this world, be assembled together. The father had been for some years declining, and was very desirous that the living, in which he had laboured faithfully during so long a course of years, should be obtained for John, if possible; from a desire that the good which he had effected, might not be lost through the carelessness of a lukewarm successor; and that his wife and daughters might not be dispossessed of their home. Wesley, who had not before thought of such a proposal, gave no opinion upon it at this time; but in the ensuing year his father pressed him to apply for the next presentation, and Samuel urged him to the same effect. He had now considered the subject, and came to this conclusion: that the question was not whether he could do more good to others, there or at Oxford, but whether he could do more good to himself, seeing, that wherever he could be most holy himself, there he could most promote holiness in others: but he could improve himself more at Oxford than at any other place, and at Oxford therefore he determined to remain. This argument was well answered by his father; he argued that academical studies were only preparatory to the duties of social life. "We are to let our light shine before men, and that not barely through the chinks of a bushel, for fear the wind should blow it out;" and he concludes with singular force and eloquence, in these words: "Thus is the case before us: put all the circumstances together: if you are not indifferent, whether the labour of an aged father, for above forty years, in God's vineyard, be lost, and the fence of it trodden down and destroyed; if you consider that Mr. M. must, in all probability, succeed me if you do not, and that the prospect of that mighty Nimrod's coming hither, shocks my soul, and is in
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a fair way of bringing down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave; if you have any care for our family, which must be dimly shattered, as soon as I am dropt; if you reflect on the dear love and longing, which this poor people have for you, whereby you will be enabled to do God the more service; and the plenteousness of the harvest, consisting of near 2000 souls, (where you have not many more scholars in the University,) you may, perhaps, alter your mind, and bend your will to His, who has promised, if in all our ways we acknowledge Him, that He will direct our paths."

Samuel, when he heard that his brother had declared himself unalterably resolved not to accept the living, if he could get it, knew him well enough to believe that no one could alter his mind, but He who made it. Without, therefore, drawing the saw of controversy, as he called it, he prest upon him the simple proposition, that having taken orders, he was engaged to undertake the cure of souls, before God, and his high priest, and his church. Wesley replied to both in a manner more characteristic of the man, than creditable to his judgment. He argued as if his own salvation would be impossible at Epworth; he could not, he said, stand his ground there for a month, against intemperance in sleeping, eating, and drinking; his spirit would thus be dissolved; the cares and desires of the world would roll back with a full tide upon him, and while he preached to others, he should be a cast-away himself. *Agitur de vitâ et sanguine Turni*; the point was whether he should serve Christ or Belial. He stood in need of friends nearly of his own judgment, and engaged in the same studies, "persons who were awakened into a full and lively conviction that they had only one work to do upon earth," and who would constantly watch over his soul, and according to the occasion, administer reproof, advice, or exhortation, with all plainness and all gentleness. But this was a blessing which he could enjoy no where but at Oxford. There he knew none of the cares of the world; every thing was provided for him, without any expence of thought. There too he endured that contempt, which is a part of the Cross, that every man must bear, who would follow his Saviour. Every true Christian, said he, is contemned, wherever he lives, by all who are not so, and who know him to be such; and until he be thus contemned, no man is in a state of salvation: for though a man may be despised without being saved, yet he cannot be saved without being despised. More good also was to be done to others by continuing at Oxford, where, independent of other opportunities, there were the schools of the prophets; was it not a more extensive benefit to sweeten the fountain, than to purify a par-

particular stream? And for the argument, that Epworth was a wider sphere of action, where he would have the charge of 2000 souls, he exclaimed, "Two thousand souls! I see not how any man living can take care of an hundred!" This letter convinced Samuel how hopeless it was to reason farther with one whom such notions had possessed; as, however, his brother had requested to know his farther thoughts, he asked him, if all his labours were come to this, that more was absolutely necessary for the very being of his christian life, than for the salvation of all the parish priests in England? — "What you say of contempt," said he, "is nothing to the purpose: for, if you will go to Epworth, I will answer for it you shall, in a competent time, be despised as much as your heart can wish;" but he affirmed there was not in Euclid a proposition more certain than this, that a man must be esteemed, in order to be useful: and he rested the point upon his former assertion, that a general resolution against undertaking the cure of souls, was contrary to his engagement at ordination: "*the order of the church* stakes you down, and the more you struggle, will hold the faster; you must, when opportunity offers, either perform that promise, or repent of it: *utrum mavis?* which do you prefer?" Wesley admitted the force of his ordination-oath, but denied that it had this meaning; but, acknowledging the established principle, that the mode and extent of the obligation, which an oath imposes, are not to be determined by him who takes, but by him who requires it, he wrote to the Bishop who ordained him, proposing this single question: whether at ordination he had engaged himself to undertake the cure of a parish or not? The Bishop's answer was in these words: "It doth not seem to me, that at your ordination you engaged yourself to undertake the cure of any parish; provided you can, as a clergyman, better serve God and his church in your present, or some other station." Wesley thought he had all reasonable evidence that this was the case, and here the discussion ended.

The elder Wesley died in the ensuing April, and in the October following, John, notwithstanding the reasons which he had urged for continuing to reside at Oxford, embarked with General Oglethorpe, as a missionary for the new colony of Georgia. This inconsistency is explained by his growing attachment to the ascetic writers. His brother Charles, who took orders on this occasion, Mr. Ingham, one of the little community at Oxford, and Mr. Delamotte, the son of a London merchant, accompanied him. They embarked on the 14th of October, 1735; and from that day, the series of Wesley's printed journals commences. Oh, that all men, who have produced an equal effect in the world, had left such memoirs of themselves as

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George Fox, and John Wesley! "Our end," says he, "in leaving our native country, was not to avoid want, (God having given us plenty of temporal blessings,) nor to gain the dung and dross of riches or honours; but singly this, to save our souls; to live wholly to the glory of God." There were six-and-twenty Moravians on board; Wesley was exceedingly impressed with their piety, their simplicity, and their equanimity; and he now applied himself to the German language; that he might converse with them more freely. Being now, as it appears, less careful of appearances, than they had been at Oxford, he and his companions began to put their ascetic principles in full practice. "Believing," he says, "the denying ourselves even in the smallest instances, might, by the blessing of God, be helpful to us, we wholly left off the use of flesh and wine, and confined ourselves to vegetable food, chiefly rice or biscuit." After a while, imagining that nature did not require such frequent supplies as they had been accustomed to, they agreed to leave off supper; and Wesley, having slept on the floor one night, because his bed had been wetted in a storm, thought he should not find it needful to sleep in a bed any more. His next experiment was, whether life might not as well be sustained by one sort of food as by variety; he and Delamotte tried with bread, as being the staff of life in Europe, and they found themselves never more vigorous and healthy. "Blessed," he exclaims, "are the pure in heart; to them all things are pure: every creature is good to them, and nothing to be rejected. But let them who are not thus pure use every help and remove every hindrance; always remembering, 'he that despiseth little things, shall fall by little and little.'" In a spirit akin to this, and derived from the same source, he wrote from on board to his brother Samuel, beseeching him, by the mercies of God, to banish all such poison from his school as the classics, which were usually read there, and introduce Christian authors in their place; for it was his duty to instruct his scholars, "not only in the beggarly elements of Greek and Latin, but much more in the Gospel." Fanaticism always comes to this in its progress; first, it depreciates learning; next, it would destroy it: there have been Christians, as they believed themselves, who would have burnt the Alexandrian library, upon the same logic as the Caliph Omar, with no other difference, than that of calling their book by a Greek word instead of an Arabic one.

Dr. Burton, who had first proposed Wesley as a proper person for the mission, was influenced by an opinion, that the more men were inured to a contempt of the conveniences and comforts of life, to serious thoughts and bodily austerities, the fitter they were for such an undertaking. He told him that the apos-

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tolical manner of preaching, from house to house, might be effectual, and turn many to righteousness. He reminded him, (as if seeing upon what rock he was most likely to be wrecked,) of what importance it was to distinguish with prudence "between what is essential, and what is merely circumstantial to Christianity; between what is indispensable, and what is variable; between what is of divine, and what is of human authority;" and he warned him, that the people among whom he was going, were "babes in the progress of their Christian life, to be fed with milk instead of strong meat." But never was any man more unfit for such a situation. Instead of feeding them with milk, he drenched them with the physic of an intolerant discipline. Following the rubric, in opposition to the practice of the English church, he insisted upon baptizing children by immersion, and refused to baptize them if the parents would not consent; and when one of the most pious men in the colony earnestly desired to be admitted to the communion, because he was a dissenter, Wesley refused to administer it, unless he would submit to be re-baptized. Remembering these extravagances, when he had outgrown them; he says, have I not been finely beaten with my own staff? His sermons were accused of being ^{all} ~~all~~ tires against particular persons, and it was said, that all the quarrels which had occurred since his arrival, were occasioned by his conduct.

Thus have I brought Wesley to the threshold, as it were, of his spiritual calling. The part which he afterwards sustained in it, will afford ample matter for a future communication. Meanwhile, I remain, Dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

R. S.

LETTER IV.

On the political Societies formed in Germany during the Period of Buonaparte's Despotism; and especially on the Association commonly denominated the LEAGUE OF VIRTUE.

To M. de L——.

My good Friend,

London, Nov. 29. 1816.

IN our conversations, I remember, that we have, among other topics, more than once adverted to the secret societies, said to have existed, or still to exist, in Germany; to which a considerable influence has been attributed, in the production of the great political events, which we have lived to witness. Those of
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later date were represented as of a far different complexion from those which were spoken of at the beginning of, and during the French Revolution ; and had, according to the prevailing opinion, co-operated as much in overthrowing that galling despotism, which had nearly subjugated Europe, and in restoring order and independence, as the revolutionary associations had done in bringing about confusion, anarchy, and slavery. It is curious to contemplate the operation of such engines upon the fate of mankind. We have both in England, and France, had examples not only of their existence, but also of their efficacy. If I am not mistaken, they belong exclusively to modern history : for though we read of factions, conspiracies, and the like, in the annals of the ancient world, yet those political combinations of individuals, known under the name of societies, and clubs, which are believed to have acted so great a part in our time, do not seem to have any parallel in more early periods. It will always be a subject of interest for the philosopher and the statesman, to enquire what the tendency and effect of such associations may be, how far they may affect the welfare of the state, by the influence they seem to exercise over the minds of men, what results they may be capable of producing, in particular instances, to what degree they may prove either beneficial or hurtful, how they may be controlled and regulated : and at the present day, when we look back, with no small share of anxiety, upon the ocean, from whose tempests we have, after a long struggle, had the good fortune to escape, it is surely not uninteresting to reflect upon the different causes that created our danger, and those to which we owe our deliverance. It is thus, that past events become instructive, and, by their warnings, may be made the guides of our future conduct. This is a great advantage, which history affords to mankind, though her lessons are not often sufficiently regarded. To render such instruction fit for practical application, and essentially useful, it is above all things necessary, that the facts, from which it is derived, should be well ascertained : but your experience cannot have failed to show you, how difficult it is to arrive at historical truth. In my own observation, this circumstance has particularly struck me, and I have frequently put it to the test. Men are always in a hurry to draw conclusions, and to generalize : but they are not careful and patient in examining facts. They do not, with sufficient caution, prepare the ground upon which they are to proceed, and, therefore, often slip, and lose their footing. By such considerations, my good friend, I am induced to address to you a few pages, on the subject of the German societies, in order to place it, as an historical fact, upon its right basis, and to remove

from it the false notions with which it is surrounded. Though it is agreed, in the circle of our correspondence, that the subjects, upon which we are to write, shall have a relation to France or England, I do not think that we are deviating from that principle, by introducing the topic in question. For it has some connexion with our own concerns and interests; in as much as our political condition, comprehended as we are, along with other nations, in the great system of Europe, is, to a certain degree, influenced by that of our neighbours, so that we cannot be quite indifferent to what passes in other countries. I am, however, aware, that we should not extend our range too far, but keep ourselves within such limits as are required by the plan which has been laid down.

I have, at the outset, to acknowledge, that the ideas which I had entertained of the political and patriotic societies in Germany, have proved to be, in a great measure, erroneous. I had derived them from the reports, and rumours, that were in circulation, not having any other means of intelligence. This misconception, which, I fear, I also imparted to you, in my conversations, I have shared with thousands. The mighty Napoleon himself, and the sagacious Fouché, though they expressed their alarms at the operation, and progress, of those societies, do not seem to have possessed a distinct and accurate notion concerning them; and but lately Germany has been agitated by a number of different representations, either false, or exaggerated. I have, however, just received from that country a statement, which appears to me to bear internal marks of accuracy, from the candor and simplicity with which it is written. It has, besides, a pledge of authenticity in the name of the writer, M. *Krug*, an eminent professor in the university of Leipsic, and a gentleman well qualified to explain the nature of these associations, as he was himself an original and leading member of the principal society, commonly called the *Tugendbund*, or *League of Virtue*. I have not the honour of being particularly acquainted with him, though I saw him, in the spring of 1815, at Leipsic; but I consider him as a man of worth and respectability, and distinguished in literature and science. With such a character, and such means of information, I think, he is entitled to attention, and credit. Besides, he refers, in corroboration of what he has related, to the laws and rules of the society, which have been published, and may, therefore, easily be compared with his allegations.

The *Tugendbund* is commonly represented as the source, from which the other societies, of a similar description, have sprung. It took its origin at Koenigsberg, in Prussia, where M. *Krug* resided. He was admitted a member, and continued to be so
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for nine months, till he removed to Leipsic, and became a subject of the King of Saxony. For six months out of the nine, he was invested with the office of superior, or upper-censor to the society, and was, by this situation, particularly enabled to learn its nature and character. The above name was not that, which the members themselves assumed, for their association, but that, by which the public chose to designate them. They called it simply *der Verein*, that is, the union, or united society: or, when expressing its characteristics fully in the title, *der sittlich-wissenschaftlicher Verein*, that is, the moral and scientific (or literary) union; but they subsequently acquiesced in the appellation, which the public had given them, viz. *der Tugendbund*, the league of virtue, both on account of its conciseness, in the original language, and because their efforts and exertions, being directed to the welfare of their country, were not unworthy of being distinguished by the epithet *virtuous*.

First of all, it is to be observed, that this society is not to be considered in the light of a *secret association*. Of this it had none of the characteristics. There was no mysterious initiation, there were no occult signs of recognition, no advancement in degree, nor any thing else of this description. The regulations, or as they are termed, the *Statutes*, under which the society acted, were made known to any one, who offered to become a member, and they might be approved, or disapproved, according to the person's judgment, leaving him at perfect liberty to accept, or decline admission. They were laid before, and sanctioned by, the government of the country; and confirmed by the King of Prussia himself. A list of the officers and members was likewise communicated to the government. It was, consequently, an institution perfectly lawful, being not merely tolerated, but even authorized by the state. How then did it happen, that it has been represented as a *secret society*? This will best appear from the following account, which you shall read in the Professor's own words, through the medium of a translation. You will not regret my transferring the office of entertaining you to so able a successor."

"This united society," says the professor, "arose at that time, when Napoleon, after having torn about one half from the Prussian monarchy, continued to occupy almost the whole of the remaining half, and even seemed little disposed to quit this portion. The calamities, which the war of 1806 and 1807 had brought upon Prussia, were great beyond description; and the misery accumulated daily; because, by the presence of the hostile armies in the country, the hands of government were tied, so that it could afford no relief to the people; while

the distress, by the unceasing exactions of the enemy, rapidly increased; a general dejection, almost bordering on despair, prevailed throughout Prussia; and he that had any feeling of humanity in his breast, could not but be affected at the sight of a people, who, (though perhaps not entirely without their own faults) were sunk thus deeply from their former greatness and splendour, and, as it were, laid prostrate in the dust, at the feet of the conqueror. It was then, that some patriotic individuals at Königsberg united, and established a society, with the following views:

“ 1. To re-animate the intellectual and moral energies of the people, and render their minds equal to the pressure of their misfortunes;

“ 2. By this very means, to afford them a chance, under more favourable circumstances, of regaining that physical and political strength, of which they had been deprived.”

“ Such were the two principal objects, which the society had in view; they are so closely linked together as to be almost identified. The relieving, by benevolent actions and undertakings the individual misery occasioned by the war, and the supporting those measures, which government might adopt with a similar intention, were considered as subordinate objects of the institution. The society was aware, that without relieving those physical wants and distresses, by which the people were afflicted, it would be difficult to raise their minds from the depression, under which they laboured. What has been stated as the second principal object, naturally gave to the society a hostile direction against the oppressor of their country: and for that reason it was obvious, that this tendency could not be explicitly expressed in the statutes. It was, therefore, only the first principal object, and what we have called the subordinate purposes, that were openly declared; and thence the name of *sittlich-wissenschaftlicher Verein*, was derived. So far, indeed, there was something of secrecy about this association. But that secrecy, which turned upon a hostile disposition towards France, was not produced with, or by, the society: it existed before, in the minds of the people, and was thence communicated to the society. It was obvious to every one, who had eyes to see; and it could, according to the nature of the thing, neither remain concealed from the government, nor from the enemy. The attention of the latter was soon excited, who with his usual sagacity perceived those proceedings, and endeavoured by every possible means (though in vain) to counteract the effect of them in those provinces of Prussia, which he occupied.”

“ As to the internal organization of the society, this was, in fact,
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very simple. A *supreme Council*, consisting of six elected members, and residing at Königsberg, conducted the whole. Under it were placed the *Provincial Councils*, likewise consisting of six chosen members, and these again superintended the *Local Societies*, or *Chambers*. The chambers were subdivided into certain *official circles*, whose business it was to relieve the necessitous; to provide sources of livelihood and industry; to ameliorate instruction and education; to further and improve the military interests of the nation; and every other object that concerned the commonweal. The supreme council, besides a secretary, had an officer attached to it, by the title of Superior, or Upper-Censor, who was likewise elected, and had a vote in the deliberation. To him the censors of the provincial councils, and of the local chambers, were subordinate, in the same way as these councils and chambers were dependent upon the supreme council. The duty of the censors, in general, was to see that no unworthy persons were received into the society; to watch over the conduct of the members, so that, if any false brethren had found admittance, they might either be excluded, or rendered harmless; to enforce the observance of the statutes, both generally, and particularly with regard to the election of the officers; and lastly, to keep the society itself within its right bounds, so that it might not fall into opposition to government, and form a *status in statu*. These censors were, consequently, not so much inspectors of morals, like those of the ancient Romans; but rather the guardians or watchmen of the society, and, as it were, its correctors. The statutes, with this view, invested them with great authority, and gave to the upper-censor, in particular, considerable influence, inasmuch as he had a voice in the supreme council, and all the other censors were in subordination to him: but this influence was again limited by his responsibility to the supreme council, as a body, and by the duration of his office, which, like that of the members of the council, was only of six months. Neither the councils, nor the censors, had, strictly speaking, the power of punishing. For certain violations of the statutes small fines were established, which, in conjunction with the voluntary gifts of the members, were applied partly to defray the expences of correspondence and similar matters, and partly to promote the purposes of benevolence. The accounts were kept by a treasurer. None of the officers received any salary; but, on the contrary, they contributed, like any other member, according to their circumstances, to the funds of the society. It may here be observed, that these contributions were perfectly voluntary, and never assumed the shape of requisitions. As every member had the right to with-

draw from the society, when his views or particular relations rendered it desirable, (a privilege of which the author himself made use,) so the society claimed the right of excluding a member, who should not be found to answer its intentions, and to discharge the duties imposed by the statutes. Such a case, however, occurred but once, in the recollection of the author, while he was a member. It was altogether a free society, which employed towards its members none of those means of restraint and compulsion, whereby it often is attempted to fetter the will, even in defiance of principle and conscience. If it had done so, the government would certainly have withdrawn its sanction from the institution.

Persons of every rank in the state, who possessed a sufficient degree of mental cultivation to be capable of co-operating towards the attainment of the ends of the society, might be received as members. Hence there were found in it individuals of every class, from the prince almost down to the peasant. Only minors, and such as had forfeited public esteem by any offence, were excluded. Females were, for obvious reasons, likewise prevented from becoming members; though many a noble-minded woman, and among them even a princess of the highest name, whose mind was susceptible of every thing good and virtuous, and who, though snatched away by too early a death, survives in the grateful recollection of her country, was, either by sentiment or deed, to be accounted among its zealous friends. In the character of friends of the society were also to be considered many men, who were by their particular situation and circumstances precluded from enrolling their names, though they approved the objects of the society, and actively promoted them, in a different manner, and in another sphere. The government having reserved to itself the supreme control over the society, and the members of the latter being, at all times, accountable for their actions, to the government, it naturally followed, that those, who were members of the government, could not likewise be members of the society. It is, therefore, erroneous, and refutes itself, that Baron *Stein*, who was a Minister of State, should have been the founder of the society. Nor could the late General *Scharnhorst*, who was then Minister at War, for the same reason, be its author; though it can scarcely be doubted, that he sanctioned it with his approbation. It happened also, that some respectable men, who were invited to belong to the society, declined the connection; because they either did not wish, in any way, to bind themselves, or were overburdened with business, or had some other rational ground for not acceding: but they were not, for that reason, to be regarded as hostile to the society; on the contrary, they

showed a willingness, in their own manner, and in their particular situations, to assist in furthering its ends. No offence was ever taken at such a refusal; still less was enmity or persecution excited against any individual, on that account. *M. Krug* himself lived, on the most friendly terms, with men so circumstanced. For the maxim, that "He that is not with us, is against us," was not adopted in this case; but rather, that "He that is not against us, is for us, though he should not be with us."

"The society, however, had real enemies, from the very beginning, and this circumstance must not be forgotten, when that which the society has done and accomplished, is spoken of. Among these adversaries are to be reckoned first, and above all, those that were attached to the invader; of which description though there might be fewer persons in the Prussian states, than elsewhere, yet there were some. Next to these were the timid, who imagined, the French would at once annihilate the country, if they learnt, that it suffered and cherished such a society in its bosom; then the indolent, who were not displeased at seeing the spirit and activity of others, but did not like to be exhorted to similar exertions. The Freemasons likewise, at first shewed a disinclination towards the society, because they conceived, at its origin, that it would be an institution resembling their own; and, therefore, they would not allow any of their brethren to join it. But they soon perceived their mistake, and many of them, by degrees, entered, and took an active part. There were, lastly, in opposition to the society, some inhabitants of Berlin, who happened to reside at Koenigsberg, at that time, or had come there on visits, or business. These persons, influenced by that jealousy, which has always existed between Berlin and Koenigsberg, as the two principal towns of the Prussian monarchy, were piqued, that the association had not originated among *them*, and that the supreme council should have its seat at Koenigsberg, and thence govern the provincial councils and chambers, and consequently those also in Brandenburg, and at Berlin, if any thing of that kind should there be established. Many of those gentlemen considered this as high treason against the royal residence, which thus would be degraded to a provincial town; an idea, which was the more provoking, as at that time it was rumoured at Koenigsberg, that this city might probably become the abode of the court. But even these adversaries were, for the most part, appeased, by the assurance, that when the government, as was probable, should return to Berlin, the management of the society would proceed from the same quarter. It must not in fairness be omitted, that on account of the pre-

sence of the enemy's troops in Brandenburg and Berlin, it was more hazardous there, to be marked as the member of such a society, than it was at Koenigsberg. Whatever were the causes, it is certain that the association made less progress in that province than it did in East and West Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia." Whether subsequently a change took place, in this respect, M. Krug is unable to say. For having in the year 1809 entered into the service of another sovereign, (the King of Saxony,) he deemed it a duty to give up a connection, which was not recognized by the government to which he was now subject, and would consequently have been illegal. His subsequent information, respecting the proceedings of the society, rests of course on a less authentic foundation, than what I have hitherto communicated to you. It is nevertheless curious; and if I have not wearied you by my present letter, I shall resume the subject in my next; till when, I remain, My dear friend,

Very truly yours,
G. H. N.

LETTER V.

On the Affairs of Spain.

To the Baron de——

SIR,

— Lodge, Surry, November, 1816.

AS the conduct of the Spanish government, since the restoration of the monarchy, has been censured, with the utmost asperity, both in this country, and on the continent, and the assumption of its having been arbitrary, tyrannical and unjust has been admitted, with but little examination: and as the enemies of all the legitimate governments of Europe have made frequent use of this assumption, in the way of argument, to attack, or to annoy the supporters of the ancient systems of policy; you may deem it not improper in me, who have been an attentive witness of many important occurrences in the Peninsula, to examine the circumstances of Spain, and the construction of the governments formed during the imprisonment of the King; to review the proceedings of those governments; to explore the probable course to which their labours tended; and to enquire if any other line of conduct was left for Ferdinand, than the restoration of that government, which had been subverted in 1808, by his imprisonment and the invasion of the French armies. Of course, in thus

discussing the question, I do not mean to exclude the King's power of sanctioning such improvements in the administration, as might be subsequently thought necessary, and some of which I trust and hope will be adopted.

When the late ruler of France commenced his project of transferring the government of Spain to a cadet of his family, the situation and character of the reigning monarch were highly favourable to his views; and the administration of its affairs being in the hands of the abandoned, profligate, and selfish Prince of the Peace, presented to Buonaparte the easy means of accomplishing his object, if the people of Spain had been of as little moment, in the transaction, as he had calculated.

In the other countries conquered by France, the opposition had been limited almost wholly to the disciplined troops; the general feelings of the people, if they existed, were stifled by the defeat of the armies, that attempted to defend their territory, and a military occupation transferred the civil dominion, and insured political submission; but in Spain there existed feelings and sentiments, which distinguished it materially from the other countries, that had submitted to the Gallic yoke; and though from the nature of the government, and from the want of sufficient impulse, no public display had been recently made of those feelings, they were cherished, in secrecy, with an ardour, that would not have been credited, had it not been clearly evinced by subsequent events.

Among the higher orders of the people of Spain, there existed but little knowledge; and as from their rank they had imbibed much of the dissoluteness and voluptuousness of the court, perhaps less feeling, purely national, prevailed among them, than in the lower classes of the community; but the majority even of them were bound up in common feeling with their countrymen; and where a disposition existed in any degree to submit to the domination of foreigners, it must be considered as an exception to the general disposition of the Spanish nation.

In no part of the world perhaps, in no country of Europe certainly, does the sentiment of national pride exist to the same extent as in Spain. In England, in France, and in Russia, an attachment to the country, a feeling of patriotism, is generally diffused, accompanied with some degree of dislike, perhaps some degree of contempt, towards foreigners; but it is a weak and feeble principle, when compared with that which prevails in Spain. In the two first of those countries, from the more general diffusion of the knowledge of languages, no one is ashamed of, or deterred from borrowing and adopting the improvements of the other, by any sentiment of national pride; but the improvements

ments of the rest of Europe are slowly embraced in Spain : and even where proposed would be less likely to be adopted, if their foreign origin were not carefully concealed. Not only does this national pride exist, to an unmeasurable extent ; but a provincial pride, of similar intensity, prevails, in all the different divisions of the kingdom. The Biscayan, the Arragonian, the Catalan, the Valencian, the Andalusian, equally considers the other provinces inferior to his own ; and looks down, with an imagined superiority, on the inhabitants of the adjacent district.

This national pride, whose origin may be traced to those days of chivalry, when all Spain was kept in a state of perpetual warfare, by the presence of the Moors, and which has been strengthened by recollections kept alive by means of such popular ballads and national tales, as are in the mouth of every Spaniard, is displayed in loyalty to their King, in devotedness to their religion, in veneration to their laws, in attachment to all their ancient institutions, and in resistance to every innovation as a dangerous, or what is equivalent, with them, as a foreign novelty. We may safely attribute to this principle the notorious fact, that the impressions made in Spain, by the specious professions, which accompanied the early stages of the French Revolution, were much weaker than in any other country of Europe ; that the doctrines of equality and of the sovereignty of the people were received with indifference, or detestation ; and that the mountebank proclamations, which accompanied the invading armies, of " war to the palace, and peace to the cottage," were received, in the palace, and in the cottage, with equal abhorrence.

The royal family of Bourbon, by a residence of more than a century, had been rendered, in all their feelings and habits, completely Spaniards. The nation recognized them, as such ; and looking at their administration through the medium of their national pride, felt but little disposition to arraign the government, which, as Spanish, must, in their views, be excellent ; and if any of them occasionally complained of the conduct of some branches of the administration, there was an evident tenderness in their complaints, a feeling of pity for their misguided countrymen ; but no tendency, by violence and barbarity, to dethrone their sovereign, no wish to overturn the government, or to revolutionize the country.

In this slight sketch of the ruling principle, which actuated the inhabitants of Spain, at the commencement of the invasion by Buonaparte, I have passed over a small, a very small part of the nation, who had imbibed the principles of the French republic ; because their number was too inconsiderable, to have any

any influence on the conduct of the nation, at that time; and when in a subsequent period, by accidental circumstances, they had acquired power, the feelings of the nation compelled them to a concealment of all that was really valuable in those principles; or, as in the case of toleration to those of different religions, compelled them to profess the most bigotted and narrow-minded maxims.

When the intrigues of Buonaparte and the treachery of Godoy had delivered the principal Spanish fortresses to the armies of France; when under pretence of conquering Portugal, the French forces were marched into Spain; when Charles the Fourth had resigned, Godoy had been banished, and Ferdinand, though acknowledged in Spain, had been compelled to submit his claim of royalty to the decision of Buonaparte; the national pride of the Spaniard was roused into activity; and it was kindled into rage, beyond the power of restraint, as soon as the knowledge of the unprincipled events at Bayonne was spread over the kingdom.

The movement of the inhabitants, in all the principal towns, was instant, and spontaneous. Love for a monarch, more peculiarly Spanish, an attachment to their religion and their laws, and especially the revolting idea of receiving a monarch from the dictation of foreigners, collected every man, who felt as a Spaniard, into public assemblies, for which no previous arrangements had been made, and no order of proceeding even contemplated before; committees were nominated almost by chance, and assuming the name of *Juntas*, became invested with the highest authority, in their respective provinces. As the juntas were, generally, composed of men of ardent minds, and were animated with the best feelings of patriotism, no time was lost in debating about forms of government, no metaphysical dogmas were preached; but instead of the "rights of man" the *vengeance of Spain* occupied their sole attention; they procured whatever arms could be collected; the military joined their countrymen; and during the first fervor of their patriotism, their efforts were crowned with a degree of success, which ought to have animated them to still greater exertions; but like all unorganised bodies, they soon became languid in their exertions; and the different provinces being jealous of each other, each provincial junta required from England arms and ammunition, but their numerous requisitions were often at variance with each other. In this state, a central government became indispensable: and with much caution, and under very strict limitations of their powers, two members were selected from each of the provincial juntas, who met, and formed the *central or supreme government*, in the name of FERDINAND VII.

During

During the exercise of power by the provincial juntas, the national pride, elated by the victory of Baylen, and the capture of Dupont's army, showed itself in the strongest colours; and though the assistance of England was accepted, when supplying the requisite stores, they expressed no wish for men, or for officers; but presumptuously relied on their own undisciplined and unorganised army, which, though flushed with recent success, and superior in numbers, was unable to expel the invaders from the line of the Ebro.

The provincial juntas, in electing from their own numbers deputies to the central junta, seemed to be actuated more by a disposition to retain within their own provinces that supreme power, which they had accidentally acquired, than to form such a government, as should unite the energies of the country, and direct them against the common enemy. Hence the selection was made, not on account of the talents and influence of the elected: but, in some instances at least, because they were of doubtful principles, of turbulent characters, or of profligate morals. The provincial juntas had no idea, that they were appointing men to legislative, or executive offices, equal in power to sovereigns; but thought, they were nominating mere deputies, to act in no instance without the controul and sanction of their constituents.

The instructions and powers given by the kingdom of Valencia, are a curious specimen of the limits by which, they supposed, they had restricted their deputies: and I therefore give a portion of them:

"The provincial junta will continue permanent, with the *supreme authority* of its kingdom*, and the deputies at the central junta, will *depend on it*, so as to labour, and explain matters according to the advice given to them, always being *subject and obedient*, maintaining correspondence with them, and possessing no power to differ from the opinions of their constituents."

"The term of the duration of the deputies shall be one year, with the capacity of re-election; but the provincial junta retains the power to *dismiss* them, whenever it shall be found convenient."

"In matters of great importance, which do not require prompt decision, such as treaties of peace, declarations of war, and establishment of inposts, they must wait for the previous decision and vote of the provincial juntas, before they resolve."

"Each provincial junta shall attend to the collection of its revenues, and to satisfying its respective obligations, so that the army, the navy, and all classes, are to receive their pay from the hands of go-

* Viz. The kingdom of Valencia.

vernment, and not from the central junta, without making, as heretofore, a common mass of all the funds."

"The central junta shall be employed in regulating the constitution of the kingdom, in reforming the civil and criminal codes, the revenues, &c.; but it must communicate to the provincial juntas its ideas on each subject, and adopt those resolutions, which shall be approved by the majority of them."

"The provincial juntas, besides the other matters pointed out, will undertake to reform the economical and political systems of their several districts, and will, for the information of the central junta, make known to it, their regulations: they will confer all civil and ecclesiastical offices; giving notice to the central junta, which is to confirm their appointments: and the courts of justice, shall protest against all infractions of their laws."

The provincial junta of Seville, one of the most considerable in Spain, delegated power to its deputies under similar restrictions; and not contented with them, formed most copious instructions, in which they charged the deputies, that they should restore the *Inquisition* to all its former vigour, and on no account appropriate to the state any part of the ecclesiastical revenues.*

The other deputies, whose instructions have not accurately appeared, are well known to have been similarly fettered; and had they all met together, they would have composed the most ineffectual mass that ever presumed to dictate the laws, and direct the military efforts of a great nation.

I have thus touched on the original institution of the central junta; because, as the regencies and the Cortes acknowledged their authority, and derived from them whatever of legal power they possessed, it is but right to ascertain what was the origin of that authority, and how they became invested with more extensive powers, than even the kings of Spain, in the plenitude of their power, had ever assumed to be their prerogative.

The exigencies of the moment, the perilous state of Spain, with an enemy in their country, and their strongest fortresses

* This solicitude for the *Inquisition*, and the church-revenue, may be, perhaps, owing to the characters, which composed the junta. When the populace were in commotion, one of their leaders proposed to form a junta: and as the first idea started in such assemblies is generally adopted, it was determined to form it of the curates of the different churches in the city, and the superiors of the different convents. As some of those declined the duty, others, with no small degree of intrigue, were added, and some of the most infamous character; of the latter description was Count T. then under a prosecution for a robbery, and Don Vincent H. the intimate friend and pander of the Prince of Peace; these two were afterward appointed deputies to the central junta. H., indeed, feared to appear at Madrid, but contrived to obtain the nomination of Archbishop of L., which he now enjoys, or did till lately.

betrayed,

betrayed, might justify the exercise of power, even accidentally acquired, if directed to the object, which immediately pressed on their attention; but the juntas never were chosen by the people to make a revolution, to annul the laws, or to outrage the feelings of the community, by destroying their ancient usages. The want of some local point, which might serve to guide the exertions of their numerous voluntary defenders, the want of some competent authority, to form alliances, to procure ammunition and warlike stores, and to adopt other measures necessary to expel the enemy, was a sufficient justification of their exercising power, for those particular objects; and had they attended to these alone, and had attended to them properly, the execrations, which filled Spain, during their sway, would never have been heard, the plots formed against them would not have been hatched, nor would they have been compelled to retain from the armies some of their best regiments, to prevent the people from deposing and transporting them to Manilla, as was intended.

No sooner, however, was the Central Junta installed in Madrid, than its members began to exercise the sovereign authority, by interfering in affairs, which were, at least, foreign to the purpose, for which they were appointed. Between the period of the retreat of the French army from Madrid, and the assembling of the junta, the restrictions on the press had, in fact, without any express regulations, been considerably lightened, and the press became a useful, and powerful instrument, to rouse and animate the people against their invaders; but, probably fearing that their power might be questioned in the journals, the first decree, after their assembling, placed the press under the fetters, from which the recent events had relieved it; and, during the whole period of their government, nothing could appear, either to inform, or to animate the people of Spain. Instead of information of the true state of the country, which, if communicated, would have armed every man in the kingdom, their gazettes recorded only advantages never gained, the formation of armies, which never existed, and assurances of victories, to secure which no rational measures had been adopted. Indeed, so far did they carry their system of deception, that they attempted to practise it on the English Ambassador, Mr. *Frere*, and the gallant, but unfortunate General, Sir John *Moore*.

When by the additional force, which France had introduced, they were compelled to quit Madrid, and take refuge beyond the Sierra Morena, instead of occupying their time, and attention in recruiting their armies, and organising them, instead of procuring provisions, and the means of transport for their allies,

or

or animating the people by any advances towards a popular government, they were employed in throwing the blame of their disasters on the brave, but unfortunate *Castanos*, whom they had grossly deceived, in petty squabbles for power with the different provincial juntas, in intrigues for the commands of their different armies, and fortresses*, in framing excuses to the British minister, for not attending to the wants of the auxiliary forces in Spain, and in securing themselves from the attacks of the people of Seville, by procuring an English regiment, to protect them from their vengeance.

In this line of conduct, but continually proceeding from bad to worse, the central junta continued, till by their negligence to his wants, they had compelled Sir *Arthur Wellesley* to retire into Portugal; till by their ignorance they had sacrificed the army of *Ariesaga*, and by their presumption had left open the lateral passages through the Sierra Morena. Then, menaced by the appearance of the French armies, and the vengeance of the population of Seville, they fled from that city, and took refuge within the defences of Cadiz, whose safety was alone due to the disobedience of their orders, which the Duke of *Albuquerque* had committed.

The junta had no sooner reached this last asylum, than they attempted to exercise over what remained of Spain, that power, which they had so negligently, and so unhappily misused; but the feelings of every one revolted at their retention of power; and the British minister, the armies, and the city of Cadiz manifested such dispositions, as compelled them reluctantly to deposit their authority in the hands of a *Council of Regency*, and to issue a decree calling together the *Cortes*, or states of Spain.

* "I am much afraid, from what I have seen of the proceedings of the central junta, that in the distribution of their forces, they do not consider military defence, and military operations, so much as they do political intrigue, and the attainment of trifling political objects."

"They wish to strengthen the army of *Venegas*, not because it is necessary or desirable, on military grounds; but because they think the army, as an instrument of mischief, safer in his hands, than in those of another; and they leave 12,000 men in Estremadura; not because they are not, or may not be deemed necessary, in any military view of the question; but because they are averse to placing a larger body under the command of the Duke of *Albuquerque*, who, I know, the junta of Estremadura have insisted, should be employed to command the army, in this province."

"I cannot avoid to observe these little views and objects, and to mention them to Your Excellency; at the same time, that I lament, that the attention of those, who have to manage such great, and important affairs, as those are, which are entrusted to the management of the central junta, should be diverted from great objects, to others of trifling importance."

Letter from Sir A. Wellesley to the Marquis Wellesley. Sept. 1. 1809.

The

The Regency, thus appointed by the despised and dispersing central junta, and appointed with the especial injunction, to convene the states of Spain in Cortes, was acknowledged to be the supreme government of the kingdom, by the forces, by the newly created junta of Cadiz; and, what was of more importance, was recognized as such by the British government.

Had the states of Spain been convened in Cortes, at an earlier period, before the country was so fully occupied by the armies of France, and before the parts, which were the fields of the various contests, had been necessarily subjected to military law, a fair representation might, perhaps, have been obtained; and its edicts might have had a due degree of authority, wherever they were promulgated; but at this period, the greater part of Spain was in a state, in which, from the presence of a foreign enemy, and the operations of war, it was impossible, that any freedom of election, or any wisdom, or virtue, in the choice of deputies, should exist. Nevertheless, as it appeared necessary to have the semblance of a body, which should represent the whole of Spain, the Junta, by their last decree, established a mode of supplying representatives for the provinces occupied by the enemy, as well as for the whole of America, by selecting for deputies, a proportion of the inhabitants of those provinces, who had taken refuge within the defences of Cadiz. These men, thus selected, from a small number, under the title of *Suplentes*, were invested with all the faculties of the deputies, elected by the people, and forming nearly one half of the whole number, and a still greater proportion of those, who usually met, they had, subsequently, a powerful ascendancy in the proceedings of the Cortes.

The assembling of this body had been anticipated, with feelings of expectation, which can only be ascribed to the circumstance of the Spanish people, being practically ignorant of the nature of a popular government. Its meeting, therefore, was hailed by all, as a most auspicious event, which was to undo the evils, that the junta had created, and to produce a new era in Spanish affairs; but almost as soon as they were installed, their weakness and folly became evident. The most urgent wants of Spain demanded their first attention, in order to obtain stores, and money, for their troops, and should have had the precedence of every other consideration; but their first days were spent in metaphysical discussions on the rights of man, the sovereignty of the people, and the restrictions on their monarch, and in quarrelling with the regency, who had collected them together.

At a very early period, of their political existence, the Cortes were divided into two parties, the younger members of the assembly,

sembly, including almost the whole of the *suplentes*, were men of experiment, filled with energy and ardour, and ready to adopt such abstract principles of government, and policy, as they had learnt, from political writers, without much consideration of their fitness to the then condition of Spain. The other part of the assembly, composed of the elder members, of the ecclesiastics, and of some of the nobility, were men of prejudice, and bigotry; hating Frenchmen, because they were foreigners; and, for the same reason, if not hating, yet too proud, to imitate the English, in any thing. One party soon adopted the distinguished title of the *Liberales*, and applied to their opponents, the epithet *Serviles*.

As the parties were almost equally divided, and as the junior members, especially the *Suplentes*, possessed the greatest portion of oratorical talent, it became, to the party of the *Liberales*, an object of great consequence, that the proceedings should be public; that the people should be admitted to their debates, and so admitted, that their approbation, or disapprobation should influence the assembly. So early was this interference of the auditors, that on the 29th September, the seventh day after their installation, a motion was made by *Capmany* for a law similar to Cromwell's self-denying ordinance, but carried to a more ridiculous extent as it excluded not only the deputies, but all their relatives, to the fourth degree inclusive, from office, pension, title, reward, or rank, during the time of their being deputies, and for two years afterwards. This motion was concluded by decreeing, that it should be transmitted to "the regents, for their information; to the whole Spanish empire, for its gratification; and to the whole world, for its admiration." After some trifling alterations, the motion was carried by acclamation, amidst the thundering applause of the galleries. One of the elder members, *Hermida*, remarked, in a low, but audible voice: "the law is null, from being a tumultuous proceeding." One of the soi-disant *Liberales*, *Perez de Castro*, then insisted, with vehemence, that for this speech, *Hermida* should be ordered to the bar, and reprimanded by the president. On which, the old member, after an intimation from the president, that he deserved a reprimand, made an explanatory speech, and the other business proceeded.

As I knew *Capmany*, it is but justice to his memory to state, that his learning and talents were respectable, his integrity unquestionable, and his patriotism beyond suspicion. Vanity was natural to a man unexpectedly raised to the situation of creating governments and giving laws to a whole nation; and only vanity, or the desire of popularity could induce a grave

assembly to pass such a decree, when they had no money in their treasury, no district at their command, and no legal power to bestow even a barren title.

I have related this part of the proceedings of the Cortes; because, though not the most striking, it was the first instance of the auditors interfering, by their applause, in the proceedings of the assembly; an interference, however, which, in the sequel, was carried to a much greater extent.

As the assembly, after decreeing the abstract doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, had assumed, in quality of their representatives, the title of *Majesty*, whilst the regents, the executive power, the representatives of the King, were only addressed as "*Highness*," it became necessary, according to their views, to compel every public functionary to take an oath of allegiance to the majesty of the people; an oath, however, which was evaded by several, among others by two of the regents. The venerable Bishop of *Orensee* took the oath, but added "as far as is consistent with my oath of allegiance to Ferdinand the Seventh." This conduct of the Bishop threw the assembly and the galleries into a flame: the Bishop was dismissed from the regency, and continued to be persecuted for a long period. *Lardizabal*, another of the regents, protested afterwards against the oath he had taken. He withdrew from Cadiz, joined the army at Alicant, and whilst fighting the battles of his country, was the subject of prosecution, in a new court erected by the Cortes, some of the judges of which earnestly requested not to be compelled to execute the odious and illegal office.

It is impossible to proceed, in reviewing the conduct of the Cortes, without calling up the recollection of similar events in the French Revolution, to which it bears the most striking resemblance. Like the French Convention, whilst they assumed the most exorbitant power, and persecuted those who questioned, or denied that power, whilst they exercised, by means of their mob, the utmost despotism over some of their own members, they were obliged to submit to the junta of Cadiz, as the French Convention did to the commune of Paris, when ruled by Robespierre, and his associates. The assembly had decreed the sovereignty of the people, and equality of rights; the American deputies, following up the principle, obtained a decree for opening the ports of their native country. This decree would have destroyed the monopoly of Cadiz, most of whose junta were interested in preserving it. It was, however, passed by the Cortes, and ordered to be printed. As soon as the junta of Cadiz were acquainted with the decree, they made such im-
rative

rative remonstrances, that the Cortes were obliged to rescind it; but unfortunately it had been printed; no other means therefore remained, but to disown the order for printing; and the unfortunate printer, who had obeyed their orders, was sent to prison by them for his obedience.

One very striking instance of the despotism of the mob of Cadiz, over the opinions of the members of the Cortes, occurred in October 1811, when they had been long and frequently occupied in establishing modes, for compelling the various public functionaries to take the oath of allegiance to the majesty of the people. Don *José Colon*, one of the chief magistrates of Spain, had presented a memorial to the Cortes, stating, that as an individual he recognised the authority of the sovereign people, and was ready to take the prescribed oath, but as chief magistrate he requested permission to state his doubts, how far he might compromise the obligations of the law, as he feared he might injure his successors in office. This memorial produced long and fierce debates; which, like most of the others, ended in nothing but the shouts of the mob. In the course of the discussion, Senior *Valiente*, a member, rose and stated, that it was not his intention to defend the conduct of Colon, which was not praiseworthy; but he thought there might be some reasons for his fears. This observation produced considerable agitations, and loud murmurs from the galleries, which, with much difficulty, the president calmed, and obtained silence, when Valiente observed, “that the people, or at least a small part of them, were prejudiced, and did not permit the members to form a free opinion.” This remark produced the most violent commotion. Some demanded that Valiente should be committed a prisoner. Others demanded to close the session: and amidst the tumult, the president having risen, the hall was cleared. The mob, however, surrounded the building: and none of the members could leave it till the governor of Cadiz, with an armed force, cleared the way; and then Valiente, under the escort of the governor, at the head of the Walloon Guards, was carried to the mole; and to secure himself from the populace, whom he had offended, was embarked and sent for safety on board one of the ships in the bay, nor ever afterwards resumed his seat in the assembly. Thus a proof was given of the power of the mob, of the dependance of the Cortes, and of the inefficiency of the government, which could not protect the freedom of debate in a body at that time occupied in forming a constitution for the kingdom.

The Cortes, though thus overruled, in their deliberations, by the surrounding populace, found no impediments to their labour

whilst framing and arranging their metaphysical and impracticable constitution, nor in decreeing their own infallibility, when they enacted that no improvement, addition, or diminution, should be even proposed to be made to their constitution, within the first eight years after its being put in force.

As the constitution decreed by the Cortes at Cadiz was never completely acted upon, as the greater part of the Spanish people scarcely knew any thing of it, beyond its title, and as those by whom it was accepted, received it either with disgust, or indifference, it is not worth the trouble of a serious criticism. It is sufficient to remark, that the monarch was degraded into a mere officer of the Cortes, without power to ratify a treaty of peace, of cession, or even of commerce, until that body had approved it; and without authority to march the militia of one province into another, without their previous consent. If he, or the heir apparent, married without their consent, it was to be considered as an abdication of the throne. His ministers might, indeed, propose laws to the Cortes, but were excluded from voting; and though he had a veto on the laws, the exercise of it was so restricted, that it could never be used, without considerable odium. The jealousy of royal power was so excessive, that a committee of seven members of the Cortes was to continue permanent, from the end of one session, to the commencement of the next, for the especial purpose of watching over the infractions, which the King might make on the constitution, and with orders to report such infractions, at the commencement of each session. A council of state, of forty members, of whom four were to be grandees, and four to be ecclesiastics, was to be selected by the King, from a list, prepared by the Cortes, of one hundred and twenty. This council had no negative on the laws; but was to watch over their execution, and to have the patronage of all preferment in the church and the law. The Cortes were to regulate and limit the succession to the throne, to educate the members of the royal family, to regulate their households, and to dispose of them in marriage; and above all, by article 181., they appear to have assumed the power of deposition, for it enacts, "The Cortes ought to *exclude from the succession* any person, or persons, who may be incapable of governing, or who may have done any act, by which they may deserve to forfeit the crown."

Although, in this fanciful constitution, so little care was taken of the power, or the person of the King, there was ample security for the deputies of the Cortes, who were amenable neither by civil, nor criminal process, to any court of judicature; but were to be tried only by their own members.

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The elections were constructed on an arithmetical scale; of one deputy, to each seventy thousand householders, first parochial electors chose deputies to a district assembly, the district electors chose provincial electors, and the provincial electors chose the members to the Cortes. Thus, by three steps, removing the Cortes at a distance from the mass of the people, and destroying what in theory has been supposed the advantages of the representative system, a community of feeling betwixt the people and their representatives, and the dependance of the latter upon the former. I have only farther to remark, that the old institutions of Spain were entirely neglected. The Corporations of the large towns and cities, the Clergy and the Nobility were all reduced to the level of the lowest householder; and property being no part of the basis of the system, no qualification whatever was necessary, for either electors, or elected.

I do not wish, by the representation I give of the proceedings of the Cortes, to condemn the individuals, or to depict their conduct as dictated by any feelings but those of folly and vanity; I am far from suspecting them, either individually or collectively, of any design to betray their country to the enemy, or of introducing anarchy and a civil war; though one or other must have been the consequence of their proceedings, had not the military power, wielded by the Duke of Wellington, so far controlled the feeble influence of the Cortes, as to render their theoretical decrees of little importance, so long as the presence of the enemy gave to the commander of the armies a control greater than theirs. The reports of the proceedings in Cortes, scarcely reached beyond the limits of Cadiz: and whilst they were wasting their time in niceties which were of no consequence, the juntas in Catalonia, in Valencia, in Murcia, and Galicia, were organizing armies, preparing for the defence of their homes, retaining the revenues, for these important objects, and neglecting, or despising, the decisions of the Cortes, who appeared so enamoured of that supreme power, which they had assumed, and which they fancied they exercised, as to overlook, or mismanage the important business of opposing the enemy.

I cannot pass to the conduct of the Cortes, respecting the administration of justice, without remarking, that the abolition of the council of Castile, whose decisions were too frequently biassed by the politics of the court, was yet a great injury to what remained of Spain. The council of Castile, with all its faults, was a body consolidated in public opinion. The Spanish people had venerated it for ages, and the individuals of the tribunal had learnt from their predecessors, through the course of centuries, to respect their own rank, and the public opinion;

and, did no other evidence of their integrity, and firmness remain, their decision in the cause instituted by the Prince of the Peace, against the Duke of *Infantado* and Senor *Escoiquiz*, on the affair of the Escorial, would ever be recorded to their honour. But all was forgotten, in the vain dream of ideal and abstract liberty; the council was deprived of its authority: a new tribunal was erected by the Cortes, which yielded to its will, and in the judgement on Lardizabal, the ex-regent, (who only swore allegiance to the sovereign people, so far as was compatible with his former oath to Ferdinand,) they merely stated, that they had sent the documents to the supreme tribunal, and, having concluded their part of the business, they begged to be relieved from farther responsibility, and referred the judgement to the government, thus leaving to those, who were the prosecutors, the final decision of the cause.

In the paper-constitution, framed by the Cortes, there was a declaration, that no citizen should be imprisoned without a due warrant; and *that* only (except for a capital offence) when there was an apprehension, that he was about to withdraw from justice. Another part of the constitution decreed, that within forty-eight hours after arrest, a magistrate should inform the prisoner of the charge against him. These were, doubtless, wise regulations; and had they been acted upon, would have been highly beneficial; but the Cortes and the Regency trampled on the law, in the most notorious manner, and in frequent instances; one of which deserves to be related, from the mixture of chicanery, and contempt of justice, which it displayed.

Richard Mead, a native of Philadelphia, had been long established, as a merchant, at Cadiz. During the siege, and whilst equipping armies for their defence, the government had been supplied by this man, with corn, flour, and other provisions, to a great amount, under a promise to pay immediately on receiving them. The sum due to Mead was upwards of one million dollars. The accounts were adjusted, and the balance allowed by the public accountant, and even by the Cortes, to whom he had applied for payment. Time passed on. The Cortes decreed, that the regency should discharge the demand. The regency gave an order to the minister of finance; the minister of finance to the treasurer; the treasurer replied to the minister; then it passed to the chief of the secretaries' office; then to the officer who received the provisions; and through a round of other offices, till after this long delay, when it came finally to the treasurer again, he declared that he would not, or could not pay. Mead had exhausted all his means, in satisfying the demands of those correspondents in America, who

who had consigned to him their provisions ; and being thus deprived of his just due by the conduct of the government, he was obliged to stop payment. With the feelings natural to a man in such a situation, his first object was to convince those, to whom he was indebted, that no blame was imputable to him. He therefore drew up, and printed a statement of his case, accompanied with documents sufficient to prove its veracity; but in the introduction, he used some strong expressions, though not more strong than just, against those, who had caused his ruin.

As soon as the pamphlet appeared, the government sent an order to the junta of censure, (a board established under their decree for the *liberty of the press*,) that they should judge the work immediately, "*confining their observations to the title and the introduction.*" Only two expressions could be discovered, on which to found any pretence for trial : and these were stated by the censors to be "enormously blameable, and offensive to the government of the nation, and *therefore* injurious in the highest degree." The regency, instead of recurring to the tribunals, to try the libellist, took a shorter course; seized him in his own house, in the middle of the night; carried him instantly to the public prison, and by their own order, directed the gaoler to keep him closely confined. It was in vain, that Mead claimed the protection of the paper-constitution. It was in vain to point out the sections, by which his case was distinguished as one, where trial ought to precede punishment. It was in vain that he stated, that his peculiar situation, as a creditor of the government, rendered it highly improbable, he should attempt to escape. All was unavailing, and he was confined several months, without trial, to the ruin of his affairs, to the injury of his creditors, and to the everlasting disgrace of the government, who never, during their existence, discharged any part of their debt to him. All this was publicly transacted in the face of their own new-fangled constitution, and within the city of Cadiz, whose streets re-echoed to the shouts of the mobs, with cries of *Liberty! The Constitution! and The Rights of Man!*

The conduct of the late government of Spain, in abolishing the Inquisition, has merited and received the applause of all the more enlightened part of Europe; and had their wisdom been as much exercised, in the mode of carrying the measure into execution, as it was in the abstract decree "that the holy office of the Inquisition being contrary to the constitution of Spain, and injurious to religion, and the state, should be abolished," they would have so far succeeded, as that no change of government could have re-established it. But on this point, it is material to remark, that the war against France partook, in a great degree,

degree, of the nature of a religious war. The Spaniards were taught to expect, that a conquest would lead to the overthrow of their religion, their attachment to which is one of their earliest and strongest feelings. The clergy, both secular and regular, had, at all times, a most powerful influence on the minds of the people; and in the Insurrections that took place throughout Spain, they were the most energetic leaders of the population, and most powerfully inculcated a hatred of the French, as the enemies of religion. The Inquisition, though, by the law, it possessed as much power, as at any former period, had, in fact, ceased to be as formidable, as it had formerly been, either from an increase of knowledge, which though slow, had made some progress in Spain, or from that deference, which the Inquisition found it necessary to pay to public opinion. To whatever cause it may be owing, it is certain that the terrors of the Inquisition had abated; and more than thirty years had elapsed, since any criminal had been executed, in consequence of its authority. When *Joseph Buonaparte* assumed the title of King of Spain, one of his first measures was to decree the abolition of the Inquisition. This, together with the suppression of the convents, was urged by the clergy, as a strong proof of the designs of the French, to abolish all religion; and thus the Inquisition, which had ceased to be the object of regard, became, through a natural spirit of opposition, to be considered as a necessary bulwark of the Christian faith.

When it is considered that the doctrine of religious toleration, though now so obvious in England, France, and Germany, is one of those great truths, which has but of late years so extensively prevailed; and that the duty of extirpating heresy was held to be as sacred by Luther, Calvin, Knox, and their followers, as by the Roman pontiffs themselves, we shall not be surprised, that no writer, no public man, of any party, or description, in Spain, had ever started the opinion, that heresy should be tolerated. Joseph Buonaparte decreed, in his constitution, that the Catholic religion should be established, and no other permitted. Even in America, when the Spanish colonies threw off the authority of the Cortes, and framed for themselves new forms of government, one of the first principles was, that no religion, but the Catholic, should be suffered to exist in their dominions: and the Cortes of Spain, when assembled at Cadiz, in framing the constitution, which I have been considering, laid it down as an incontrovertible maxim, that the Catholic religion was ever to be the sole religion of Spain, and that no other should be exercised, under the penalty of *death*!

When the Cortes had decreed the abstract position, that the Inquisition ought to be abolished, under the pretext, that other tribunals,

tribunals, more congenial to their constitution, should be established, to watch over the purity of the faith, they referred the whole proceeding to a committee, with directions to form a plan, and report it to the assembly. The report was drawn up, at great length, with much knowledge of the ancient laws, and of the history of the first introduction of the Inquisition, but it proceeded upon the supposition so universally acquiesced in, through Spain, that the Catholic religion, being exclusively the true faith, no other ought to be permitted; and then it endeavoured to show, that the Inquisition, not being exactly calculated for the new order of things, other and more efficient tribunals ought to be created, for the purpose, under the title of "Protectors of Religion."

This report of their committee was adopted by the Cortes, and converted into a law; by which a tribunal consisting of four of the canons of each cathedral being licentiates in theology, or in canon law, selected by the Bishop, and approved by the King, was erected to judge of heresy. The ancient laws against heretics were declared to be revived, and in full force, by which a preacher or hearer, convicted of heresy, and refusing to believe, was to be burnt; a hearer of such preacher, though not a follower of his heresy, to be either banished for ever, or imprisoned till he should manifest repentance of his crime; the income of heretics, if priests, to be confiscated for one year to the church, and afterwards to the King, and, if laymen, to their nearest Catholic relations, or in default of them, to the crown. These new tribunals were to direct the civil officers to arrest the accused, and on his conviction to execute the sentence adjudged by the "Protectors of Religion." The law contained other regulations concerning books on religion, which were to be licenced by the Bishop before they could be printed; and the custom-houses, in the sea-ports, and on the frontiers, were strictly enjoined to take the greatest care, that no prohibited book or books against religion should be introduced from foreign countries. An individual might become the prosecutor of heretics before these tribunals; but if no individual should undertake the task, it became the duty of the ecclesiastical fiscal to prosecute.

Notwithstanding the barbarity of this law, it must be allowed to be more consistent with the tolerant views of the enlightened parts of Europe than the tribunal of the Inquisition, which it suppressed. The clergy of Spain, however, dreaded incredulity. Their horror of the Inquisition had been lessened, by its having become the object of Buonaparte's hatred; and suspicions were afloat, that some members of the Cortes, among the party called *Liberales*, were more than indifferent to the religion
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of their country. In this state, it is not surprising, that the ecclesiastics should have been averse to the new law, and its tribunals; and if among each other they argued reasonably in defence of the Inquisition; their language was of this kind: "You allow, that the Catholic religion alone should be permitted, that no other should be endured, that all heretics should be punished, and all heresy extirpated. Now as it is more humane to prevent, than to punish it, and as the Inquisition is principally employed in extirpating the seeds of heresy, and not permitting them to bring forth their deleterious fruit, it is better that an old institution should remain so employed, than that new ones should be established without the power of preventing, but only with authority to punish the crime."

Though it is easy for those, who deny the first principle, the exclusive nature of religious creeds, to escape so absurd a conclusion; it is not wonderful, that among the Spanish clergy, it should have produced a powerful effect, and rendered them averse to participating in what, they were led to suppose, was the first step towards an attack upon their religion.

If, when the law was promulgated, the Cortes had possessed sufficient wisdom to have adopted and acted upon the report of their committee, there would have been an end of the Inquisition, perhaps for ever. The salaries and fees of the officers being abolished, they would probably have sought other means of subsistence, the buildings, being appropriated to other purposes, would not easily have been restored to their former use; the civil officers being ordered to yield no obedience to the Inquisition, they would have been powerless, and therefore ceased to be intrusive. Thus, without clamour, or confusion, the object might have been accomplished; but the stage effect, which too much prevails in all popular assemblies, and which peculiarly prevailed in the Cortes, would have been wanting; and therefore one of the party of the Liberales, to give eclat to the law, proposed, "that the report of their committee, together with the decree, should be read, three successive Sundays, by the priest, in each church, immediately before the celebration of high mass." This motion, thus suddenly made, was carried by the assembly, with the acclamations of the members and the applause of the galleries.

It is much easier, for a popular assembly, to decree a law, than to enforce its observance. The decree was communicated to the regents, who were ordered to enforce its execution; but the priests refused to read a long homily (for such was the report) during divine service, at the dictation of laymen, without the authority of their spiritual superiors. The regents saw the

the folly of the measure, and knew how little was the extent of their power: they therefore appear to have done no more, than was directed by the decree. They communicated the law, but took no strong measure to enforce its execution. With only one exception, all the clergy omitted the reading. The assembly became irritated: and in a moment of irritation, totally changed the government, by dismissing the regents, and appointing others; but the law was still unexecuted: the Bishops of Jaen, Granada, and Malaga, with the nuncio of the Pope, a Spaniard, at their head, insisted on the superiority of their spiritual office, in spiritual affairs. The clamours of the Cortes, their irritable feelings, and their virulent resolutions, could not prevail*; and the only effect produced by them was an attachment to the Inquisition among the body of the clergy, not so much for its own sake, at first, as to show a spirit of opposition to the Cortes, whom they considered as the enemies of their order, and of their faith. The banishment of the Pope's nuncio gratified only the wrath of the assembly. All the clergy partook of the disgrace, and felt a sympathy with the man, whom they considered a martyr to the rights of their order.

The sudden dismissal of the regency, on this occasion, which was done without examination into their conduct, without any other cause of complaint, than that they had applied to the Cortes, to convince them of the impracticability of enforcing a decree, carried in one sitting, and by a single vote, destroyed the feeble remains of what should have been the executive power. The representative of majesty, placed all authority in the hands of the Cortes, and destroyed the confidence of all the Spaniards, who heard of the transaction, beyond the walls of Cadiz, in the stability, or the integrity of the government.

It should be remarked, that the disturbances and agitations originated not from the decree of abolition, but from a law neither contained in the project, nor proposed by the committee,

* During one of those stormy days, which frequently occurred in the assembly, whilst this business occupied their attention, a motion was made for a censure on the nuncio, it was lost by 80 votes against 79, the unsuccessful party insisted that the votes had been miscounted; the galleries took part in the discussion; and the hall was converted into a scene of confusion. One of the members, looking towards the gallery, exclaimed, "I consider myself as destitute of freedom in this assembly, as though I were a prisoner under the bayonets of Buonaparte; various times have I been insulted from the galleries; I have been followed to my house by a threatening mob, and have been pelted by them, with the expectation, that I could be intimidated." This remark increased the confusion; and, with great difficulty, the assembly proceeded to other business.

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which had prepared the report — a law, which probably those, who voted for it, had never thought of, till one of the leaders of the ruling party proposed it, in the exultation of his heart, in the moment of victory. Whenever the supreme power resides in an assembly which has no limitations to its authority, and which by a single vote can make a proposition pass into a law, the nation is exposed to greater evils than can be produced by the inconsideration and hastiness of the most violent and despotic monarch; for the decisions are made in all the heat of debate, and on points, which, though accidental to the debate, become essential in the effect of the law; they are made from spite, with minds irritated by opposition, and with that irritation often increased by the supposed obstinacy of their opponents, or what they deem the unfair means adopted to overturn their arguments. A despotic monarch has time to consider and reflect before he executes his decrees, but a popular assembly, when it decrees, must execute; and hence in all countries and ages, democracy has been the worst species of tyranny.

It deserves here to be noticed, that while the contest about reading the report in the church was at its height, the Cortes passed a new law, enacting the punishment of banishment and confiscation to whosoever should, by writing or speaking, attempt to persuade the people that the new constitution ought not to be maintained; and also inflicting the punishment of death on any who should conspire to introduce any other religion than the Catholic, or should attempt to withdraw the Spanish people from their attachment to it. The first part of the law was probably intended to frighten, the latter to flatter the clergy.

Whilst this pretended government of Spain, which ruled within Cadiz, by flattering the populace, and by obeying the impulse, which that populace too frequently communicated, was occupied with abstract speculations and insignificant debates, the people of Spain who had no intercourse with them, but what was occasional and accidental, were worthily employed in harassing the detachments of the enemy, intercepting their communications, destroying them in detail, and thus occupying the attention of a great portion of their troops, so as to relieve the allied army, under our great commander, from a part of that overwhelming force, which might otherwise have defeated his plans for the liberation of the Peninsula.

The people of Spain had heard, that a Spanish government existed at Cadiz. Of its metaphysics they knew nothing; of its members but little; but as the armies of France were successively driven from the several provinces, commissioners
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from the government appeared, assuming an authority, which there was no time to examine, and enforcing oaths to a new constitution, which there was no time to discuss and scarcely to read. The oaths were, however, generally taken; but with an indifference or a repugnance, that shewed the spectators how little was the effect of them, and how short a period the impression would remain. The French troops were nearly driven out of Spain by the end of the year 1813. This was the period, which had been assigned, as the termination of the power of the extraordinary Cortes. Madrid, the capital, and centre of the kingdom, was free from the enemy: and therefore a natural expectation existed, that the government would be removed to that city; but the populace of Cadiz prevailed over the feeble regency, and the permanent committee of the Cortes, who (either directing, or directed by the mob,) remained there, though the city was visited with an epidemical fever, which rendered communication dangerous, until the period, when the newly chosen deputies were collected at Madrid. At length, the regents escaped from the power of the Cadiz people; and followed by the agitators, who had filled the galleries of the Cortes, hastened to the capital.

When the new Cortes chosen by the people, without any *Suplentes*, was assembled in Madrid, it was evident, that a majority was hostile to the principles and conduct of the *Liberales*. A very great proportion of its members were of the clerical profession; so that their enemies, in ridicule, called it a conclave, not a Cortes. The *Liberales*, who saw their inferiority in numbers, soon formed a party, which filled the galleries, hoping thus, as at Cadiz, to overawe their opponents. The province of Galicia, the most populous in Spain, had during the war, whilst the government was enclosed in Cadiz, kept on foot a large army, without any assistance from it. This province, when it became liberated from the enemy, had been too much occupied in its defence, to turn its attention to abstract opinions; and had not taken the oaths prescribed by the Cortes of Cadiz when they were elected deputies, but took those oaths immediately afterwards.

As the deputies of this province were supposed to be unfriendly to the *Liberales*, that party endeavoured to exclude them from their seats in the Cortes; and as it was the first attempt to try the strength of the two parties, the *Liberales* were found in a minority, and their opponents were reinforced by the addition of the deputies from Galicia. No means were left untried to terrify the deputies of one party and to fortify those of the other. Concerts of music were given before the
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doors of the philosophic orators; and the mob was taught to hiss and abuse their opponents, both in the house and in the streets. This decision in the affair of the Gallician deputies having shown the sense of the majority of the Cortes, only served still more to enrage the *Liberales*, and drove them to measures, which reduced the government to a cypher, and gave all power to their mob.

The Cortes assembled on the 16th January; and so adroitly had the minority taken their measures with the populace, that within a fortnight, many members of the stronger party were afraid to enter the assembly; and on the 3d of February, *Reyna*, one of the members for Seville, having spoken a few words in behalf of the royal authority, was interrupted by the galleries. The *Liberales* encouraged the commotion: a tumult ensued: and it ended in committing Reyna to prison, and ordering him for trial, before that very tribunal, which had been created at Cadiz, and which had conducted itself so infamously in the cause of the ex-regent Lardizabal. From this period, the mob of Madrid ruled the city. The most numerous and peaceable part of the inhabitants confined themselves to their houses; and the majority of the members, those who opposed the *Liberales*, were exposed to such insults, and received so little protection from the regency, that they scarcely dared venture to the place of meeting.

On the 8th of February, the majority had fixed to make a motion for removing the regency, which had been created by the Cortes of Cadiz, and had imbibed all their bad passions; and agreeably to a provision in their constitution, they meant to appoint the nearest relation of the King to the office of sole regent, during the captivity. The opposite party obtained a knowledge of the design, and under the pretence of a plot against the government, *Villacampa*, Governor of Madrid, a dependent on the regency, distributed ball cartridges to all the garrison, and announced an intended insurrection. The peaceable citizens remained at home, and barricaded their houses, the profligate mob was let loose, and the loyal members prevented from attending the Cortes; so that the motion was necessarily postponed. They were not, however, deterred from their purpose by this tumult; but had determined to make their proposition in writing, to sign it with the name of each individual member, who approved it, and lay it before the president in a secret session. The *Liberales*, as soon as they knew of the project, circulated hand bills through the quarters of the city inhabited by the lower class of citizens, informing them that a scheme was on foot to destroy the constitution; but that

seven hundred men were prepared for its defence, distinguished by yellow cockades, and armed with knives, who on a signal being given by two rockets, from the door of the assembly, would rush on the guilty members, and put them instantly to death; under such threats, however, the motion was gaining signatures, till the arrival of the King, within his own dominions, rendered such a measure unnecessary.

The arrival of Ferdinand was an unexpected event. The different parties in Spain all agreed in the opinion, that Buonaparte would not release him, without making such favorable terms, as would convert Spain, if not into an ally, at least into a neutral power; but the pressing state of his affairs, within the few last days of his power, seems to have dictated the resolution to liberate the King without conditions; Ferdinand arrived in Spain unacquainted with the state of its affairs, with the situation of its armies, with the characters and designs of those who ruled the kingdom; and with the events that had taken place during his absence. He appears to have hesitated, in what manner to act. The new constitution prescribed that each King, at his accession, should take an oath to preserve it inviolate; but his was not an accession: he had previously ascended the throne: and he was certainly justified, in waiting, till he understood the situation of the kingdom more accurately, before he fettered himself with engagements, which it might afterwards be difficult to break. Whilst in this state of suspense, amidst the warmest joy of his subjects, for his return, and the strongest professions of allegiance from his troops, one of the deputies arrived from Madrid, and had an audience at Valencia, in which he laid before him a memorial, fully exposing the evils, which Spain had suffered from the democratic government, representing the oppression, to which the majority of the Cortes were subjected by the power of the mob, lamenting that the old system of convening the Cortes, in classes of the nobles, the clergy, and the commons had been abolished, stating the absurd dogmas, on which the new constitution was grounded, condemning the obstacles thrown by the *Liberals* in the way of "the Great Chief Lord WELLINGTON, whose name (says the memorial) will remain for ever engraved in the hearts of the Spaniards," and praying that the King would dissolve the Cortes, and call the States together according to the ancient customs of Spain, and that until they could meet, the old constitution and laws might be restored, and those enacted by the Cortes at Cadiz be abolished.

This memorial was signed by sixty-nine members of the Cortes, among whom were only eight American deputies; so that,
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in fact, a very large proportion of the representatives of Old Spain affixed their signatures to the address, which requested their own dismissal. Though thus urged by them, and by the principal inhabitants of every city and town through which he passed, (for he had deviated from the direct road to visit several large towns,) as well as by the different commanders of the forces, King Ferdinand waited nearly six weeks, till he could become better acquainted with the condition, in which the kingdom was found, before he issued the decree for the dissolution of the assembly; a decree received with the most abundant applause by all orders of men in Spain, except by some of the lower classes, who had been flattered by the notion of their being sovereigns, and had been indulged in riot, confusion, and mischief by the ruling party.*

The decree abolishing the Cortes, restoring the ancient laws, and promising to convene a future assembly, by orders of nobles, clergy, and commons, was cheerfully acquiesced in by the majority of that body; and though the minority blustered, appealed to their constitution, threatened a civil war, and made the mob shout, they soon ceased, and Ferdinand entered his capital amidst the most exhilarating symptoms of joy, and the most heartfelt tokens of congratulation. One portion of his subjects especially rejoiced in that part of the decree, which enjoined the liberation of all prisoners, and the cessation of all processes against those who had opposed the constitution, or refused to take the oaths it prescribed; among numerous prisoners, Reyna, the member for Seville, was set at liberty, and those who feared ruin from the prosecutions before the infamous tribunal created at Cadiz, were at once relieved from their apprehensions.

The ordinary Cortes remained in power little more than three months. During that period, the regency, appointed by its predecessors, afforded its members no protection against the populace; and yet it would be unjust not to state, that in all matters in which the influence of the minority or the galleries did not interfere, they discovered considerable talents and industry; that in the transactions respecting the negotiation which was carried

* Many persons well acquainted with the state of Spain, are of opinion that it would have been impossible for Ferdinand to have preserved the constitution, had he been so disposed; and they urge as a proof of it, the commotions in Seville, and other places, which broke out against the Liberales and the regents, as soon as the release of the King was announced. In Seville, the people proclaimed Ferdinand, amidst shouts of "Down with the constitution," "Up with the Inquisition," and in Madrid, before the King's arrival in the capital, the assembled people changed their cries, broke into the house in which the Cortes met, erased the word "Constitution," from the walls, and dragging to a public square the statue of Liberty, beheaded it with exultation.

on between Buonaparte and the imprisoned Ferdinand, they showed much wisdom, and a high feeling of honour, towards their own country, and their ally, the British government; and that by abolishing the royal monopoly of tobacco, with all its abuses and oppressions, they rendered a more real service to Spain, than was conferred by all the philosophical decrees of the Cortes of Cadiz.

It is not unusual to hear the restored monarch severely censured, and accused of ingratitude towards those, who, during his captivity, defended his rights, protected his throne, and suffered the severest calamities from their adherence to his cause. If the Cortes of Cadiz had thus acted, however we might condemn their vanity, or censure their folly, however we might despise their theories, or be disgusted with their presumption, we should still feel respect for their exertions, and sympathize with their sufferings; but instead of directing the energies of the Spanish people to oppose the enemy, to conciliate the allies, or to soothe the feelings of their American fellow-subjects, they frittered away what few means of war they possessed, in silly projects, and disastrous expeditions; they excited the most unfounded jealousies against their British allies, and accused those, who fostered the connection, of what they represented as a crime, under the epithet of Anglicism; they declared the sovereignty of the people of America, as well as of Spain; and they excited a civil war in those extensive and interesting settlements, which destroyed their own pecuniary resources, and which still rages with devouring fury. Amidst the mischiefs, which they thus produced or nurtured, they were quietly secured within the strong walls of Cadiz, intoxicated with the applauses of its mob; and coolly calculating the most effectual means for reducing the monarch to a cypher, for degrading the nobility and clergy, and for superseding the judicial power by their new-fangled tribunals, which were equally destitute of attachment to their old or their new laws.

To those men, to this party, calling themselves *Liberales*, FERDINAND could owe no debt of gratitude; but a large debt of gratitude, from him, and from the whole of the civilized world, is due to the *Spanish People*, who first, in a mass, opposed the tyranny of Buonaparte; who when by the defeat of their regular troops they were reduced to the feeblest condition, never thought of submitting to his oppressive power; but amidst every calamity, and after every reverse, still persevered in resistance, and demonstrated to awakening Europe, that no power can conquer a nation determined to be free. Gratitude is due to the *Nobles*, who relinquished their extensive domains to become refugees in the most distant corners of the peninsula; or like the Duke of Albuquerque, the Marquis Romana, and many others of their

rank, presented themselves foremost, wherever the greatest danger appeared. Gratitude is due to the *Clergy*, whose powerful influence was exercised, in exciting indignation against their invaders, in keeping alive the spirit of resistance, in preaching patience and fortitude, under the most calamitous reverses, and in affording the consolations of religion to those, who without its powerful aid, might have faltered in their course, from despairing of its issue.

Gratitude is due to the *Provinces*, which formed armies of their own population, and at their own cost, without any assistance from the Cortes of Cadiz. Gratitude is due to the numerous bands of *Guerrillas*, which every town and hamlet assisted to recruit, with voluntary and unpaid defenders, and who were indebted neither for arms, ammunition, nor provisions, to the deputies at Cadiz. Gratitude is due to the unarmed and defenceless population, to the females, and to the aged, who at the approach of the enemy, abandoned their dwellings, retired to the mountains, and carried with them those provisions, which the armies of France most urgently wanted. Gratitude is due to these, and indeed to all classes of the Spanish nation; and ill would that debt of gratitude have been discharged, if, at the dictation of a few speculative and theoretic men, they had been deprived of their King, their laws, and their religion, which were the strongest and dearest objects of their attachment.

Though I have thus written to you my strong feelings, on the conduct of those, who directed the affairs of Spain, during the captivity of their monarch, I am far from thinking, that some happy medium between the democratic folly of the Cortes, and the arbitrary government of Charles the Fourth, might not have been adopted, and have led to that progressive improvement, which is so highly to be desired in all political affairs. But it was not possible to proceed on the basis of the Cadiz constitution, which, if it produced some useful decrees, was mixed with others so absurd and so derogatory to the rights and interests of the King, the nobles, and the clergy, as completely to disgust almost the whole Spanish nation. Besides, that constitution was not simply tendered to King Ferdinand, to be accepted, in whole or part, or to be modified at his discretion. He was to swear to the whole of the mystic book, or to be at once discarded from his throne. At the moment of his reaching the frontiers, he was received by the troops of the Cortes, who with ill-disguised fetters, were to conduct him into the midst of that body, there to take the irrevocable oath. Spain resounded, meanwhile, with the threats of the *Liberales*, sometimes proposing to transfer the crown to the next heir, sometimes to levy an army against Ferdinand

dinand by their own authority. Was it possible for the King to enter into a treaty of compromise with such a party? If it was possible, it surely was not to be expected.

In looking at the state of Spain, when the new constitution was abolished, and the kingly power re-assumed, we behold a kingdom divided into two parties, as distant from each other as the north from the south; one small in number, and obliged to dissemble, or to hide its principles; the other numerous, and supported by the prejudices of the great mass of the population; the first, distinguished by its violence and warmth, the latter, by its obstinacy and union; the former, professing principles, which, in their origin and tendency, are favourable to the improvement of the nation, but in the crude and fermented state, in which they held them, could cause only confusion and anarchy; the latter, closing their eyes against all illumination, wishing to check all improvement, and only desiring that no innovation may be made in their ancient usages.

In this state of things, the most judicious course for the counsellors of Ferdinand to pursue, was undoubtedly to allow time to heal the wounds of the state, to soothe and calm the violent passions which agitated men's minds, and to wait with patience for a period, when the amelioration of the country might be promoted without so violent a concussion, as would have been at that moment inevitable. I have reason to believe, that some of the wisest and best of the Spanish statesmen were influenced by motives of this description, and I trust you will agree with me in thinking their conduct, if not abstractedly the best that could have been adopted, yet perhaps the least inconvenient, in the then situation of Spain.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

W. J.

LETTER. VI. (Extract.)

On Junius.

To Monsieur de Fr——.

“**YOU** ask, what it is, that makes the English so anxious, at this time of day, to know who wrote the letters of Junius. ‘A new JUNIUS IDENTIFIED,’ say you, ‘is just announced.

Does this last discovery throw any additional light on the events of 1770? If not, *cui bono* so many octavo volumes, on a question of little importance to literature, and of less to history?"

"You must know, that the admiration of Junius's style is an article of faith, with most of our literati. I am a sort of heretic even on that point; but if this anonymous politician had written, as the Mussulmen say Mahomet did, with a pen from the wing of the angel Gabriel, still the inveterate malignity of his heart would leave me more than indifferent to the knowledge of his person. I should be sorry to discover, that any man, otherwise respectable, had been guilty of writing the letters of Junius. I have sons of my own, whom I wish to see well instructed, at least in their native language; but they shall never, with my consent, read Junius, for his style, till their minds are strong enough to detect and to abhor his vices. Junius was a selfish, vindictive libeller, who disgraced the name of Patriot by private rancour: and it is a curious circumstance, that the two last attempts to discover him set out upon the very ground of his selfishness. One writer says, that Junius was the Duke of PORTLAND; because that nobleman lost an estate, in a lawsuit with the crown; the other, that he was Sir PHILIP FRANCIS; because Sir Philip was deprived of a place in the War-office. The Duke of Portland is dead; but Sir Philip, who is living, has repelled the accusation as a 'silly, malignant falsehood.' Indeed, no honorable and candid mind could have lavished such gross personal abuse on so many eminent men, merely because they were of a different party: no good subject could have held the King up to such unjust contempt: no real friend to the constitution could have spoken so injuriously of the existing government, still less have depreciated and vilified both Houses of Parliament, in order to elevate the corporation of London, and to preach up popular insurrection. Viewing this writer, as I ever have done, with detestation, and thinking that his example has gone far toward promoting a spirit of false patriotism, a coarse, blustering style of writing, a relish for personal abuse, and a total disregard of all candor in the discussion of political questions, you will not expect me to feel much interest in assigning to him 'a local habitation and a name.' I believe, that the true author of Junius has not yet been discovered: and I hope, he will ever remain unknown."

J. S.

LETTER

LETTER VII. (Translation.)

On the Royalists of Britany, and the Marquis De La Rouerie.

To J. S. Esq.

Dear Sir,

October 4. 1816.

I HAVE really at heart the sort of reproach, conveyed in your observation, on the part, which was taken by the noblesse of Britany, in the outset of the French Revolution. You cited the words of M. DE MONTJOIE*, who designates the discontent of the Breton nobility, in 1788, as "excessive," and speaks of their protest against the establishment of the *Couir Pleniére* as "strange." Hence you seemed to infer, that we Bretons had little right to quarrel with a revolution, to which we had, in some sort, given an example. You evidently misconceived the principles, on which we then acted, (for I am proud to say, that I was one of the individuals, who took part in those proceedings,) and which have continued to regulate the conduct of the Royalists of Britany, from that time to the present. Permit me to prove to you, that we have always been equally attached to the laws and liberties handed down to us from our ancestors; and if, in our opposition to the ministerial despotism of 1788, we rested firmly, and unanimously, on the constitutional laws of our province, we were equally ready to maintain, with our lives and fortunes, those constitutional laws, when, together with the throne itself, they were attacked by a set of unprincipled demagogues. *

You know, that the duchy of Britany was united to the crown of France, by the double marriage of our last Duchess, ANNE, with Charles VIII., and Louis XII., and not by conquest. Our sovereign, and the states of Britany, then stipulated for the preservation of our liberties, immunities, and privileges; and at every subsequent meeting of the three estates, the King's commissioner, in his name, recognized those liberties, immunities, and privileges, before it was possible to proceed in discussing the subsidies demanded by the court, — subsidies, known in Britany, exclusively, by the name of *Free Gifts*. Our fathers knew how to defend the rights of their country against the reiterated attempts of the ministers, particularly in the reigns of *Louis XIII.*,

* Conspiracy of the Duke of Orleans, vol. i. pp. 145, 146.

Louis XIV., and *Louis XV.* In vain were they exiled, or shut up in state prisons, in vain were troops repeatedly marched to intimidate them. Unarmed, and never swerving from their allegiance, as faithful subjects, they contented themselves with opposing to all these vexations the synallagmatic contract of the Duchess Anne, and the sacred and solemn engagements of eleven successive kings.

We had not degenerated, in 1788, from our fathers: on the contrary, we manifested a similar attachment to the constitution of our country, a similar resolution to preserve the inheritance which they had bequeathed to us. At that epoch, the minister, M. De BRIENNE, Archbishop of Sens, had formed the revolutionary project of suppressing all the *Parliaments*, which you know was the name given to the highest courts of justice, in the different provinces of the French monarchy. This was the more alarming, because, in the absence of the States-General and Provincial, the Parliaments were the only constitutional body, in activity, standing between the throne and the people, to watch over the rights and privileges of each. In M. De Brienne's plan, they were to be superseded, throughout France, by a high court of justice for the whole kingdom, called a-*Cour Plénier*e. This attempt being, in an especial manner, injurious to the privileges, liberties, and immunities of Britany, the Breton nobility assembled, in order to carry to the foot of the throne a remonstrance, similar to those which had already been sent thither by the Parliament of Britany.*

* When the Parliaments of Paris and Bourdeaux were banished, in 1787, from their ordinary places of sitting, for refusing to register the edicts for imposition of new taxes, all the other bodies of the same kind, throughout the kingdom, took the alarm, and among them the Parliament of Britany, which, on the 6th of December of that year, issued an *arrêt* on the subject, and shortly afterwards drew up a remonstrance to the King. The keeper of the seals hereupon ordered the first president, and two other judges of this tribunal to Versailles, where the King gave them an audience on the 2d of January, told them that the proceedings relative to the other Parliaments did not concern them, and dismissed them, with a strict charge to execute his orders punctually for the future. When the first President laid this discourse before his brethren of the Parliament of Britany, that body immediately decreed a new remonstrance and, notwithstanding the adoption of severe measures against them, they persevered in this course, until the King agreed to the general request of all the parliaments, by convoking the States-General. When His Majesty's intention to this effect was made known to the Parliament of Britany, an *arrêt* was passed, thanking His Majesty most humbly and most respectfully for the approaching assemblage of the States-General, of which the Parliament declared that it would not cease to demand the convocation, "according to the *legal and constitutional forms*;" and that, "because the three estates of the province of Britany should be inviolably maintained in all their rights, franchises, and liberties." See *Proces Verbal*, 11 Oct. 1788.

Twelve gentlemen of our province proceeded as a deputation of their order to the King, with instructions to obtain, if possible; an audience of His Majesty, and to lay the remonstrance before his own eyes; they used all their efforts to accomplish this end, but the ministers took care to close against them the avenues to the throne. As a last resource, the deputies invited all the Seigneurs then at Paris, who had possessions in Britany, or were otherwise connected with the province, to hold a general meeting. Sixty persons of rank attended, and most of them engaged themselves on their word of honour to aid the deputies in the object of their mission. The ministers at length beginning to fear, that the King would be informed of the real state of affairs, procured twelve *Lettres de Cachet*, in virtue of which they arrested the twelve deputies, and shut them up in the Bastille. No sooner had they done this than they followed up the blow by dispatching the Marshal de Stainville with a large military force into Britany, to bring us, as they were pleased to say, to reason! The Marshal arrived at Rennes, his pockets full of *Lettres de Cachet*, his troops at his heels, and a horde of spies and police officers from Paris attending him.* As for us, in spite of all this formidable apparatus, we stuck firmly to our text, and undismayed by the imprisonment of the first twelve deputies, we called on the clergy and the *Tiers Etat*, to join us in a second deputation. The call was not in vain: the three orders assembled in the nine different bishopricks of the province, and elected fifty-three deputies, namely, eighteen for the nobility, eighteen for the clergy, and seventeen for the *Tiers Etat*, to proceed to the court for the purpose of demanding the deliverance of the former twelve, and of laying again, at the foot of the throne, their just complaints. The arrival of the fifty-three at Versailles, made the ministers hesi-

* The Marshal de Stainville drew on himself great odium by this mission. However he justified himself like a soldier, when he was tauntingly asked by the Duke of Orleans how he, a Marshal of France, could accept such an employ. Good God! Sir, said he, I accept nothing, I obey. The manner of executing his duty was also said to be unnecessarily harsh, and some expressions which he was reported to have used of the Bretons in general, and particularly of the young Count *De Keratry*, one of the deputies of the nobility, provoked a most biting letter from the sister of that gentleman, in which she reminded him of the duel between her father and the Marquis de Sabran. The latter, at a meeting of the States in a different province, had uttered some general sarcasms on the Bretons. M. de Keratry, who happened to be present, called the next day on M. de Sabran, and demanded satisfaction for the insult, in which he shared with all his countrymen. They met sword in hand. M. de Keratry was the first wounded. M. Sabran thereupon offered to desist, saying, "You are wounded, Sir." "When a Breton is wounded," replied the Count de Keratry, "he kills his adversary." The combat recommenced with greater fury: and the Marquis de Sabran was run through the body, and died on the spot.

tate. The deputation obtained an audience. The governor of the Bastille received orders to treat his twelve prisoners with mildness and polite attentions. They were permitted to walk on the platform of the Bastille, where they could be seen from the old garden of the arsenal, and to this garden every day resorted some of the fifty-three, as did all the loyal Bretons at Paris, for the sake of testifying to the twelve, by signs, the interest that was taken in their welfare. Finally, toward the end of September, 1788, the King gave an order to the governor of the Bastille to release all at once these twelve noblemen, who accordingly returned in triumph to their native province, accompanied by their fifty-three associates. On their arrival in Britany, they were received the more joyfully because their release was the signal for the re-establishment of the parliaments in their functions, and for the dismissal of M. de Brienne from the ministry.

Shortly afterwards, the new plans for convoking the States-General of France began to be talked of; and preparatory thereto an assembly of the States of Britany (unhappily the last) was held in the latter part of the year. Above 1000 gentlemen of noble families, on this occasion, had bound themselves to each other, by oath*, not to sanction any innovation derogatory to the liberties, privileges, and immunities belonging to the province of Britany. These were their heritage, and they had a right to uphold them; but the order of the *Tiers Etat* then, for the first time, refused to deliberate with the clergy and the nobility. It has since been proved, that M. Necker underhand stirred up this opposition on the part of the *Tiers Etat*. The members of the nobility were actually obliged to mount guard, every night, over the archives of the states, to prevent their being plundered and destroyed. Many were assaulted and ill treated, as they went to and returned from the sittings of their order; and two† actually lost their lives, in an attack made upon them in broad day, and in the open square of Rennes, without any reparation ever being made to justice for this atrocity.

As for us, we wished for no revolution, and we contributed to none. In the beginning of 1789, preparations were made for the election of deputies of the three orders, in all the provinces of France, to form the States-General of the kingdom. This election, however, was proposed to be conducted, not according to the constitutional laws of each province, but according to an insidious plan

* The oath of the Gentlemen of Britany was their word of honor, which they formally gave, in the hall of the States, laying their hands on the hilts of their swords. These 1000 Gentlemen (*Gentilshommes*) were all members of the order of Noblesse by birth, and not by election.

† M. M. De Boishue and De St. Riveul.

of the *Genevese*, who was then minister of the finances. The clergy and nobility of Britany saw through the snare; but the *Tiers Etat*, flattered by the offer of a double representation, proceeded at once to the choice of its deputies. The nobility assembled at St. Brieuc, where those who were seduced by the wishes of the court, or by the desire of shining and taking a lead in a national assembly, proposed to vote according to the plan of M. Necker; but the more generous spirits, and more profound statesmen, easily refuted this proposition. They observed, that the gentlemen of Britany had never yet violated the laws of honor, still less the sanctity of oaths; that a happy presentiment had inspired them at the last meeting of the states, to take on themselves the solemn engagement of maintaining the privileges so dear to all the Bretons; and that the French constitution was destroyed beforehand, by the new mode of convocation proposed. These reasons prevailed: and the nobility of Britany have the glory of never having sent any deputation to those fatal States-General, which, from innovation to innovation, produced the ruin of France. I say, therefore, that we are entirely guiltless of the revolution which has desolated both our country, and the rest of the kingdom. I say, that we have more cause for complaint than the other gentlemen of France. We have lost our *country*; they have lost only their property, and some titles of little real importance. If the clergy and nobility of the other provinces had followed our example, in refusing to send deputations to the States-General, under their new and illegal form of convocation, Messrs. NECKER and Co. would probably have been not a little embarrassed, perhaps entirely arrested, in their fatal enterprises against the ancient constitution of France.

I have spoken of the insuperable resistance, which was opposed, on various occasions, in the history of our province, to ministerial encroachment. This was effected by very simple means. We were united together by a general bond of honor; and we knew how to mark with infamy our false brethren, who became the sycophants of the court. There was a sort of tacit proscription, which we called *scission*, by which we, as it were, cut them off, and cast them from us. Eighty-three Breton gentlemen, together with their families, underwent this punishment; in consequence of which, their names were never mentioned in good society, and if it became necessary to write any thing relative to them, they were designated by the initial letters of two words, the vulgarity of which only rendered them the more expressive.

Such were the bonds, which united the gentlemen of Britany, and which sufficiently explain, why the same men, who were the most zealous defenders of the rights of their country,

country, were also the most ardent Royalists. The King was dear to them by more than one title: they loved him as King of France, and they loved him as Duke of Britany. At this day, there are not wanting examples among my countrymen, which show the force of deep-rooted principle. M. *De Kergorlay* is a true gentleman of Britany. M. *De Chateaubriand* has lately put me in mind that he is one also, and that two of my cousins have espoused two of his sisters. But I shall not trouble you with any particulars relative to men, whose names are in every body's mouth, and who rank among the most distinguished characters of the present time. I will, with your leave, draw the picture of a near relation of my own, the friend of my youth, whose history, worthy to be placed beside that of the brave LA ROCHE JAQUELIN, while it seems to border on romance, demands the admiration and the regrets of real life."

The person of whom I am about to speak, was ARMAND TUFIN, Marquis of LA ROUERIE. He was a Breton of an ancient family, and entered young into the regiment of French guards. The warmth of his passions, and a youthful imagination, inflamed by the seductive eloquence of Rousseau's *Héloïse*, made him soon find a Julie, in the person of a beautiful actress at the Opera. In the height of his enthusiasm, he went so far as to offer her marriage. His family and friends took the alarm, and interposed. He escaped from them, and shut himself up in the seclusion of La Trappe: they sought him there, and brought him back to Paris: but the fatal passion had laid too fast hold of him; and they found there was no other way of overpowering it, but by opening to him the path of glory.

The rebellion of the North American colonies against the crown of England had broken out, and WASHINGTON had already rendered his name famous, when the Marquis of La Rouerie quitted his country, to serve under the hero of the western hemisphere. He sailed from Nantes in an American schooner, commanded by one Anderson, who was sent by Franklin, with dispatches to the Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. Arriving at the mouth of the Delaware, Anderson found himself surrounded and cut off by three English ships of war, and knew that if captured, he ran the risk of being hanged, as a rebel. He therefore took the desperate resolution of blowing himself up, with his vessel; but before he executed this design, he communicated it to M. De La Rouerie, begging him, at the same time, to convey the dispatches to their destination. The latter immediately threw himself into a boat with them, and made for the land; exposed to the fire of the English vessels. In the attempt, the boat was struck by a shot, and went down; but De La Rouerie saved himself by swimming, and reached the land, just as the American

American schooner blew up. From hence he had 100 miles to travel on foot to Philadelphia; but succeeded in delivering the important dispatches to the Congress, and was rewarded by the rank of Colonel in their service. Here he carried on that sort of partizan warfare, which was well suited to his romantic and enterprising courage. He was known by the name of Colonel *Armand*, and obtained great distinction, on a variety of occasions. At length the peace took place, and he returned, cured of his youthful passion, and furnished with much valuable experience, to the estate of his ancestors in Britany, where he married a young lady of quality, the daughter of a neighbouring gentleman. In the military promotion of April 1788, the minister of war, who was his acquaintance, and brother to the Archbishop of Sens, nominated him Colonel of a regiment of Chasseurs. He assumed this command, just at the time that the Archbishop began to carry into effect his scheme of suppressing the parliaments. The Marquis De La Rouerie remembered that he had been a gentleman before he was a soldier: and that he was a Frenchman only because he was a Breton. In spite of his connection with the Briennes, he did not hesitate to throw up his commission as Colonel of Chasseurs, and hasten to appear among his countrymen. He attended the assembly of the noblesse at Vannes, where the twelve deputies were chosen: he was unanimously named one of the twelve: and with his colleagues was confined in the Bastille, at first with the greatest strictness; but after the arrival of the fifty-three deputies, he was allowed to receive the visits of his mother, and to converse with her in presence of the Lieutenant-governor. The good lady found her son, on these occasions, as gay, as at the hunting parties, which used to form his favourite amusement in the country. On his release, and triumphant return to Britany, he was among the first to propose the oath, which bound the nobility to permit no innovation on the rights and privileges of the province, come from what quarter it might. He also was one of the first to discover the snare, laid by Necker, in the double representation. He therefore went to the meeting at St. Brieuc, and refuted with eloquence the sophisms of a noble orator, who endeavoured to persuade his order to elect deputies to the States-General, in the new and insidious manner proposed. His speech was principally addressed to the honorable feelings of his hearers; but I remember one remark, which showed his political penetration and foresight. "Gentlemen," said he, "if in spite of our sacred engagements to each other, we permit this dangerous innovation, will the love of change stop there? Will the Three Estates long preserve the very form of voting by orders? I doubt it, when I

see in the other provinces of France, that the *Curés*, who by their birth and habits are naturally attached to the *Tiers Etat*, form so large a proportion of the deputies of the clergy." M. De La Rouerie thus reduced his opponents to silence: and was the chief means of confirming the nobility in their resistance to the first great measure of the Revolutionists. The clergy of Britany equally abstained from sending members to the States-General: and thus with the exception of the deputies of the *Tiers Etat*, our province remained a passive spectator of the unfortunate convulsions which soon took place at Paris. As to my esteemed friend, he retired to his estate, and there remained until the end of the year 1791. He was, however, far from indifferent to the future fate of his country. Born with much native genius, having acquired a great knowledge of mankind, and possessing that affability, and those insinuating manners which are so useful to the leader of a party, he prepared and digested in his retreat a plan for serving the cause of the King and the Monarchy, in the manner befitting a gentleman. He addressed himself to the Bretons of all ranks and conditions; and, in a short time, organised among that honest, frank, and courageous people, a confederacy of 40,000 persons. I should add, that many inhabitants of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, joined themselves to those of Britany; and thus was formed the first extensive union of Royalists, ready to take up arms for their sovereign, at the direction of their leaders. For those who offered their personal services, M. De La Rouerie engaged to provide arms: whilst they who could not serve, contributed money and other means of assistance to the enterprise; and in this latter class, were very many ladies of distinction. Notwithstanding the numbers engaged, no secret was ever better kept than that of this virtuous conspiracy.

The Princes having quitted France, and established themselves at Coblenz, the greater part of the French nobility emigrated to join them. Indeed, they in general received intimations, very nearly resembling orders, to do so. After this, a gentleman felt, that he could not remain at home with honor, whatever might be his private opinion of the wisdom of so large an emigration. M. De La Rouerie was among the foremost to seek an opportunity of serving his country. He hastened to Coblenz, and laid before their Royal Highnesses, now the King and Monsieur, the whole detail of his plan, and all his means of execution. The communication was received with great satisfaction, but he was enjoined to defer the execution.

Returning to Britany, M. De La Rouerie found it not a little difficult, at once to keep together his party, and to prevent them from breaking out into action. He became suspected, and had to

sustain a sort of siege, in his castle of La Rouerie, against the dragoons of the regiment of Orleans. He defended himself against this formidable attack, with the aid of some of his relations and friends, who happened to be there on a visit. Among the company, was his cousin-german, Mademoiselle *Moëlien de Tropic*, one of the most beautiful young ladies in all Britany, and who, in addition to her personal charms, possessed a superior mind, a solid education, and the courage of a hero. She behaved, at the time of the assault, like a real Amazon; and, abandoning all the terrors of her sex, fired several musket-shots, with her own hand, at the dragoons. Unfortunately, the castle was a modern building, without a foss, battlements, or any other such works of defence as are generally to be found, in the old residences of the Breton nobility. In consequence, after sustaining the attack for some time, M. De La Rouerie, and his brave friends, found themselves obliged to evacuate their weak fortress, and to escape through the gardens and adjoining woods.

This circumstance induced M. De La Rouerie to make a second journey to Coblenz, in order to beseech the Princes again, to permit him to act. He represented to them the danger, which so many brave men would run, if their confederacy were betrayed or discovered; but he was still recommended to wait with patience: and finding his stay at Coblenz useless, he returned to Britany about the end of 1792.

The States-General degenerated into a National and Constituent Assembly: the second body of the same kind had, by this time, degenerated into a National and Infamous Convention. The horrors, the massacres, the spoliations, which they decreed, had struck all Europe with alarm. M. De La Rouerie, though betrayed by none of his confederates, could not long escape the suspicion of the guilty wretches, who tyrannized over France; and suspicion was enough to induce them to set a price upon his head.

There had existed in Britany, from time immemorial, among the wood-cutters and other peasants, who dwelt in the forests and wild parts of the country, a sort of association, or fraternity, called the Order of the *Fendeurs**; and many gentlemen had found it advantageous, to be enrolled among its members. If any one lost his way, at night, in hunting, or on a journey, he had only to strike a certain number of blows against the trunk of a tree, which they called the *reconnoitring blows*, and, as soon as they were heard by a brother *Fendeur*, they were answered, in

* Cleavers of wood.

like manner, so as to guide the wanderer to assistance. If a peasant thus discovered a gentleman of the neighbourhood, he hastened to strike the reconnoitring blows, in other parts of the wood, and presently there issued, from the neighbouring cabins, men, women, and children, bearing lighted branches of trees, to illuminate the wanderer's path. Then the contest was, who should receive him as their guest for the night; and that was determined by ascertaining who had killed a kid, or a wild boar, the day before, and could thus furnish out the best supper for the occasion. The following morning, at day-break, all the *Fendeurs* in the neighbourhood were on foot, and, with their fowling-pieces on their shoulders, conducted their visitor to his castle. It must be owned, that the brethren of this order were mostly great poachers; but they respected the estates of the gentlemen, who had been enrolled amongst them. They were also very apt to harbour deserters, and in return for their food and lodging, employed them in cutting wood; but it was a point of honor among them, not to protect thieves, but, on the contrary, to arrest and deliver them up to justice.

M. De La Rouerie, who had always been a great sportsman, was a Brother *Fendeur*. When, therefore, he was proscribed, by that execrable committee of Public Safety, of which *Robespierre* and *Carnot* were such distinguished members, he took refuge among the woodmen, in the heart of a large forest. Here he was attacked by a malignant fever. His physician, named *Cheftel*, who had been born on the estate of La Rouerie, and was a member of the Royalist confederacy, accompanied him to his retreat, and attended him in his illness. The disorder becoming dangerous, and the poor huts of the forest affording no proper means of cure, his kind hosts transported him carefully to the residence of a M. De La *Guyomarais*, a gentleman who lived at his country-seat, with a wife and two daughters, a total stranger to all M. De La Rouerie's plans, and acquainted with him only by name. In a few days, this brave, but unfortunate chief, fell a victim to the malignity of the fever. As he was still an object of pursuit to the committee of Public Safety, his friends dared not carry his body to the parochial cemetery, but interred it, with all his papers, in the garden of M. La *Guyomarais*. The physician, *Cheftel*, who had been faithful to him through life, betrayed the secret of his death: and the remorseless Committee instantly dispatched an armed force, which surrounded the house of M. La *Guyomarais*, seized him, his wife, and his daughters, dug up the body of my noble friend, cut off his head, and sent it to the monsters of the Convention! At the same time, they discovered the papers, and in decyphering

their contents, found the names of several members of the Royalist confederacy. Among these papers was an insignificant note from Mademoiselle Moëlien to her cousin, in which she simply said, she wanted some bird-seed, and desired him to send it to her; but this was quite enough to make her a conspirator against the Republic: she was seized, thrown into prison at Rennes, and thence transferred, together with M. De La Guyomerais and his innocent family, to Paris, where all the five perished by the Guillotine. Mademoiselle Moëlien displayed a courage above her sex. A Breton priest found his way to her dungeon, in disguise, and administered to her the last consolations of religion: and this heroic young creature died crying *Vive le Roi!*

History will one day do justice to the characters, of which I have here attempted a faint sketch: and I trust, it will be seen, that real patriotism, as well as the sentiments of unstained honor, has always guided the conduct of the Royalists of Britany. Excuse my prolixity, on a topic, which is so near my heart; and believe me, with sentiments of sincere esteem, Your friend

A. B., G. B.

LETTER VIII. (Translation.)

On the terms, Liberal Ideas, and Ultra Royalist.

To J. B. Esq.

Paris, Nov. 1816.

NO, my friend, I cannot admit, that the phrases, which puzzle you so much in our newspapers, are French in their origin, French in their usage, or French in their application. *Liberal Ideas*, for instance! — It is very true, that this was a favorite phrase of the Corsican. When the honest Spaniard* refuted his sophisms at Bayonne, with plain good sense, and the short rules of an old-fashioned morality, Buonaparte replied, “Poh! You have no *liberal ideas*!” — It is true, too, that when Madame de S—— harangues, by the hour, to her admiring *salon*, she always employs the flower of her eloquence

* Escoiquiz.

in praise of *liberal ideas*. In fine, it is true, that the *Nain Jaune*, and the *Nain Tricolor*, with a long *et cetera* of literary dwarfs, of all colours, never look so big, as when they are mounted on the stilts of *liberal ideas*. But what has all this to do with the French language? I open the dictionary of the Academy, at the word *liberal*, and I find, "one who loves to give, one who takes delight in giving." Now, I ask you, after this single meaning of the word in French, what you can understand by ideas, that love to give, or that take delight in giving? Define words, and you will soon understand things. It is only impostors that fear definitions; as it is only the pickpockets that dislike to see your streets illuminated by those brilliant gas-lights. I doubt the honesty of these said liberal ideas. I strongly suspect, that instead of loving (according to the dictionary of the Academy) to *give*, they really love (according to the dictionary of the Revolution) to *take**; for indeed, we owe to the Revolution this word, as we do many others, that have profited nobody but their inventors. I should apprehend, too, that if you were to substitute *generous* ideas for liberal ideas, the scoundrels, in a mass, would cry out, that they did not understand you: and yet you perhaps might mean the same, and your meaning would be equally well understood, by all who wished to understand you; for as to the word *generous*, I have recourse again to the dictionary of the Academy, and I find — "*Generous*, magnanimous, of a noble nature." Now it is easy to comprehend what is meant by magnanimous ideas, or ideas of a noble nature. In vain would the partizans of barbarism in style entrench themselves behind the English use of the word *liberal*. They may be right, or wrong, on this point; I know not. But the question is not about the English language; it is about the French; and the invariable rule of good sense is, not to borrow terms from a foreign language, unless we need them. Necessity authorises the transfer, and legalises it; but where is the necessity in this case? Does not the word *generous* (a word perfectly French) express all you wish to say; or is there any mysterious meaning hidden under the word *liberal*, which is not contained in the word *generous*? If so, I reject it as dangerous; because mystery implies obscurity, and obscurity in such matters is danger. In short, I come back to my first position: Define words, and you will understand

* "There is a liberality in taking, as well as in giving. A man may help himself liberally, as well as his neighbour. Are we to bestow all our liberality on people that we don't care a farthing about?" *Extract from the Answer to M. C. d' E.*

things. I know well enough, that there are certain dogmatists, who start at the very word, definition, as a man in an hydrophobia does at a glass of water; but I don't write for them — on the contrary, I write against them.

Take another instance — the word *Ultra Royalist*. What says the dictionary? You will find no such word there; but you will find “*Royalist* — one who adheres to, one who follows the party of the king.” I ask, then, what can be the meaning of this barbarous compound * made by the Latin word *ultra* (beyond), and the French word *Royalist*? What is “following the king's party, beyond?” Do you mean, following it too much, being too much of a *Royalist*? Or do you mean (for we must anticipate all possible objections) do you mean by *Ultra Royalist*, one who openly attacks the Royal Authority? Such a man

* With great deference to your learning, my worthy friend, the barbarism of the word *Ultra-Royalist* is no objection to it, as a political nickname, but perhaps rather the contrary. Like the Birmingham razors, which were not made to shave, but to sell; this word was not made to be understood, but for a very different, and indeed a two-fold purpose, viz.

1. To represent all the King's friends as his enemies.

2. To represent all the King's enemies as his friends.

It was one of the happiest inventions of that arch-villain, *Fouché*; and it has succeeded so well, that there are many noble and learned persons in England, who for twenty-five years have admired, applauded, and co-operated with the faithful adherents of the King of France; but have turned their backs on them of late, merely because they have been baptised *Ultras*: as on the other hand, these same great statesmen have viewed with complacency the satellites of despotism, the incendiaries of democracy, and even the regicides themselves, for no other reason, than that they are *not Ultras*. The golden mean is the very idol of English politicians. There is perhaps no moral rule so popular amongst us, as that of Horace:

Sunt certi denique fines
Quos *ultra*, *citraque* nequit consistere rectum.

Unhappily, we are less careful about the application of our rules, than about their choice. We take it for granted, that the men called *Ultras* do really go *beyond* the line of rectitude; and if these men had retorted on their antagonists the title of *Citras*, we should probably have believed, that there were no true royalists in all France. The fact is, we are a thinking people, who don't much like the trouble of thought: we have a great deal of business on our hands, and little leisure to ask who these *Ultras* are, what they have done, or what they mean to do. Besides, they are identified, in most English imaginations, with the *emigrants*, whom we remember to have seen in the streets of London, with many outward and visible signs of poverty; and, to confess our foible, we entertain, in general, very little respect for an empty purse. Our coffee-house politicians would be somewhat puzzled, if you were to lay before them the rent-roll of all the *Ultras* in France, and prove, as you might easily do, that they include nine-tenths of the principal landed proprietors in the kingdom, many of whom have never quitted that country, during the whole course of the Revolution. — *Extract from the Answer to M. C. d' E.*

is so far from being an *Ultra Royalist*, that he is not even a *Citra Royalist*: in short, he is no Royalist at all: he is a factious person, and as the word *factions* is very good French, it ought to be employed; and, above all, it ought to be proved. For my own part, I have had the honour to figure among the *Ultra Royalists*, at least in the Revolutionary journals of the Netherlands; but I found myself in very honourable company, and I did not consider that I was one jot the more seditious, or one jot the worse a Royalist, or the less devoted to the King and his august family. I confess, I have an insurmountable objection to words, that are not defined. The vocabulary of these words is, in my opinion, the great arsenal of the factious. How many victims have there been to words, which nobody understood! The League, the Jacquerie, and all the troublesome times were fertile in vague expressions: and yet it is but just to acknowledge, to the credit of our forefathers, that those words, in general, bore a less uncertain meaning, than the words which have been coined in our own unhappy days; for in the old times, men had always some common sense at bottom; they were zealous friends or haters, but they were not such bitter bad reasoners.

I said, just now, I would anticipate objections; and I frankly own, that when I hear certain men called (perhaps sarcastically) the *Liberals*, or the *liberal party*, I do not approve of it. All this, I say, is using a dangerous vocabulary. But, besides, only consider what comes of speaking bad French. If we had employed the proper phrase, *generous ideas*, and had in consequence denominated these persons the *generous party*, would they then have complained? I think not. Define your words. Almost all the errors in the world arise from words without meaning. Cardinal DE BERNIS said, a little before his death, "I think this world will end in phrases, at last." Now, the "phrases," that the good old Cardinal spoke of, are nothing, but what I call "words without definitions." I have often asserted, and I still assert, that the passions of the multitude are never inflamed by words, that are clearly defined; for by such words, the good sense of the people is awakened, instead of being puzzled and perverted. The populace began by massacring the *Aristocrats*; the revolutionary tribunal cut the throats of the *Nobles*. Many a one, with the greatest simplicity in the world, admired Buonaparte's *Continental System*, who would have been shocked at the pretension to *Universal Domination*, which was the true solution of the enigma proposed to Europe by the sphynx of our age. I say again, define your words. CROMWELL's speeches to the parliament were noted for their obscurity; and it was said of him;

“ that he never knew better what he was doing, than when he did not know at all what he was saying.” The harangues of ROBESPIERRE (whom, however, I don’t, on that account, compare to Cromwell) presented only a farrago of phrases, called, at that day “ patriotic;” but in which there was nothing intelligible, except his personal denunciations against the “ Federalists,” the “ Girondists,” and the “ agents of Pitt and Cobourg,” all words unhappily but too well defined.

The Revolution, as every body knows, began with the word *Aristocrat*; is it wished, that the same tragedy should be continued, with the word *Ultra-Royalist*? I hope not; and yet it is certain, that some persons have had the audacity to rake up the old accusation of Aristocracy, after twenty-seven years’ experience of its folly, against the nobility of France; notwithstanding the nobility are protected by that charter * so often invoked, even by those who are sapping its foundations. Thus, *Nobility*, an institution consecrated by the King himself, and to which no man is forbidden to aspire, is intentionally confounded with *Aristocracy*, which means: “ a certain number of families possessing the sovereignty,” according to the Dictionary of the Academy; or rather, “ a certain number of families destined to persecution, if not to destruction,” according to the Lexicon of the Revolution.

Alas, my dear friend, what do these men want, who with their new pride, declaim against “ superannuated pride,” and with their boundless pretension, reprove “ exaggerated pretensions?” What would they be at? Have they wholly lost their memory; or do they imagine, that the wounds of our poor country cannot possibly be torn open again? If they know not whither they are going, I can easily tell them; and that, without going out of my text, on the subject of definitions. In 1789, some honest but deluded tradesmen, cried out against the *aristocracy of the nobles*: in 1793, the populace shouted still louder against the *aristocracy of trade*; and shortly afterwards, people, tradesmen, nobles and all, were confounded in the equality of the *Place Louis Quinze*, and of the *Barrière du Trône*. †

After all, my dear friend, you ought not to be surprised, that amidst a people worn out with disasters, and depraved by false doctrines, whose eyes had been dazzled with such an extraordinary and sudden elevation of fortune — you ought not, I say,

* “ The ancient nobility re-assume, the new nobility retain their respective titles.” *Constitutional Charter*, Art. 72.

† Spots on which the persons condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal were guillotined.

to be surprised, that jealousies break out between the different ranks, and particularly in the lower ranks against the higher, in spite of the terrible lessons of the past. For my part, I am not astonished, when I see this; but I should surely have some reason for astonishment, if I saw, at the head of affairs, men, who favoured this unhappy disposition of the people, instead of using their utmost efforts to subdue, or to give it a different direction. Such a state of things would indeed present anew the spectacle of human pride abandoned to its own guidance. It would, perhaps show us certain individuals become the advocates of the very contagion, which four-and-twenty years ago, they went to the banks of the Rhine to combat, and only proving to us now, that that contagion had reached them the last. It would show us — but it is time for me to put an end to my chapter on definitions, which some people, I know, would call the chapter of Ultra Royalism. These critics profess to speak in the name of union; which, if I am to define, I shall certainly not adopt the phrase of good King Henry's day, and call it "the Holy Union." They think, perhaps, that they can take honor by famine; there again they are in a mistake. I can assure them, that there are yet Frenchmen, who will always reject dignities and wealth, when put in competition with an honorable poverty. Among such Frenchmen, be they called Ultra Royalists, or Citra Royalists, Liberals, or Illiberals, you well know, that you may reckon

Your Friend,

C. d'E.

LETTER IX. (Translation.)

On the Electoral Colleges, and Chamber of Deputies, in 1815.

To —————

Sir,

Paris, August, 1816.

I SHALL notice, at a future time, the enquiry which forms the prominent part of your letter, namely, by what means a faction, which all Europe had considered to be stript of its weight and influence, by the second restoration of the King, has since been enabled to triumph, in casting odium on the legitimate and constitutional power, by which it had been superseded.

Before I proceed to that, certainly not uninteresting enquiry, I wish to enter, at some length, into the consideration of another topic, which you pass over slightly, perhaps because you are too well acquainted with the facts, to be easily deceived respecting it. I allude to what you say of the gross misrepresentations,* which certain writers make of our present representative system, both as it respects the electors; and the elected. They endeavour, it seems, to persuade your countrymen, that the Electoral Colleges of France, illegally re-composed by the King, and influenced by his agents, chose, in August last, as deputies, a great number of emigrants, who having been despoiled of their property, were

* The passage particularly alluded to, was the following, in the Edinburgh Review, No. 50. p. 513. "The elections had been finally regulated by Buonaparte, soon after his assumption of power, about fifteen years ago; it was agreed that the Primary Electors, of every department, should nominate a certain number of persons, with considerable qualifications in respect of property, who should elect the Representatives for the legislative body. The change introduced by Bonaparte, was to make those last electors hold their functions for life; and thus to limit the right of interference in the body of the people, to merely filling up the vacancies which might from time to time arise in their body. That energetic sovereign, however, was not very fond of popular interference in any shape; and it had accordingly happened, that, during the whole period of his power, no vacancies ever had been supplied; and at the period of the King's last restoration, the Electoral Colleges were deficient of their complement by one-third, or in some instances one-half, of their numbers. When the King came to issue orders for returning a new Chamber of Deputies, it was suggested, that the Electoral Colleges ought previously to be raised to their proper quota. But instead of referring, for this purpose, to the primary electors, it was thought better just to order the Prefects of the departments, who by this time were all decided Royalists, to make up the complement, by nominating, of their own authority, such a number of trustworthy persons in the neighbourhood, as might be required for that purpose. As those supplementary members were, of course, the most violent Royalists which the Prefect could find in his district, all the deputies, with a very few exceptions, proved to be of the same character; and, in some instances, the original body of electors refused to concur with these royal nominees, and left the election entirely in their hands. Such, we believe, is the true history and actual constitution of the Chamber of Deputies: out of 450 members, of whom scarcely so many as 400 have ever assembled, the common calculation is, that there are more than 150 violent Royalists, who think that the emigrants should have all their property and privileges restored, and that all, who had ever held office of any kind before April 1814, ought to be exiled from the country; nearly 200 who go along with the ministry in more moderate projects both of reward and punishment; about 30 Constitutionals, and 15 or 20 old Jacobins."

Any person in the slightest degree acquainted with the real state of things in France, must stand aghast at this statement. The authorities about to be cited will show, that, with the exception of the two first lines, there is not a syllable of truth in it — not a syllable.

strongly tinctured with hatred and prejudice, and were unanimously desirous of restoring all that had been destroyed, and regaining all that they had lost; that these dangerous men at once disputed the Royal prerogative, and promoted its extension; that they acted as seditious subjects, and as Ultra Royalists, at the same time; and, in short, were guilty of every error and of every inconsistency. This statement is extravagant enough, to be sure: M. GARNIER, at the tribune of the peers, could not say more: but, fortunately, I shall be enabled, in a few words, to demonstrate its falsehood.

Let us see what the actual Chamber of Deputies is; how, and by whom it was elected, and whether, or not, the electors were in any way hindered from composing it otherwise, had they been so inclined.

If ever the probabilities were against the royal authority and the Institutions which it had created, they must certainly have been so at the moment of the last elections; nor was a more perfidious counsel ever given to the King, than that of the Election Ordinances.* France, shaken by the events of the month of March, 1815, saw the usurper, even after his defeat, supported, in his own person, or that of his son, by a crowd of deserters from the Royal cause, many of the departments, under their influence, many under that of a blind and mutinous army, the remainder overwhelmed by the allied forces, from the midst of whom, in spite of the well-known wishes of their Sovereigns, cries and menaces were not unfrequently heard against the legitimate King of France. Such was the state of the country, at the time the elections were about to commence! And that no difficulty or danger might be wanting, individuals known for their attachment to Buonaparte, members of his rebel assembly and government, men who had just before voted for the proscription of the reigning family, were chosen, in the name of the King, prefects and presidents of the electoral colleges.†

The Colleges met and proceeded to business. Those of the arrondissement named the Candidates, and those of the departments chose the Deputies, representatives of France; and

* On the 8th of July 1815 Louis XVIII re-entered his Capital, and on the 13th, he issued the Ordinance for the Elections, M. Fouché the Regicide, and author of the massacres of Lyons, being minister.

† M. Richard, a Jacobin, was named Prefect of the Charente Inferieure. M. Lanjumeau President of the Rebel Chamber of Representatives, was named President of the Electoral College of the Ille and Vilaine. This was a necessary part of Fouché's scheme; he was to guard against the choice of Royalists, because he well knew that to every true Royalist he was an object of horror. And yet the writer in the Edinburgh Review imagines that Fouché took measures to insure the choice of none but "the most violent Royalists!!"

of what persons were these Electoral Colleges composed? They were precisely the same individuals, who had 10 years before been nominated for life by Buonaparte, after having been chosen from among the persons, who paid the highest contributions, in each department. They were the very men, whom Buonaparte had assembled only in the May preceding, to nominate representatives for his rebel chamber, and of whom he had called deputations to Paris, to attend the sittings of the *Champ de Mai*.* Again, what additions had been made to the original Electors for life? The very same number, which Buonaparte had introduced; so that at these Elections, the opposite parties were placed distinctly in presence of each other; or rather, as all who were assembled actually drew their original authority from a revolutionary source, one might suppose, that there was only one party, which supported by the concurrence of such favourable circumstances, was at liberty to display its whole strength, and to regain whatever influence it had lost. The event however, totally disappointed this calculation, and produced a result little short of miraculous. It was from these very Electoral Colleges,

* The principal laws regulating the Elections were those of the 16th Thermidor, year 10 (1802,) 28th Floreal year 12 (1804,) and 22d February 1806; to which are to be added, the Constitutional Charter 4 June, 1814, and the Ordinance abovementioned 13th July, 1815. The substance of these laws may be stated as follows: The existing Electoral Colleges are of two kinds, those of the department, and those of the arrondissement. There are 86 of the former, and 364 of the latter. Their first establishment was in 1802: at which time there were formed in every department one Electoral College of department, and two or more of arrondissement. The Departmental Colleges consisted of one member to every 1,000 souls in the department, but so that the number of members in each College should not be more than 300, nor less than 200, consequently at the average of 250 they would contain 21,500 members. They were elected by the assemblies of Canton, for life, out of a list of the 600 persons, paying the heaviest taxes. The Colleges of arrondissement consisted of one member for every 500 souls in the arrondissement, but so that they could not be above 200 nor under 120, consequently at the average of 160 they would contain 58,240 voters. The Colleges of Department and Arrondissement, each named two candidates for a vacancy in the legislative body: and the first Consul selected one, out of the four, so presented. The first Consul, besides, had the nomination of the Presidents of the Colleges, and he could add to each a certain number of members of the Legion of Honour, varied by different laws, but fixed in 1806 at 25 at farthest. Thus stood the matter in May, 1815, when Buonaparte convoked the Electoral Bodies, to sanction his usurpation, by nominating representatives to his rebel Legislature. The Departmental Colleges contained all the principal landed proprietors in France, and they appear by the lists deposited with Carnot, the rebel minister of the interior, to have amounted to the full average above stated; so that it is utterly impossible, that they should have had any considerable number of vacancies not filled up.

that the actual representation, which in fact is the only national one ever seen in France, arose; and at the same time, we first had an opportunity of learning the real opinion of the people of France. It is a circumstance well worthy of observation, that these same Colleges, which three months before, when convoked by Buonaparte, notwithstanding all the support which he gave, and all the lures which he held out to them, had been in general reduced below a quarter of their numbers, now on the contrary, at the King's command, were more fully attended than ever was known, and carried almost all the elections by large and decided majorities.*

You

* Let us appeal again to official documents. To the elections of May, came Imperialists, Republicans, and Constitutionals: for they were all invited by the hope of seeing their favourite speculations, or peculiar interests, supported. Besides, a very considerable number of Royalists attended these elections; and even sent men of their own choice to the Usurper's Chamber, not to serve him, but to throw obstacles in his way. Notwithstanding all this, the attendance was not one half so numerous, as it was in the August following. By the returns for 83 departments, (in which the total number of persons entitled to vote is 20,285,) it appears that there actually attended, in August, 14,830: in May, only 7,855. There was not one single department in all France, where the attendance was so full in May, as it was in August; and, on the other hand, there were some departments where the disproportion, between the two periods was excessive: as, for example, the Gironde, where 200 voters were present in August, and only 29 in May: and the Mouths of the Rhone, where there were in August 185, and in May only 13! In May, too, the elections were generally carried by bare majorities: in August, they were often nearly unanimous. Thus, in the Gironde, the member who stood, as we should say, at the head of the poll, in August, had 184 votes out of 200; whilst, in May, the favourite had but 18 out of 29: and so, in the Lower Alps, the first deputy, in August, had 102 votes, out of 120; in May the first had only 14 out of 24. In May, a large portion of the electors had been driven from their colleges by terrors and proscriptions of various kinds. The government plundered and banished all who had been emigrants, or who had belonged to the court, or the King's guards. In some departments, all gentlemen of ancient families were placed under surveillance, or actual arrest. Every where, the possessors of country-seats were threatened with pillage and massacre, by the federés and free corps. It has been stated, that on an average, the number of departmental electors is about 250 to each college: now, the highest number of voters, actually present, in any one instance, in May, was 150; in August, 237. The lowest number in August, 106; whereas, in May, some elections were conducted by no more than 13 voters. Again, the numbers that actually voted for the successful candidates, were in the same proportion. In August, the highest number, that voted for an individual, was 227, the lowest 59. In May, the highest number was 120, the lowest, 7: and this latter instance occurred in a department, with a population of above 800,000 souls! In short, of the Deputies chosen in August, full two-thirds were nominated by above 100 votes each: in the rebel chamber, there were but five members who could boast such a number of votes. There was only one Deputy in August, elected by so few as 59 constituents; whereas, of the
Rebel

You must not forget, Sir, that the King, by his ordinance, had, for the first time, required a qualification in the candidates. They were to be persons, paying a direct contribution of at least 1000 francs. Will any body say, or would not any one blush to suggest, that this was intended to facilitate the election of poor emigrants, without property, and, of course, without the means of paying the required contribution? The King, too, put an end to the salaries, paid to the deputies in the time of *Buonaparte*: and this is a sufficient answer to the falsehood, which describes our present Deputies as poor and dependent; since, instead of being hired, like their predecessors, they come together from all parts of France, even the most distant, to attend, perhaps for five years successively, the sessions of the Chamber, and to live at their own expence in the capital.

But this matter is not left to vague inference. Open the list of the Deputies: one glance will shew you, that it contains the first names and the largest fortunes of France; you will find distinguished men of all classes; former and present ministers, members of the preceding assemblies, and, by the side of some Emigrants, long since re-established honourably in their fortunes, a crowd of persons, who have never quitted France, who, already distinguished by public confidence, had *before*, as well as since, the Restoration, held prefectures, presided in councils general, or in courts of justice, or served in the army.* Does any thing, in all this, announce a choice blind, or thoughtless, or humiliating to France? Is there any thing in it, which menaces the interests of society; any thing which indicates either avarice, or dependance, or indigence ready for sale?

The idle insinuation, which you hear thrown out, for the purpose of discrediting such national representatives, only proves the rancour of certain persons, who cannot make them bow and cringe to them; who see, that a similar chamber will reject those amalgamations, those half measures, those pusillanimous precautions, which have so lamentably prolonged our misfortunes; that it will not adopt, from confidence, either prejudices, or injustice; that it will oppose, with all its power, (since the revolu-

Rebel Chamber, there were no less than 148 members, whose respective votes were from 59 down to 7. These are simple arithmetical facts; and they leave the writer in the *Edinburgh Review* no other excuse, but sheer ignorance, and that of the grossest kind.

* And yet the *Review* writer does not blush to attribute to 150 imaginary members of this chamber, the desire of banishing from France, every man, who had ever held office, of any kind, before April 1814. No man, in or out of a madhouse, ever breathed so frantic a wish. The charge is a gross, wilful, shameless calumny, picked up from some vindictive Jacobin.

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tion is and ought to be at an end, now that the charter has maintained all that could be preserved,) the obstinate folly of governing in a revolutionary manner, by revolutionary laws, with revolutionary men.

To recur to the supposed want of property, with which the Deputies are reproached: Either this suggestion comes from the interior of France, or from England; if from the first, it is the very height of impudence: facts proving directly the reverse are before the eyes of all. All, as I have already said, all have it in their power to compare Deputies, who come to sacrifice their income, for the expence of this august mission, with those, who, during so long a period, made it the means of a livelihood; Deputies, who demand nothing, with those who wished to add to the wealth, which they had accumulated, nobility which they had abolished, titles which they had extinguished, and decorations which they had proscribed. Do not, however, mistake me for a prejudiced enemy of our former representative bodies. I do not speak of them without recollecting, that there always have been, and especially in the latter years, many honourable exceptions.

But perhaps this notion, of the poverty of our Deputies, may have originated in England, from a mere ignorance of the real state of facts. If so, it is easily corrected; you must, however, advert to one or two peculiar considerations:

1. Fortunes, in France, are not to be measured by the same scale as in England; not only because they are more equally divided with us, than with you: but because the prices of all the common articles of expence are so much higher, on your side of the water.

2. The prevalent species of property is different, in the two countries. The territorial wealth of England is, perhaps, as an element of private property, by no means equal to that, which she derives from the commerce of the whole world, from the immense revenues of India and the colonies, from the incalculable resources of the public funds, and from all the credit, all the spirit, which result from such means of rendering capital productive. With the exception of the peerage, which, in England, is wisely connected with the great masses of landed property, (the only means of giving to that grand institution, all the stability, and all the preponderance, which it ought to have, for the benefit of the constitution,) other fortunes may rest on a different foundation: and since almost all the taxes are indirect, being levied on the consumption of articles, for the most part imported, the nation has no interest, in being exclusively represented by landed proprietors, in the House of Commons. On the

the contrary, the Elector has a wider field of choice, and is sure to find elsewhere, if not in his own neighbourhood, the rate of fortune which he approves. - In France, on the contrary, landed property is almost the whole. It pays directly, in ordinary times, the greatest part of the taxes; and even the indirect contributions, being mostly assessed upon the productions of the soil, fall at last on the landed proprietor. It is a necessary consequence of such a state of things, that the land-owner should find himself most naturally called on, to defend the rights of property, and to oppose taxation.

Notwithstanding these strong motives for preferring a land owner, even to a more wealthy proprietor, of a different class, yet in no part of France, are the electors under the necessity of choosing persons of a fortune below independence. If such circumstances occurred at the height of the Revolution, they were the result of that unnatural and forced species of equality, under cover of which, more than one pauper raised himself to opulence. According to the actual proportion, then, between France and England, I am warranted, in believing, that the income, which qualifies a member for a seat in the House of Commons, is not comparatively higher than that, which in France yields a direct contribution of 1000 francs. If it be still insisted, that this rate is insufficient, (although all the world knows that there was no qualification whatever required for candidates before 1814) I answer, that the members are no more limited, in France, than in England, to pay exactly the legal quota of taxes. They may, and they do exceed it; and, in fact, there is not one single deputy, whose income is so small, as that required for a qualification in England; but there are numbers much richer, and that, in a large progression.

I think, I have sufficiently proved, that the present Chamber of Deputies is independent, in point of fortune; and it must surely be allowed, that in giving their services to the public gratuitously, they set a laudable example to the holders of many other places, which previously to the Revolution used also to be gratuitous, although they are not so at present.

It is unnecessary for me to intrude on your time, by detailing at length the measures adopted in this calumniated Chamber. Only I cannot help observing, that if it had been true, that the members were all plundered emigrants, they would have exhibited singular merit in their moderation; since they not only swore to, but maintained, that Charter, which legitimated their spoliation — they not only accepted, but faithfully served that Representative Government, which those who accuse them of Ultra-Royalism are labouring to overturn. Several eminent writers

writers are, at this moment, employed in developing the principles, and detailing the proceedings, of this admirable assembly. Since I have begun this letter, I have learnt, that "*the History of the Session of 1815*," by M. FIEVÉE, has just made its appearance, and is replete with marks of the talent of that celebrated writer. M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND's work, on "*the Monarchy according to the Charter*," is far advanced: and you are aware that our common friend M. DE FRENHLY is also preparing a work, in which, whilst treating of Representative Assemblies, in general, it will be impossible for him to overlook that Chamber, which the King himself, with his usual felicity of expression, termed *introuvable* — that Chamber, which, during a session of seven months, exhibited to France, and to the world, a spectacle of the most perfect disinterestedness, moderation, and public virtue.

You are in possession of the *Declaration of Principles*, by which the majority of the Chamber has thought fit to reply to the calumnies of all their opponents. That declaration will stand as a monument to all ages, of the wisdom and virtue still to be found in France, after a Revolution, which had assailed, with impious fury, every thing that was venerable, every thing that was holy, all honor, all loyalty, all that gives to human nature dignity here, or the promise of happiness hereafter.

I have executed my object. I have cleared our first and only national representation, from the accusations of ignorance and malevolence. Here, therefore, I will stop. Much remains to be said, on the other topics of your enquiry; but I must choose another time for that task; till then, I remain, with sincere regard,

Yours, &c,

H. L.

DECLARATION of the Principles of the Majority of the Chamber of Deputies, Session 1815-16. (Referred to in the preceding Letter.)

WE, the members composing the majority of the Chamber of Deputies, have united, in the principles, of which we here make a formal declaration.

1. We are inviolably attached to the monarchical government, and to the legitimate succession in the reigning house. (1)

2. We adopt entirely the principles of the constitutional charter, and the division of powers which it has established (2); we will maintain its spirit, and will enter upon the consequences of that system, as the most reasonable substitute of the old institutions, liberties, and franchises.

3. We

3. We do not look back to the past, except to derive from it lessons for the future, and we wish to place between both a wall of brass. (3) Thus, it is our understanding, that all interest created by the Revolution, which are completed, should be irrevocably secured. (4) We will maintain the abolition of privileges and privileged orders, as political bodies (5), the equality of right, and of admission to all offices, liberty of worship (6), the alienation of estates operated in the course of the revolution, of whatever origin (7); but we no longer admit, in time to come, the application of the principles, which created these interests, and we regard them as destructive of all government. (8)

4. We think that the new institutions should be replaced on the old and immovable bases of religion and morals. It is for this reason, that we would give the clergy an honourable independence, the administration of property, or of revenues, which may secure to them that independence (9); in fine, a civil existence: and at the same time to associate them with the dearest interests of the state, by making them participate in public education (10), and in the administration of establishments consecrated to the solace and welfare of humanity.

5. On the same principles, we wish to replace the laws under a greater moral influence, to efface that which is contrary to religion, that which is opposed to public morals (11); in fine, all that is not consonant to the spirit of the monarchy. It is in this view, that we claim a revision of the civil and criminal laws; we desire, at the same time, that the magistracy should be environed with the greatest consideration.

6. We believe, that the police ought neither to be an odious inquiry, nor an agent of despotism, but a guarantee for the throne, and a magistracy serving to enlighten the government, as to public opinion, and that opinion, as to its true interests. We believe, that the press ought to be free; but that severe measures should restrain its abuses. (12)

7. We wish France to recover the entire independence of its territory; and the first means, which we conceive, to attain this, is the full and entire execution of the engagements contracted with the Allied Powers. We have the same wish to maintain honorable alliances, and we regard the prosperity of the nations which surround us, as the first pledge of that of France.

8. Disabused for ever of all spirit of aggrandizement, we wish a national army, which, narrowed in time of peace, may in time of war open its ranks to numerous soldiers; and we do not regard as lost to France, the military, whom, drawn in by extraordinary circumstances, it became necessary to disband, but who, by their talents and valour, may contribute to the safety of the country, as they have contributed to its glory.

9. We think that the interests of the subject ought, in great part, to be confided to local administrations, whether municipal, departmental, or provincial; that the centralization of all transactions and all decisions, in the offices of the ministry, is an abuse; that it ought to

to cease, by confiding more extended powers to superior agents delegated by the ministers. It is on these principles, that we claim a revision of the administrative laws. (13)

10. We place in perspective the hope of diminishing the land-tax, of regularizing its repartition, of establishing the indirect taxes, in a way less uniform, but better adapted to the interests and habits of the different parts of the French territory; in fine, of establishing a good system of public credit.

11. We will not neglect any opportunity of embracing the interests of commerce (14), or the arts of civilization, of developing all branches of industry and production, and of diffusing all the lights which improve them. We wish that the different classes of arts and trades should form free associations, to secure their interests, and maintain, among their members, a useful discipline, without these establishments being allowed to cramp the independence of industry.

12. We would define what we mean, by *epuration*: it is the removal from public office of men, who, since the Restoration, have placed themselves in hostility to the legitimacy of the throne, and the principles of morality. Here, however, we admit of restrictions; we claim, that offices of the first rank, such as those of *ministers, governors, directors-general, or counsellors of state*, should be occupied by those only who, since the Restoration, and particularly during the three months of usurpation, have given proofs and positive guarantees of their attachment to the King; that offices of the second rank, such as those of *prefects, commandants, first magistrates, chiefs of administration, or receivers-general*, should be confided to those only who, since the Restoration, have not had to reproach themselves for any act against the royal authority; in fine, that those whose conduct is contrary to morals and probity should be removed from inferior offices.

13. While expressing these principles and wishes, the majority of the Chamber of Deputies does not lose sight of the boundaries, within which, the share they can take towards their accomplishment, is confined. It desires, therefore, that the ministry of the King, united in the same principles (16), should propose to him, according, to times and circumstances, the means of applying them. In this case, they will find in the majority a frank, entire, disinterested concurrence: but, at the same time, a firm and steady opposition to every application of contrary principles.

Done at Paris, the 20th of January, 1816.

(1) *Proclamation of the King, the 28th of June, 1815*: "My subjects have learned, by cruel experience, that the principle of the legitimacy of sovereigns, is one of the fundamental bases of social order; the only one, upon which a wise, and well-ordered liberty, can be established, amidst a great people. This doctrine has just been proclaimed, as that of all Europe; I had consecrated it before-hand by my charter, and I claim to add to that charter, all the guarantees, which can secure the benefit of it."

(2) *Reply*

(2) *Reply of His Royal Highness, Monsieur, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, to the Senate.* (See the *Moniteur* of April 15. 1814.) "The King, by declaring that he will maintain the existing form of government, has recognized, that the monarchy should be ballasted by a representative government, divided into two Chambers."—*Declaration of the King, dated from St. Ouen, May 2. 1814*: "The representative government shall be divided into two bodies."—*Constitutional Charter*, Art. 15.: "The legislative power is exercised collectively by the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies of Departments."

(3) *Reply of His Royal Highness, Monsieur, to the Senate*: "No individual shall be disturbed for his opinions and votes."—*Declaration of the King, dated St. Ouen*: "No individual can be called to account for his opinions and votes."—*Constitutional Charter*, Art. 11.: "All prosecutions for opinions and votes expressed, up to the Restoration, are interdicted. The same oblivion is commanded to tribunals and to citizens."—*Opinion of M. de Villele on the Budget of 1816*: "Let us raise a wall of brass between the past and the future; but let us get out of the track of the Revolution, never to enter it again."

(4) *Reply of His Royal Highness, Monsieur, to the Senate*: "The public debt shall be guaranteed; pensions, ranks, military honours shall be preserved, as well as the old and new noblesse." "The Legion of Honour is maintained."—*Constitutional Charter*, Art. 69.: "The military in active service, the officers and soldiers on half-pay, the widows of officers and soldiers with pensions, shall retain their ranks, honours, and pensions."—Art. 70.: "The public debt is guaranteed. Every kind of engagement entered into between the State and its creditors, is inviolable."—Art. 71.: "The old nobility resume their titles, the new retain theirs,"—Art. 72.: "The Legion of Honour is maintained."

(5) *Constitutional Charter*, Art. 71.: "The King makes nobles at pleasure; but he grants them only honours and ranks, without any exemption from the charges and duties of society."

(6) *Reply of Monsieur to the Senate, and Declaration of the King, dated St. Ouen*: "Liberty of worship shall be guaranteed."—*Constitutional Charter*, Art. 5.: "Every one professes his religion with equal liberty, and obtains for his worship the same protection."

(7) *Reply of His Royal Highness Monsieur, to the Senate; and Declaration of the King, dated St. Ouen*: "Estates shall be sacred and inviolable; the sale of national property shall be irrevocable."—*Constitutional Charter*, Art. 9.: "All estates are inviolable, without any exception of such as are called national, the law not placing any distinction between them."—*Proclamation of Cambray*: "If the purchasers of national domains have felt alarms, the Charter should have sufficed to re-assure them."

(8) *Constitutional Charter*, Art. 66.: "The penalty of confiscation of property is abolished, and can never be re-established."

(9) *Resolution of the Chamber of Deputies*, of the 15th January, 1816, respecting donations which the Clergy might receive; adopted by the Chamber of Peers, the 5th March.

(10) *Ordi-*

(10) *Ordinance of the King*, dated 29th Feb. 1816, relative to primary schools. *Moniteur*, March 6. 1816. *Proposition of M. de St. Romain*, relative to the melioration of public instruction, presented the 31st Jan. 1816. *Moniteur* of the 1st and 3d Feb.

(11) *Resolution of the Chamber of Deputies*, dated 2d March, 1816, adopted by the Chamber of Peers the 19th, sending to request the King to propose a law on the subject of divorce. *Resolution of the Chamber of Deputies*, relative to the suppression of pensions of married priests, adopted by the Chamber of Peers.

(12) *Reply of his Royal Highness Monsieur, to the Senate, and declaration of St. Ouen* : "The liberty of the press shall be respected, saving the restrictions necessary to public order and tranquillity." — *Constitutional Charter*, Art. 8. : "Frenchmen have the right of printing and publishing their opinions, while they conform to the laws, which must repress the abuses of that liberty."

(13) *Opinion of Count Adrien de Rouge on the Budget of 1816*. Bulletin of the Chamber, 215.

(14) *Proposal made by M. Nicholas Rolland*, tending to restore to all the Chambers of Commerce their old powers. Bulletin of the Chamber of Deputies, No. 211.

(15) *Opinion of Count Adrien de Rouge on the Budget of 1816*.

(16) *Proclamation of Cambray* : "The unity of the ministry is the strongest guarantee of the Charter, that I can offer ; I mean that it shall exist, and that the frank and secure march of my council shall guarantee all interests and calm all inquietudes."

LETTER X. (Translation.)

On the Means of eradicating Mendicity.

To R. S. Esq.

Sir,
YOU, whose attention has been so powerfully directed toward the state of the Poor ; you, who while you *feel* that "affliction is a sacred thing,"* *know* that "benefits ill placed become injuries,"† you, I am sure, will agree with me, in thinking, that there are few objects, upon which an active correspondence, between two neighbouring and friendly nations, ought more readily to turn, than upon the means of mitigating the

* Res est sacra miser. — *Senec.*

† Benefacta, malé collocata, malefacta existima. — *Terent.*

misfortunes common to all countries. It is sufficient, to be a man, in order to feel interested in such an enquiry. If, in some corner of the earth, there had been found a sure remedy for a particular infirmity, a preservative against any of the ills of life, would it not be desirable, that, in order to propagate instantly this valuable discovery, communications should be opened between all men of all countries; and that for once at least, those barriers fixed by the natural divisions of states and their political systems — if for once, war itself, with its merciless laws, — if, in short, every obstacle should give way to the impulse of humanity, which in its turn should exercise a privilege frequently claimed with success, for the interest of the sciences.

These simple truths apply more directly to the existing position of France and England. Their very close proximity, their multiplied and, indeed, daily communications with each other, the general prevalence of their languages, might induce a belief that there was nothing further to be made known, as to what regards the succours profusely bestowed, in both kingdoms, on suffering humanity. Yet, on a careful enquiry, you will soon be convinced that there is still a rich mine of useful researches, which it would be easy to explore; — happy and pacific labours! where all is profit without any chance of loss, and where the heart and mind, in other cases too often divided, associate in the same thoughts, and pursue the same results.

For such labours, it would be difficult to find a more favourable field, than the Correspondence, to which you, as well as myself, are willing to contribute, and which, under the best auspices, is about to form an accession to the Literature of both nations. I leave it to others to trace a comparative portraiture of these two nations, so dissimilar in their manners, their tastes, their habits of every kind; my present object is solely to contemplate them with reference to their beneficent institutions, and to the succours which they distribute among the indigent and suffering classes.

England, with all the abuses of her immense poor's rate, a tax doubly burthensome since it does not bring an adequate remedy to poverty, nor even to mendicity, possesses *public* establishments, less extensive perhaps, less complete, less magnificent, than some of our own; but she is singularly prolific in voluntary subscriptions, and in associations of all kinds, formed by the charitable generosity of individuals.

France, where voluntary contributions and charitable societies are formed with greater difficulty, and are at present impeded by a great diminution in private fortunes, offers nevertheless the ruins of magnificent foundations, the offspring of religion, and

new institutions, as well as revived establishments, which in some respects have profited by recent discoveries and by the general advancement of knowledge, as also by a certain improvement applied to all the material interests of life. By that mysterious dispensation of Providence, on which man is so often called upon to meditate, the Supreme Being has permitted; that, from a mass of evils, and in the midst of utter depravation, there should arise some alleviation to the lot of the poor and the infirm, and that good men, devoting themselves to those innocent occupations, might refresh their wearied eyes, that had so long been dazzled by the protracted triumphs of injustice and immorality.

These gentle impressions are produced, and the occasion of that alleviation is to be found in the perusal of a Report recently published, which was made to the General Council of the hospitals of Paris by one of its members, (Count Pastoret,) on the state of the Hospitals and religious Charities, from 1804 to 1814.* This work, worthy the notice of Englishmen, but hitherto little known to them, from which some useful extracts might be offered, excites a mingled feeling of astonishment and satisfaction, from the improvements which were realized; during that mournful period.

The astonishment becomes greater, when it is known what sort of protection was extended to the labours, by the man who then held France in subjection. That man, whose voracious avidity grasped at all objects, and who, in this instance, might have found one more opportunity to display that quackery in which he was so skilled, by seeming to be occupied with the sufferings of the people, and the means of remedying them, that man remained almost indifferent to the great interests of public beneficence; he never engaged in it with constancy; he seldom, if ever, visited the great hospitals; and here again we observe, that a special Providence, the protector of good hearts, permitted that the callousness natural to his own, should get the better of his schemes and his interests, and that in this, at least, he durst not be a hypocrite, or disdained to appear so.

He confined himself to the issuing of some orders, of which he soon neglected the execution; promised some money that was afterwards absorbed by war, or by foolish expences; at one time he conceived the whim of abolishing mendicity; he thought that by the effect of a mere mandate, there would not, on a fixed day,

* Report to the General Council of the Hospitals by one of the seven members, 1 vol. 4to. Paris: printed by Madam Huzard, Rue de l'Eperon, No. 7. 1816.

be a single beggar in all France; and this important and difficult measure, conducted in a manner equally arbitrary, and without foresight, had not even a semblance of success. Some wretches, apprehended at the caprice of the Prefects, were sent pell mell to encumber depots of mendicity, established and maintained at great expence, to serve merely as bad substitutes for hospitals; but in the streets, and almost in all public places, there were still beggars to be seen.

Mendicity affords an important subject of meditation to charitable men of all countries, to administrators; and to statesmen. The suppression of this moral leprosy in the common weal is an aim, to which all the efforts of beneficence tend, as do all the experiments of political economy. Frequently agitated, frequently discussed, this great problem has been thought not unworthy of the attention of government, since from its solution would result the re-establishment and the perpetual maintenance of public morals, without which there can be no stability in any government.

During the usurpation, I found it necessary, for several reasons, and at the same time practicable (which was not the case with every one) to devote myself entirely to a private life. In that seclusion, I meditated the employing my leisure hours in an extensive work on *Laws and Institutions, considered in their relation to the exercise of Beneficence, public as well as private*. Had I been enabled to complete this interesting work, perhaps the weakness of the means might have been compensated by the vital interest of the subject. I should therefore regret the not having terminated it; did I not congratulate myself on the cause of its suspension; since that was the obligation of entering more actively into the service of my king and country. Perhaps you will be indulgent enough to think, that some parts of my labour in a detached form may be advantageously submitted to the consideration of the English public. Perhaps you will agree with me that the following views on Mendicity are applicable to all countries and to all times.

Where is the happy country in which mendicity is unknown? Where is the wise government which has been able to prevent, or even check it? Several, in these latter times, have made the attempt; some appear to have renounced it, which would be the most discouraging and most fatal of examples: others may have imposed on themselves, and on foreign states, an illusion which it must be useful to dispel; England, France, Austria, Bavaria, and especially Hamburg, afford instances of noble undertakings, honorable to the enlightened men who projected them, and who were ready to embark in them with constancy; but, where are

the fruits of their zeal? What permanent results have we, at the present day, to admire, and to hold forth for imitation? Are we not still confined to mere hopes, and have we not still to discover the certain principles on which they may be realised? It is in these last experiments, and in the midst of much refuse, that they are to be found.

Can it be necessary once more to prove, that it is the interest, and of course the duty, of governments to extirpate this gnawing worm of mendicity? It is difficult to avoid somewhat of declamation, in developing all the evils, which so grievous a scourge brings with it; the diminution of labour, which must always take place, in a progressive ratio, by a sort of bounty granted to idleness, which levies an unjust tax on men of property, and especially on the best disposed among them; lastly, the habitual practice of falsehood and fraud of every kind, and hence the inevitable demoralization of those who ask succour, and frequently also of those from whom it is asked. In support of these facts, which are decisive, we need only appeal to the testimony of charitable persons of every class, who have been at all in the habit of visiting the needy: with what pain have they not discovered among those beings, whom they wished to respect as well as to relieve, the gradual abandonment of virtuous principles, and even of the feelings of nature, in proportion as they fall into the degrading habit of foregoing all dependence on their own resources, and of soliciting compassion by every sort of means. The question is not merely to prevent the last excesses of this abuse, and to withdraw from public view the hideous spectacle of infirmities, the very exhibition of which excites a suspicion of artifice; I should be little inclined, I confess, to respect the feeble delicacy of those, who are afraid of beholding human miseries, or who, in order to be acquainted with them, require to have them forced upon their notice. But how unfortunate is it, when the real, the sacred feeling of compassion familiarises itself with ills, which it despairs of being able to relieve, whilst the multiplicity of impostures, and the dread of encountering more of them, afford to the indifferent a pretext for becoming disgusted with beneficence, and weaken, even in charitable hearts, the exercise of the noblest sentiments, the relish for the purest of enjoyments.

That mendicity is therefore to be checked, wherever we may not have been fortunate or skilful enough to prevent it, no one will now be inclined to deny.

Experience and reflection lead us to propose the following principal means:

*Relief well distributed to the poor at their homes.
Labour offered to them.*

If,

If, in order to solve the problem, it were sufficient to enact a summary law, declaring that, at the expiration of a time specified, no beggars should be allowed in the country, and that all who were found should be apprehended and committed to houses of durance, certainly it might be said that this great good is easily attainable, and that it is useless to indulge in vain speculations; but the case is far otherwise; the most imperious self-will must shrink before obstacles inherent in the nature of things, or at least must learn to encounter them by wise and far-sighted precautions. Governments are wrong, in having recourse to quackery, which cannot for a moment impose on enlightened men, nor long mislead even the multitude: the pretended benefit resulting from such a reform would be merely a sore skinned over; a disease neither correctly defined, nor judiciously attacked, which, notwithstanding some indications of cure, penetrates more deeply into the system, soon to break forth in a more dangerous form. The sum-total of individual sufferings would, by such an expedient, be really augmented; charity also would, for some time, be diverted from its accustomed channels, which are not always to be resumed, with the same facility, on the first appeal; many acts of injustice would be necessarily committed; a crowd of unhappy beings, of both sexes and all ages, — among them, no doubt, some bad subjects, but some also whom excess of misery had not deprived of the power and inclination to work, — would flock to their miserable depots, where such an accumulation would render labour almost impossible; these houses would be little better than wretched substitutes for hospitals, worse supported, and subjected to the most sordid economy; in a short time they would be found inadequate, and would not contain all whom the rigour of the law would bring to them. The new comers must again be allowed to beg, yet be liable from time to time to capricious persecutions, and this alternation of indulgence and severity, this variety, this inequality in the treatment they would meet with in different places, and under superintendants more or less rigorous, would be a fresh occasion of misery and arbitrary usage. I do not hesitate to say, that it is adding cruelty to injustice to punish poor, infirm, forlorn wretches, who ask only for bread, or able-bodied men, who are ready to work for it, but complain of being out of employ. Society has no right to deprive them of their liberty, and forbid their natural appeal to the compassionate, without at the same time offering them at least a wholesome asylum, food strictly necessary, and to those who are able to earn it, workshops, where the crime of idleness may be detected ere it be punished, or may be corrected by the formation of better habits.

It certainly is not by these means, at once violent and inadequate, that we can conceive mendicity to have been suppressed, as it has been, at least for a time, in prosperous cities.

We must first suppose the superintendants, or guardians of the poor, to be in full activity; to them must naturally be confided the first preparatory measure, which is a census, as exact as possible, of all indigent families, in which care must be taken to distinguish residents from vagrants; those who have fallen into distress, owing to some recent cause or extraordinary accident, from beggars by profession; the results of this preliminary labour ought to be recorded in printed tables or statements, in which the questions, as well as the answers, should be correctly given. Such are the data which, placed collectively before a central committee of superintendence, can alone direct their judgment, and enable them to calculate the number of individuals, who are to be the objects of public solicitude, as well as the number of establishments necessary for their relief. The first business would be to class them, and to range under a separate head those who do not belong to the town, province, or country, in which the undertaking is begun, — vagrants and fugitives, who, exhibiting their misery every where, traffic on the success of their too often deceptive complaints.

For this degenerate race, there might, without inconvenience, be prepared *depots of Mendicity*; even these should be held as only a temporary expedient, during the first season of reform, which is always a season of difficulty, or, at all events, those only should be permanent, which were in the vicinity of capitals and very populous towns.

In a second class, should be comprehended all the sick and infirm, who are utterly unable to earn a subsistence; it must be ascertained whether the hospitals and poorhouses already existing are capable of accommodating them; to those who have relatives or friends, a moderate stipend must be assigned, to secure for them that domestic care, which is always preferable to any other. This last concern must be confided to a special committee, partly composed of physicians and apothecaries, capable of rightly employing the valuable expedients of dispensaries, gratuitous consultations, and other institutions, which would require to be discussed in a separate article.

We come next to poor families, either long resident or recently settled, whom either want of work, a sudden rise in the price of provisions, a long course of sickness, too great a number of children, or the various but too efficient causes of actual indigence, have brought down to that deplorable state; these have special claims on a truly enlightened charity; they even excite a

sort of respect in the Christian, who, in beholding them, reflects with humility and gratitude on the mysterious distribution of the good things of this life.

These families must come under the cognizance of the members of boards, or of superintendants, who are to collect the most accurate information concerning them, ascertain their true interests, and exercise, on their behalf, all the rights of an efficient guardianship or adoption; here will be occasion for a new and more complete census, which shall compensate for all the imperfections of the former. It would be difficult to define very precisely the number of families of which each superintendant might thus take charge, since that must depend on several contingencies, such as the time each may have at his disposal, families more or less numerous, the distance of places, the facility of communications, &c. Let us allow, therefore, a certain latitude, from eleven to thirty families to each guardian, who is to visit them incessantly, and at times come upon them by surprise, when they are unprepared to use any artifice for exciting pity; he must be as severe in cases of imposture, as he is indulgent to all the confidential statements of real distress.* Having, by diligent enquiry and repeated personal visits, acquired sufficient information, he is to make a detailed report on the different individuals. In the first list, he inserts all those, who are still able to earn their subsistence, but in resuming their labour require some advances to be made them, in most cases, either utensils or raw material; the second list is for those, who by some accidental revolution in labour, are actually out of work, or have lost the habit of it, or who, still more unfortunate, have never learnt any handicraft, and must go through a tedious apprenticeship. For this class, which will naturally be most numerous at first, but through the effect of the reform it will be annually reduced, shops or workhouses must be adopted, under the direction of a special committee, who undertake, at the same time, to make the necessary advances to those of the first class.

In a third list are to be comprehended those, who are not without work, but whose labour, either through old age, sickness, or the care of a number of little children, is inadequate to the support of their families; here the prudent administrator must exercise a very sound and equitable discretion, in appreciating the sum required to supply the deficit. This sum, it is to be

* I am happy to coincide in opinion with M. de Voght, who states in a memorial on this subject, that a superintendence of thirty families is a heavy charge for one superintendant, and it is impossible to undertake more than that number.

understood, cannot exceed what is indispensable, without incurring all the inconveniencies arising from the extinction of emulation, from the encouragement of idleness, and, in short, from a state of things, in which a family relying on such convenient relief would forego all effort to exempt itself from the need of it, and to aim at ease and independence, by triumphing over the causes, often but temporary, of its distress. This supplementary sum is to be apportioned and distributed weekly, or at most monthly; it would be a salutary precaution to employ it directly in the payment of rent, or the purchase of indispensable necessities, for which poor artisans are most liable to run into debt. It is no easy matter to fix precisely the ratio of their weekly wants; but an experienced legislator, concerned in those establishments which have done honour to Hamburg, presents us a basis of calculation, that may apply generally, estimating the sum necessary for the daily support of a poor man among us, as represented by the value of four pounds of wheaten bread, or six pounds of rye bread;* a moderate supply must be allowed in winter, more than in summer, of from six to eight sols,† with other allowances in proportion to the number of children under six years of age, but not, according to calculation, to exceed twenty-four or thirty sols weekly for each child, and sometimes less, according to circumstances. There is, moreover, a mode of completing this last species of relief, or of dispensing with it, by establishing a nursery in each parish, for little children, during the hours that their mothers are at work.

All children above six years of age, form a fourth class, and become the objects of a particular solicitude. No allowance, on their account, is to be made to their respective families, to whom on the contrary they may soon become useful; but a regulation may be made requiring their constant attendance at schools, established for the purpose of forming them for labour, at the same time that they imbibe the first principles of religion, and the primary elements of instruction. Here a small allowance, from 16 to 24 sols will be made to them weekly according to work done, and also extraordinary rewards for good conduct, application, and regular attendance, consisting of clothes, or other articles equally useful.

On such schools, we may be well assured, depend, the permanent success of the undertaking and the hope of future gene-

* Baron de Voght. — Why have we to seek in the past, for those honorable proofs of his zeal and intelligence?

† The sol may be considered as about equal to a halfpenny English.

rations; they must be the preservatives against the moral plague, from which we would deliver the present generation; and therefore, whatever can insure the well-being and judicious management of these schools, as the choice of suitable situations, the still more difficult choice of proper masters, of whom a seminary must be provided for future service, the regulations which must be invariably adhered to, all the details, in short, which can scarcely be enumerated, are worthy of the most deliberate and serious consideration. It would be desirable, to entrust these concerns to a special committee formed of public men, who might have most leisure and the greatest zeal for this noble career of beneficence. How sweet would be even their earthly reward, when they saw, and exhibited to visitors, these poor children, in spacious and wholesome rooms, divided according to age and occupation, arranged in order, properly clothed, full of health, innocence, and that inward contentment which proceeds from labour mingled with instruction, and acquiring, in these well-contrived alternations of simple studies and manual labour, the habits of morality and activity, which are to form the support and solace of their lives. What a beneficial and happy metamorphosis of those same poor little creatures, who wandered through our streets and public places, in a state of utter degradation and misery, there to become initiated in all the vices, along with the sloth which engenders them! They may, and they ought to attend the schools, until, having completed their simple education, they shall have become good apprentices, capable of working at a trade, and assisting their parents.

The choice of labour and of trades, which it may be expedient to introduce into these schools for children, as well as into the large workshops for adults, should be the object of a particular enquiry; it is impossible absolutely to determine on a matter, which must necessarily vary according to local circumstances, in certain times, in particular districts, in towns, and in country places: the great interests of commerce and industry should be taken into consideration; the supreme administration, whose province it is to study them, will not, if well informed, neglect the superintendence of these details. As a general rule, it may be observed, that the preference should be given to the most common trades, to those which are easiest and most generally in use, to labours that are not pernicious to health, and the introduction of which will not injure the interests of ordinary artizans, or operate disadvantageously on the general rate of workmen's wages.

There are certain invariable principles, which require merely to be stated, and which must always be attended to, in the establishment

blishment of workshops and schools of labour, as well as in the distribution of relief to the poor at their own homes : for instance, the Committee must never give to the pauper for whom they find work, as much as a laborious and assiduous workman would earn ; they must not purchase the products of the pauper's labour at a higher rate than their real value and the current prices of commerce, nor dispose of them afterwards to the public at less than those prices.

It is after having taken these wise and humane precautions, which are not the affair of a few hours, but of which a vigilant superintendence of the poor would insure the success, when the preparatory estimates have been made, and the several establishments opened to the unfortunate, with a certain latitude, which prudence requires to be left for various contingencies ; it is then that we are to admit of coercion, as legitimate, and even useful, in constraining them to what accords with their best interests : then also, and only then, might be issued a prohibition, with an explanatory and paternal preamble, to forbid the giving of money to beggars in the streets. It has been proposed to levy fines double the amount of the gift conferred, in violation of the prohibition, which fines should go to a common fund ; but prudence deprecates the adoption of measures too inquisitorial, against a natural feeling, which is always excusable, even when strict reason condemns it.

At a period prescribed, and solemnly proclaimed beforehand, a well regulated police might, like that at Munich, under the direction of Count Rumford, apprehend in all public places, whatever persons were still found begging, in contempt of the legal prohibition. It is easy to conceive, how their numbers would have been reduced by the antecedent regulations, and the paternal care of the committees charged with the duty of visiting the poor at their homes. At the same time, in the outset of this regulation, a *Depot of Mendicity*, in such a period deserving the name, established near each great town, would be ready to receive them ; and here a selection might be made of strangers to be passed to their own townships ; of the sick and invalids that had a claim on the hospitals and infirmaries ; and lastly, of those, who, stating themselves to be out of work, would find their proper destination, in the shops opened for them.

The first introduction into these houses of labour is not to be regarded as a wrong, or a grievance ; allow the indigent the favorable pretext of deeming it a consequence of involuntary misfortune ; but as by means of a good regulating police established in them, the workman remaining for a specified term of two or three months, will not quit them, without having acquired a trade,

a trade, or recovered his habits of labour, and will be provided with money in advance, reserved from the profits of his toil, part of which will have been laid out in utensils, or in materials for work, the receipt of alms will be a heavy offence, which extraordinary misfortune alone can justify, in very rare instances: he will not be again received into the workshops, except to be subjected to more severe treatment, and privations less lenient; there will be no scruple in employing a certain degree of coercion.* The second term of his residence will be of longer duration, and additional securities will be required, on restoring him to society; he will be, for some time, under particular cognizance, and will be required occasionally to present himself; but if he be a third time found begging, this refractory sloth, this infringement of public order, this offence against the common interest, may with perfect justice be characterized as an actual delinquency, deserving of exemplary punishment determinable by law, such as six months' rigorous confinement, or hard labour without pay, either in the house of correction attached to each workhouse, or in the prisons of the state.

The whole of this system, of which I have again to state, that I have merely sketched the outlines, if persevered in for a few years, would, I feel assured, produce that happy result, which an enlightened beneficence has long contemplated: the scourge of mendicity would be destroyed, and the mass of human misery considerably diminished.

M. M.

LETTER XI. (Translation.)

On the State of Parties in France.

To J. S. Esq.

My dear Sir,

Paris, December, 1816.

WHEN I undertook to inform you of the state of our affairs, I hoped to have had pleasure in fulfilling a promise, which I had pleasure in making; but I now sit down to write, with a heavy heart; for I feel, that, in hoping too san-

* For this purpose, the houses are to consist of two, or three compartments, perfectly distinct.

guinely, I have promised too largely. A person less prejudiced in my favor, less habituated to confide in me without reserve, would not fail to be startled; nay, I can easily conceive, that the most intrepid credulity would hesitate to believe what, alas! I have, now to recount. Prepare yourself, then, for a surprise of no common force; prepare to hear what you could never have suspected, what the wildest imagination would not have thought of inventing — truths which resemble fiction, and which will pass for fiction with posterity: — you shall judge.

At the moment of your leaving Paris, the situation of France seemed to present visible marks of amendment. There was much good in intention; there was some in result. One or two men, ambitious indeed, but still obscure, had begun, and but just begun, to raise themselves above the interests of the nation; a few worn-out intriguers essayed, but without any apparent success, to re-assume the direction of public opinion: some agitators, more audacious, or more sharp-sighted, than their partners in fraud, appeared now and then, in the mere back ground of the political scene, a scene from which they seemed on the eve of disappearing for ever. Certainly, that great malady of Europe, which is called the *Revolution*, was not, and did not appear to be, radically cured; but every thing indicated, that its ravages had been effectually arrested, that they would spread no further, and that in two or three generations, a skilful treatment would quite annihilate its venom: every thing predicted the safety of nations, the triumph of ideas *truly* liberal, the firm establishment of institutions really salutary. As to France, devoted to her King, to the lawful dynasty, and to the constitutional charter; penetrated with the necessity of those sacrifices, which unhappy events had imposed on her; supporting her misfortunes with calmness, out of affection to her sovereign; and quenching, from respect to his will, the most just resentments, she offered an admirable spectacle to the world, a noble example to history! The name of Frenchman, so long menacing and terrible, became something more, and something better: it was respectable, it was interesting; it showed, that a society of men is never so august, as when it has lost every thing — but honor.

You remember our happy chimeras, our Utopian hopes! — Well, even these seemed really about to be accomplished, when an opposition, as strange as it was unexpected — But I forget, that it is here, that your astonishment must begin; or rather, that you will not be able to comprehend me, unless I depict, with the greatest distinctness, both persons and events. Indeed, there is no great art required, in this sketch; for the features are most strong, the colours most glaring.

You

You must have observed two classes of men in France: one of them large, but inert, tending always to repose, as the chief good, and perhaps the principal aim of the social state, sees in politics nothing, but a mean of order and stability: the other, much less numerous, but much more active, (and consequently powerful, when not repressed,) is tormented by desires which nothing can appease, by passions which nothing can calm, and incessantly pants after new revolutions; because the hope of change is a compensation, which the Almighty has thought fit to allot, in this world, to the painful disquiet of the wicked. Again, the first of these two parties is composed of those, who are in all countries distinguished as *honest men*. With the exception of slight local differences, they are every where distinguished by the same marks, they move always in the same path, and they never fail to arrive, sooner or later, at the same result, in all well-regulated communities; that is to say, in all such communities, they secure an ultimate triumph to justice and morality: and if they did not obtain this result, the community must cease to exist; since no political body can survive its own vital principle. The other party, which I have no need to distinguish by name, gains advantages more precarious, but at the same time more striking. It concurs in forming institutions, only that it may the better know their weak parts, and overturn them the more easily. It submits to the sceptre, only so long as it is too weak to hurl the Monarch from the throne. Every step, in its progress to power, is a step toward the dissolution of the state: every conquest, that it makes, is a homage to death and annihilation. Audacious and threatening, under the weak governments, which yield to its first attack; prodigal of feigned caresses, and hypocritical demonstrations of fidelity to those, which are irresolute, or off their guard; it is, nevertheless, easily reduced to submission by those, which know, and fear not to employ, their own strength; for the party, of which I speak, is soon unmasked, its inconceivable impatience always urges it beyond the bounds of discretion, and its projects are so open, that they cannot fail to be anticipated by any reasonable prudence. One would naturally suppose, that such a party must every where cease to be dangerous, from the moment that its views are discovered. One would imagine that this must especially be the case in France, where the events of the 20th of March brought the men of no principle distinctly forward, and presented them in contrast with the honest and virtuous; even as we are told, the goats will be separated from the lambs, at the day of judgment. And yet, my dear Sir, these very men, so unmasked, so exhibited in open day-light to the discrimination of the whole world; these, I say, are the men
whom,

whom, here in France, at the time that I write to you, it is the fashion to call the constitutional party, the friends of the King, the supporters of legitimate government !!! This is the party, Sir, which assumes to be the exclusive organ of public opinion — the party, which France presents to astonished Europe, as the guarantee of our honour, and of the stability of the principles which we profess. As to those faithful Royalists, whose sufferings have afforded so rough a test of their virtues, they, forsooth, are a set of ignorant creatures, far behind the present age in information, obstinate blockheads, fanatics, nay, at last, rebels! Don't suppose, Sir, that these strange definitions are the irony of a wounded spirit, which gives vent to its feelings in sarcasm and hyperbole. No, they are cited *verbatim*, they are the ordinary language of the day; they are classical, I believe I may say, official. They enjoy here all the moral authority of pamphlets, all the infallibility of journals, all the dignity of the secret communications of police. Opposition to the monarchy, is the term given in the modern dialect of the Bureau, to the last vows, the last efforts, of those generous Frenchmen, who have lived only for the royal cause. — Was I wrong, in promising, that you should hear wonders?

Yes, Sir, there is a *Constitutional* party in France: it is the party which has made and unmade seven or eight constitutions. There is a *Monarchical* party; it is the party which has abolished the monarchy, as far as it possibly could. There is a party attached to the *Bourbons*: it is the party which murdered Louis XVI. on a scaffold, immured Louis XVII. in a dungeon, and drove Louis XVIII. twice from his throne. There is, too, in France, you must know, a party which is devoted to *Liberty*; namely, the party which sold her to Buonaparte. There is a party which desires *Equal Rights*; to wit, the party which has inherited the rights of every body else, and which at this moment (whether it be by privilege, or by prescription, I know not) possesses exclusively the right of *admissibility* to all public employments. Not to trouble you too far, with my enumeration, there is a party which stands up for the security of *Property*; and which has never ceased to confiscate for the sake of plunder, and to proscribe for the purpose of confiscation. In fine, this is the *French* party, the party which calls itself French, for excellence, and for exception; but which would make a man blush, if that were possible, at bearing the French name, since by means of these wretches, France has been so overloaded with calamity, in time past, and is threatened with so much dishonour, in time to come.

But this is not all, Sir. There is another party, enterprising, tumultuous,

tumultuous, seditious ! It is the party of those poor old men, who have brought back from exile nothing but the antiquated dress, and the noble sword of their ancestors, and whose minds, docile to misfortune, are not even soured by insult, a thousand times harder to bear than adversity : it is that of those delicate, but timorous consciences, which would willingly preserve the interests of morality, by subscribing to the arrangements of policy, and distinguish irreparable events, from principles, the loss of which only is irreparable ; it is that of those citizen-warriors, who passed, without ambition, from the plough to the command of armies, in the cause of God, their King, and their Country ; and who went back to the plough, without recompence, and without regret ; but always devoted to the same cause — *quand même* ! — Finally, it is that of those exemplary patriots, whom the Revolution seduced, when it was only a delusion ; alarmed when it became a crime ; wearied, when it was a folly ; and disgusted, when it was the watch-word of intriguers, robbers, and scoundrels. Add to the different descriptions of persons that I have mentioned, the immense number of Frenchmen, who are inclined to peace, who are fatigued, who are sick of all that they have seen, who are anxious to know, once for all, what they have to rely on — and you will find, that the whole forms a party, which is calumniated, when it is described as alarming ; but which is certainly not misrepresented, when it is asserted to be numerous.

To learn the secret of the present state of affairs, Sir, you need only the key to the words, that are in fashion. By the words *Constitutional* and *Unconstitutional*, then, as applied to persons, you must understand the very opposite of what each appears, at first sight, to signify. The *Constitutional* men, are the men, who will not have any law, any constitution ; or, what is much the same thing, will change laws and constitutions, when they like, or when they can gain any thing by the change. The *Unconstitutional* men are they, who hope to find a guarantee, in the constitutional laws, against the *de facto* triumphs of the Revolution. You ask me, what are the *Ministerialists* ? I can only say, they are neither constitutional, nor unconstitutional : the only pretension, they have, is, to be eternal. They know, by long experience, that good places are salutary and profitable to those who hold them. I cannot blame this article of their faith. It is the orthodox belief, both of ins and outs, in most countries ; but the difference is, that Ministerialists, in some countries, (as for instance, in England,) have certain political predilections, which are stronger, even than their love of place ; whereas, with us, they stick to their posts, by habit, without exception of Sovereign, of

of Law, or of Country. The Revolution was a mine, opened by pretended philosophers, who knew not how to work it, and wrought, by pretended legislators, who could never have found the way to discover it: it was conquered and lost by the soldiery: and, at last, it has come to be divided among a handful of pedants. A circumstance worthy of remark! The suit of despotism, against national liberty, was pleaded in vain, by Generals, sword in hand: it has been gained by Clerks of Office.

It is needless, to paint the effect, which this subversion of principles and ideas, produces on public opinion. The natural consequence is, that people think, the Royalists want either the power to save France, or the inclination, or both; since they are either feared, or abandoned, by the legitimate authority. Another inference, equally reasonable, is, that the Revolutionists alone formed an accurate judgment of the state of France; that they alone understood the country, and were able to govern it, since, liberated by chance, and free, for a moment, it hastened to throw itself again into their bloody arms, and to demand laws from their experience. It is a deduction, not very illogical, that men, who seem to reason so aptly, for the particular occasion, have always reasoned aptly; that the authority of their systems, and of their examples, does not date merely from the 8th of July, 1815, but was equally valid on the 20th of March preceding; nay, on the 2d of September, 1792; and that, if at the end of the trial, we see the judge embracing the criminal, it is because crime has become justice. Some few unpleasant results, it must be owned, are produced by this mode of reasoning. There is, in timid and suspicious minds, a disquiet, a distrust, a dissatisfaction; in weak souls, a discouragement; there is even a degree of soreness, about certain characters, which are naturally energetic and loyal, but which are punctilious, through sensibility, and which think it hard, after sacrificing every thing, to be placed below esteem, perhaps below indulgence. There is, moreover, a general disorder in men's judgments, on past events, and, consequently, in their rules for future conduct — rules which have been extremely unsettled throughout the whole course of the Revolution. Again, another result is, that total want of security, which always attends false combinations, in politics, and which is a sufficient proof of their error, when they are nothing worse than errors.

In short, were it not for the love of the King, that feeling, which, while it alarms public opinion, for the safety of a life, so dear to us all, serves, at the same time, to keep that opinion ballasted and steady, the terrible aim of the Anarchists would have

have been long ago attained: scattered in an immense void, without unity, without harmony, without concentration, the elements of society would have mutually repelled each other in all directions, and the body-politic would have ceased to exist. Even under Buonaparte, under that man, who represented the character of the age, with so much power, a similar state of things, if it had been possible to exist, could not have continued for a single day. Happily, there is in what is morally good, a principle of preservation stronger than any, which the genius of evil possesses: were it not so, the "state of the world" would have been long since "undone."

From all that I have said, Sir, you will conclude, that it is physically possible to save the monarchy, nay, to save the dynasty, even though the Revolutionists have *accepted* it; to save the charter, even though they have sworn to it. In order to effect this physical possibility, it would only be necessary, that they should consent to will no longer what they have willed to this day, and to will sincerely what they have never willed at all; to comprehend, and to respect, in short, the rights of a legitimate government and the sanctity of oaths; and in return for all the gold and all the blood lavished by them, and for them, honestly to restore peace to Europe; reserving to themselves, with the consent of all the sovereigns, the special guardianship of the throne. At this price, at least, we should have but a slight change to make, in the noble and chivalrous exclamation of the royal Francis: — We should have lost *nothing but* honour.

This, however, is a problem, which, as it depends on the good faith of these gentlemen, will not very soon be resolved.

After the general sketch, which I have here given you, it only remains for me to enter into some particular details, relative to the circumstances of our present situation. This communication shall be perfectly frank and undisguised; and shall form the subject of a letter, which you may expect, in a few days, from

Your sincere Friend

C.

LETTER XII. (Translation.)

On the Revision of the French Code.

To J. P. B——, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

Nov. 1816:

IN the course of our conversations on Lord STANHOPE's proposal, for a revision of the English Statutes, (an undertaking which you, as a lawyer, naturally regarded with great interest,) you were pleased to consider, that my ideas, on the revision of the French Code, might throw some useful light on the subject. You know, that some years since, willingly forgetting the injuries, which I, with so many others of my class, had received, *in the name of the French people*, though certainly without their concurrence, I devoted my leisure, as a good citizen should do, to such reflections, as I thought might possibly, one day or other, be useful to my country. Among other studies, which beguiled the time, in my retirement, the possible amelioration of our national code of laws was one. Shortly after the first restoration of our beloved monarch, I thought the time was come, to turn these studies to some account; and I threw together a few of my leading ideas, in a memoir presented to the Chancellor of France. That great Minister, that former Advocate-General, so distinguished by his erudition and eloquence, in the ancient parliament of Paris, was pleased to return me a flattering answer, and to encourage me to pursue the développment of my plan. I am sorry, that I cannot send you a copy of my first memoir, as I possess only a sketch of it; but the substance I will presently detail, whereby you will see, that the means of legislation, which I propose, being founded on the primary principles of policy, are equally suitable to all nations. Perhaps their adoption might even be more useful to the English, than to the French; for a slow and cautious progress, such as I recommend, is the best pledge of stability; and stability in the institutions of government, it cannot be denied, is more the taste of your countrymen than of my own. *Festina-lentè* has not hitherto been our motto: God knows, when we shall become sensible of the value of that ancient adage.

Not to detain you, with any longer preface, the following is a brief outline of my plan for digesting a new Code of Law for France,

WHEN

WHEN a nation has been, for nearly thirty years, a prey to factions, which have distracted her, with their multiplied experiments, under the various forms of government, by which they have endeavoured to maintain their sway, the necessary consequence is an universal disorder, and confusion in the laws, which have been less dictated by the exalted motive of ameliorating the future condition of the state, than by the studied design of establishing, at whatever cost, the authority of the new functionaries, by favouring, in all possible ways, the cupidity and private resentments of their partisans. The French laws are at present in this situation of disorder. The nation, just recovered from its errors, and enjoying the happiness of having been again placed by Divine Providence under the empire of a legitimate prince, whose beneficent views tend solely to the good of his subjects; the nation, I say, feels the necessity of reforming its present legislation. The present jurisprudence, which determines the obligations of French citizens towards each other, is too much in opposition to the principles of their religion, to the maxims of their morality, and to the developement of those brilliant qualities, which they naturally possess, to be long suitable to a people regenerated under the reign of the Bourbons. The ministers of Louis XVIII., therefore, and the legislative bodies formed by that monarch, are under the indispensable necessity of digesting a new code of law.

In comparing the effects produced by the ancient institutions of France, with those, which have been the necessary results of the spirit and composition of the public bodies instituted in their places, one would be disposed to return wholly to the government which this kingdom possessed, in the year 1788. But this is impossible. Of our ancient constitution, and of our ancient national manners, there remain to us only Royalty, the House of Bourbon, and the White Cockade. Hence, the eagerness and enthusiasm, with which the French, the moment it was in their power, hastened to re-unite themselves to these ancient branches of their political existence. But the impatient desire, which they feel, to return again to institutions, and to submit themselves to laws which formed the glory and the happiness of their ancestors, is checked, at every step, by the immense void, which the Revolution has left in the higher classes of society. The clergy, the noblesse, the parliaments, the names of the different classes, and the privileges of the provinces, are no more, and the elements out of which they should be recomposed are so few, and for the most part so degraded by the change, which has taken place in men's minds, that we can have little hope, that their re-establishment would be attended with a success, answerable to our wishes.

The want of means to restore the ancient pillars, which have so long supported the state, is obvious to every eye; but there are now in the public mind, ideas so vague, respecting the manner in which they are to be restored, that one may say, without exaggeration, there are as many different plans for the formation of a new constitution, as there are Frenchmen, who, from inclination, or condition, concern themselves in the future government of the kingdom.

This indecision, respecting the principles, upon which the details of the French Constitution ought to be regulated and established, has not escaped the observation of His Majesty. It was, doubtless, with a view of putting an end to such a fluctuation of projects, that the King, in his wisdom, determined to surround himself with two Chambers, respectable by the choice and composition of their members, for the purpose of co-operating with him, in the formation of the new Code, which he proposes to give to his subjects. The stability of these two bodies politic, will insure that of the laws, which will inspire, at the same time, the greatest confidence, as not having been decreed and promulgated, until after they shall have been scrupulously sifted and discussed, by numerous and enlightened assemblies.

A new *Code* is by no means a new *Constitution*. It is, properly speaking, only a *Digest* of Laws, already known, and in force, for a long time past. Before the Revolution, a new Code had become necessary for France; and the highest eulogium on those, who had been employed in the formation of it, would have been, that it contained nothing new: but thirty years of faction, of schemes, and empiricism, have made great changes in the state of things in this respect.

There would be now great inconvenience, in leaving the French too long under the dominion of their present jurisprudence. It is indispensable to give them a new code conformable to their habits, and to their national character; to the rights of property in each individual, and to the nature and forms of the legitimate government, which they have just acquired. This is an immense enterprise, particularly when the business is to regulate the legislation of modern states, always complicated by the relations of society, by the pretensions of foreign powers, by the interests which belong to fiscal regulations, by manufactures, by the commerce of export and import, and by a thousand other subjects, which mutually cross and thwart each other, of which Lycurgus and Numa had no knowledge, and about which, they had no occasion to form even a conjecture.

Before entering into the discussion of the particular laws, which should form a part of the new code, it would be of advantage,

tage, to dwell a little on the general nature of the materials of this great work; and to trace the connections of its principal chapters and paragraphs. This is a labour, which should occupy the serious deliberation of a Legislative Committee, until it could be brought to the desired perfection; and then the Committee should present it to the Legislature, with a table of all the chapters, arranged in an order the most advantageous for the discussion of each particular topic.

Let us suppose, that the Committee of Legislation thought proper to commence their Code, by regulating the *Tribunals*, and the *Magistracy*, as to number, composition, gradations of rank, and extent of jurisdiction; and by fixing, at the same time, the *Forms* of legal proceeding. The Committee would present, at the same time with the table of matters, the plan and regulation, which appeared to them the most suitable to the actual circumstances, with a view to the establishment of these important objects, which are the foundations of the jurisprudence of a country. In addition to this, would be given a memoir, detailing the views and motives which had been followed in digesting such new laws, as were proposed to be introduced. These pieces would be sent to the two Chambers, who would publish them; and would order that their form and tenor should be discussed, in the course of the ensuing session.

In the interval, the members of the two legislative bodies would have time to read, to inquire, and to inform themselves, respecting the foundation, and the form, of these important pieces, thus submitted to their revision, and to compare the disposition of them, with such regulations of foreign jurisprudence, as related to the same objects. The speakers, who should be desirous of discussing them anew, would consequently mount the tribune, in the following year, with materials prepared a long time before, with a greater mass of acquired knowledge, and with understandings more exercised on subjects so essential to the happiness and tranquillity of a people, than they could possibly have, if they were called upon to express their sentiments on the laws, at the very moment of their being offered them, *ex abrupto*, without having had leisure allowed them to prepare themselves by the preliminary studies indispensably necessary to such discussions.

By the means now suggested, the new regulations, before they received a final sanction, would be contemplated under all their relations, and with a view to all the consequences, which might belong to them, in their operation on the entire nation, for which they should be formed. Their substance, and that of the amendments adopted, would be more reasonable, more definite,

and better digested; the citizens, always prepared beforehand, would never be taken by surprise by any of the regulations promulgated in the new decrees; since, before they acquired the force of laws, they would have had time to become acquainted with them, and to adapt themselves to them accordingly. The secret views of turbulent men, who wished to pass defective regulations, would be more certainly unmasked, and, to sum up all, this manner of framing laws would inspire greater confidence, than that which is now followed, in any other country whatever.

The chapter of the Code, which had been discussed during the second year, would not yet be definitively settled. The minutes of these discussions, and other pieces relating to them, would be returned to the Committee of Legislation, which after another serious examination, would recast its memoir, and would frame a second time its first chapter, reviewed and corrected, in which all the amendments sanctioned by the two Chambers, would be incorporated with the text; but it would not be decreed, nor have the force of a law, until the *third* year. This second revision, however, would relate only to the form of drawing up the chapter, and would be principally necessary, in order to ascertain, that those who had digested it, had exactly pursued the directions given by the legislative bodies.

In the second year, immediately after the conclusion of the discussions on the first chapter, the Committee would propose, in the same forms, a second chapter, which should embrace the subject, next in importance to that treated of, in the chapter, which the two Chambers had just been discussing. This second chapter would be proceeded on, in the same manner as the first; so that, every year, there would be one chapter, which should acquire the force of a law throughout the empire, another, that should have been discussed, and a third, which should only have been pointed out by the Committee of Legislation, for the purpose of being, in the succeeding year, examined, and contemplated, in every different point of view. In this manner, would they proceed, until the whole Code should have been entirely completed.

This plan for the triennial digest of a Code, it appears to me, would unite every advantage, if, in the first place, there were made a distinct article, comprehending those laws immediately called for by the circumstances of the country, and which demanded the greatest expedition. The slowness of the plan may be objected to it; but, so far from being a fault, its slowness is in my opinion one of its best qualities. What legislator, scrupulous and jealous of his reputation, would dare to promise, in less than two years, a complete tract, on any complicated and extensive branch of jurisprudence, and to arrange it in a style, clear,
definite,

definite, without contradiction, without ambiguity, and in perfect harmony with the national spirit, and with the other parts of the government? It was the misfortune of France, that for many years before the Revolution, she had been agitated and disorganised by a succession of constant changes, the necessary results of a multitude of hasty enactments, framed in the secrecy of the cabinet, hastily promulgated, and put in force by light-minded, or ignorant ministers, who, incessantly opposing the spirit of the nation, and of the existing political bodies, corrected one inconvenience, by the introduction of a thousand others into the legislation and character of the French people. Heaven guard us against falling into a similar fault; and let us take before-hand, every precaution to avoid it!

Let us suppose, that the Committee of Legislation, after mature deliberation, finds it convenient to divide its code into twenty different heads. In twenty years, then, the French will enjoy the happiness of living under laws, as perfect, as circumstances will permit; and, in the mean time, they will be gradually relieved from the inconveniences of being governed by defective laws. The greater part of the governments of Europe have existed for more than twenty years; notwithstanding which, their subjects daily experience the evils arising from the want of an uniform Code, fixing, irrevocably, and to the knowledge of every one, their rights and their duties.

The twenty years having elapsed, there could be no objection, or rather, every thing would invite, to a new edition of the code, after a thorough review and correction of it, and its continual revision would properly be made a fundamental law of the empire.

For the last twelve, or fifteen years, the French have been accustomed to a code, called the Code-Napoleon, which is not so defective in all its parts, but that the use of it may be continued, without great inconvenience, for a considerable time. The intolerable number of its articles, diffused through different chapters, into which it would be impossible to enter, under this new method of revision, would be changed, (the necessity of it being at the same time publicly notified,) for more expeditious forms, and we should have substituted in their places laws more suitable to the circumstances of the times.

If, after mature consideration, the Committee of Legislation should be of opinion, that the most natural and proper divisions of the new Code would prove too numerous, to be submitted singly, in each year, to the discussion of the two Chambers; it would be easy to send in two or three divisions together; the labour would be the same, and the work would advance more rapidly. Whatever might be determined in this respect, the

repeated revisions would necessarily occupy so much time, and be conducted with the aid of so much real information, that we might reasonably expect to see the French nation, at last, in possession of a Code the fittest possible for their character, and for their political situation.

Such, my dear Sir, was the substance of my first Memoir. The encouraging answer which I received, and the second Memoir *in extenso*, I will send you with my next letter; but I do not forget, that we live in an age, when all faults, and even all crimes are pardoned, except tediousness. To avoid the irremissible penalty of that offence, it is necessary, that I should hasten to subscribe myself, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

De S—

LETTERS XIII. XIV. and XV. (Translations.)

On the Proceedings of the present Chamber of Deputies.

To ———.

Paris, Nov. 20. 1816.

YOU will pardon me, and you will not be surprised, that I write neither in my own hand, nor with my own signature, nor by the post. Respect for the secrecy of letters is not an article of the Charter; and if it were —

On the theory of our constitutional government, you remember, that there was scarcely a shade of difference, between your opinions and my own, when we discussed the subject, *tête-à-tête*, at Paris. We agreed, that under this form of government, the Ministry, strictly speaking, is not entirely at liberty to choose a system for itself. It must find its support, in the deliberative Assemblies, as the deliberative Assemblies must find theirs, in the opinions of their constituents. A very opposite view of ministerial policy is taken by those, who are embarrassed between the ideas of liberty, on the one hand, and the practices of Buonaparte's despotism, on the other. It is natural, that men should fall into that embarrassment, who have been successively agents of the Revolution, and tools of the Despotism, more especially if they find themselves called to assist at councils, which should be ally removed from both these extremes. To get out of their difficulties, these skilful gentlemen have imagined an ingenious plan.

plan. Their plan is, that the authority of the Ministry shall enchain the Chambers, as that of the Chambers shall the opinion of France. Consequently, when we possessed a Chamber, which would not be driven from all its principles of morality, of loyalty, and of constitutional liberty, a Chamber whose short-lived existence presents, without exception, the brightest spot in the whole History of France, the men, to whom I allude, called aloud for its dissolution; in order that another might be formed, more consonant to their views, and more pliable to the commands of the Ministry.

I leave it to others to inform you, how the new elections were managed, how the influence of the crown was employed; not, as in England, by an indirect and balanced conflict with other interests; but openly, imperatively, and (what would scarcely be credited in your country) by the official agency of the returning officers themselves; that is to say, of the presidents of electoral colleges, nominated, *ad hoc*, by the King. I leave it to others, to enumerate the direct menaces made use of toward the electors, and the faithful execution of those menaces. — In fine, I leave it to others, to explain to you, the active employment of an enslaved press, directed by revolutionary writers, in France; and the means used to bribe, to mislead, or to deceive, the journalists of England: — and I proceed to reply to the enquiries contained in your interesting letter, of the 5th instant, relative to the actual situation of affairs, and the proceedings of the present Chamber.

I think, I cannot better satisfy your wishes, than by transmitting to you, from time to time, copies of the notes, which I am in the habit of sending to my friends in the Departments, who, unwilling to study contemporary history, in the fabricated annals of the Police, desire information from a pen, on which they can rely; and are fully aware, that that information will be authentic.

I shall take up the chain of events, from the moment, when, the elections being concluded, the new Deputies began to arrive at the capital. At this time, the Ministerialists boasted openly, and with little modesty, of the success of their measures, to place the Royalists in a minority in the Chamber. They would not permit the price, at which they purchased this advantage, to be mentioned; nor how they had inflamed the minds of the Revolutionary party, in all the Departments; nor how they had contrived to obliterate the very salutary fear, which those persons felt, at the second return of the King, and the assembling of a Chamber of Deputies inclined to finish the system of revolution; nor how these men had been collected, and quieted, after the storm which
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had dispersed them; nor, in short, how they had reassembled, at last, learning that they could still form a party, and even a predominant party, under the reign of the lawful King. During the whole of last year, the Ministerial doctrine was, that we were not in England; and that, in France, Ministers could dispense with a majority. Yet, we now see, what an immense value they place on this majority, and what dangers they have heaped on unhappy France, to obtain it. The first use, that was made of this influence, in the proceedings of the new Chamber, was in the choice of the President, Vice-president, and Questors. Their first list underwent, in the subsequent sittings, some modifications. The name of Mons. BEUGNOT, which was first proposed, was superseded in the second list, by that of the Prince De BROGLIE, — a most devoted adherent of the Ministry, during the last session, and inclined to act the same part in this. However anxious the new majority was, to evince its gratitude to the Ministry, for the triumph, which it had obtained over the Royalists, and however fearful, that the smallest discussions might make way for the entry of the opposite party, it did not fail, in some sort, to endeavour to shake off the Ministerial yoke, by appointing Mons. Beugnot as a candidate for the Presidency, and naming him Vice-president, in opposition to the will of Ministers. I lay stress on these details, of little importance in themselves, because they will certainly lay the ground-work of future differences among the new majority. It is bound together by no common link. It is a mixture of all parties: from the weak Royalists, such as Mons. D——, to the true Jacobins, such as Mons. A——; from those who formerly served with the army of Condé, such as Mons. De S——, to those who were enrolled among the Fédérés, during the 100 days, such as Mons. P——. Besides, the Ministry, which ought intrinsically to possess the bonds of union, to link together this species of power, have no visible means to direct its use. The variety of opinion in the individuals, who compose the majority is daily evinced; — the Minister of Marine is steady in his conduct; — Mons. De —— does all he can to get himself into inextricable difficulties; — the Minister of —— fancies a system, half despotic, half liberal, which none but himself can understand; — the Minister of —— makes a formal alliance with the Revolutionary party: — he daily sees them; makes them promises of his fidelity in future; and is quite linked in with them. Beside these internal divisions, which must paralyse the energy of Ministers, they are in another awkward predicament; not being even recognised, as the chiefs of the prevailing party in the Chamber. It is morally impossible, therefore, that they

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can unite, and govern such a majority. It will always be guided, according to the nature of the questions, and the interest of the instant: it will be any thing, but blindly passive to the will of Ministers; and, were it not for the fear of the Royalist party, and the rooted dislike, which the members of the old minority have to vote with that party, I have no doubt, but that these many and powerful causes of dissension, would have operated long ago.

In the meanwhile, the Royalists, to the number of about ninety-four, united by their confidence in the men, who have adhered, during a twelvemonth, to their opinions, post themselves on the bulwark, which they chose last session; namely, *Le Roi, la Charte, et les honnêtes gens*, and find great solidity in the simplicity and unity of their principles; they have this advantage over the others, that they have a determinate object in view, whereas their opponents go, as it were, from post to pillar. Proposals have been made to them; sometimes by the *Ministerialists*; sometimes by the new party, which wishes to form itself under the name of *Independents*; nay, even by the *Revolutionists*, who are well enough inclined to rally to them, in order to oppose the ministry to better advantage; but they have very wisely refused to enter into any measures in opposition to the purity of their views. They say to all parties, "You know our principles; they are written in the proceedings of the last session; we have formally declared them, and will constantly adhere to them: those who wish may adopt them; or, for their convenience, vote with us; *we make no exceptions*. The only unpardonable crime of the Revolution, 'the murder of the King,' is no more thought of by us, since it has been punished." And when they were tampered with, about erecting a new ministry, on the ruins of the present, and dividing the spoils with those who should join them, they answered, "We wish for no places: every ministry chosen by the King, and which is willing to coincide with our views, will always find us ready to act with it; as powerful and unalienable allies; and in the same manner, we are resolved to oppose every ministry, that acts with contrary intentions."

Such is nearly the position of parties. As to their numerical strength, I have already told you, that the Royalists can in general reckon upon ninety-four votes; there are not above forty or forty-five, who seem inclined blindly to follow the ministerial banner: about forty are placed in that class, which prefer any government to the legitimate monarchy (such, at least, is the inference to be drawn from their past conduct): twenty-nine or thirty endeavour to make an independent, that is to say,
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a constitutional and monarchical party, but quite distinct in its members from the Royalists: the remainder contains men of no character, who change sides according to the questions agitated, and the circumstances which give rise to them, without any fixed principles or notions.

The same distinctions of character are discernible in the Chamber of Peers. The Royalists in minority are more than last year; they count about sixty or sixty-four members. It is not easy to reckon the numbers of the majority, who wish to form an independent party, though such a wish is very perceptible. M. de T—— is the most distinguished personage among them, and about twelve or fifteen members already openly rally to him.

The object of the Independents, in the two Chambers, is to make themselves sufficiently strong, to give the law to the two contending parties; to vote sometimes with the Ministry, when in opposition to principles wholly Royalist; and, on the contrary, when the popular interest is concerned, or the overthrow of Ministers can be effected, to vote, for these purposes, ever with the Royalists. My opinion is, that the members of this party deceive themselves, as to being able to play for a long time this difficult game; for, if they vote once or twice in opposition to the Ministers, the animosity which must originate in such contests, will inevitably range them in an uniform opposition to Ministry. Indeed, this is already evident, by the reluctance they evince to come to any decision, and the horror they have to vote even for once with the Royalists. As yet, however, no question has been started, which could act as a decided lure to them; and the only thing, that will put them to the test, will be the question of the liberty of the press, or the abrogation of the law of the 29th October, 1815, on the subject of the measures for general safety. In my next, I will show why the Royalists are obliged to destroy these two weapons, and wrest them from the Ministry, aware that their use would be principally employed against themselves.

Among the most important occurrences, since the meeting of the Chamber, I must mention the Speech of the King. Many of the Ministers wished it to contain expressions more strongly pointed against the Royalists, than what the King used in the following sentence: "I will restrain the action of a too ardent zeal;" and indeed there was reason to fear, from what had occurred in the last month, that the opinions of Ministers would have been more strongly supported in the Speech. The Address of the Chamber savoured a little of the disappointment felt from these milder expressions of the Throne, than they expected to have

have heard from the Throne. The Commission of the Chamber was composed of three Royalists and six members of the opposite parties. Five or six propositions were read. That of M. C—— J—— was most approved by the revolutionary party: the resistance of the Royalists (perhaps too frank) who formed part of this commission, caused that proposition to be rejected, and the only two propositions discussed were those of M. B——, which was very moderate, and the other of M. R. C——, which was less so. Here again the Royalists interfering, more honestly than adroitly, gave the preponderance to the proposition of M. B——. The words “profound gratitude for the ordonnance of the 5th of September,” were added, just as the Chamber was seated, to hear the reading of the Address. No preparation had been made to oppose this new proposition; and fears were entertained, by raising a discussion on this head, that many other points must have been conceded. In fine, the Address was allowed to pass, without discussion. I think this error will be useful, in pointing out similar dangers in future. Mons. V—— D’A—— was on this occasion obliged to quit the Tribune, and printed afterwards the motion which he intended to have made there. The copy of it, which I subjoin, will enable you to perceive how the Revolutionists wish to league together, in order to attack the Government; in what manner they wish to possess themselves of the popular passions, which ever find votaries in all countries amongst the rabble. Mr. P——’s nomination to the Presidency was determined on principally from his great intimacy with the Minister of ——-. The suppleness of his character, no doubt, helped to pave the way to his nomination.

X.

Wednesday, 27th November, 1816.

I CONTINUE my communications to you, according to my promise. Important discussions have taken place, this week, in the Chamber of Deputies. An intention is evidently shewn of making the public sittings as rare as possible; and even of throwing every possible obstacle in the way of the secret general sittings, in which motions might be made unexpectedly. This measure, if persisted in, will give little opportunity to the minority of the Chamber, to evince its opinions, or resume its motions on the same principles, which, last year it professed to establish, as its undeviating model. Monsieur de *Casteljajac* intended to make a motion on the Liberty of the Press, reserving to the Ministers the

the proposition of whatever restrictive laws they might think expedient. The President of the Chamber, in the last general sitting, avoided the discussion of this motion. The many abuses, of which the law of the 29th October, 1815, has been productive, while enforcing measures for the public security, must necessarily bring about some decided step on the part of the minority. The complaints presented by several individuals, will form the basis of the opposition to these arbitrary measures. On a superficial glance, it may appear strange, that persons, in their hearts and conduct evidently attached to the Royal Authority, should wish for the repeal of two laws, made in a crisis of exigency, and then intended to strengthen the Royal Government: but if we consider in whose hands the execution of these laws is vested; the individuals against whom they are likely to be employed; that this power of arbitrary arrest has of late been principally directed against men noted as faithful servants of the King; and that, in case a junction should be effected between the Ministerial and Revolutionary parties, these laws would bear solely against the Royalists; and also, when we reflect, that in themselves these laws are so vague, that they offer no security to innocence, no even any appeal from severity; taking off all responsibility from Ministers, on a point, where that responsibility should most be insisted on, as affecting the rights of citizenship, and personal safety; I am led, not only out of regard to my countrymen oppressed during 25 years, and likely to be more oppressed, at the very moment, when they had a right to expect protection and reward; but also out of attachment to the principles of the Constitutional Charter, in their spirit and consequences — I am led, I say, most heartily to wish the destruction of a thing so terrible, and likely to become so dangerous.

As to the *Liberty of the Press*, some sensible men think, it may be attended with danger; others think, that the advantages, which it presents, make up for the concomitant drawbacks. If we lived in ordinary times, this dispute might easily be settled, by making restrictive laws, and establishing them in such a way, as gradually to diminish in effect. Thus, the first violence and fervour would be checked; and in a short time, the Press would have no other fetters, than what were absolutely necessary for political stability and private happiness; but the case is different when the King's best subjects find themselves beset, on all hands, by distressing enmities, attacked by a regular system of defamation and insult; daily accused, without the means of defending themselves, when the Censorship is exercised with odious partiality, and in such a shameless manner, that an individual may be constantly assailed, in points of the most delicate nature, and his honor

honor and character aspersed, without the possibility of defending himself from the accusation, or of making his justification public. I could astonish you, Sir, with some details, on this subject, did my time and paper permit.

The discussion of the Budget has produced nothing determinate. Vague speeches were delivered, and eccentric opinions given; the only point, wherein all seemed to agree, was an universal cry for economy in the expenditure. In the commission presented, we find five names to which the confidence of the minority could not be refused: the 13 others were decidedly ministerial, inclining to the opinion of the majority. It differed still more, from that chosen last year in the turn of thinking of those who composed it, than in their names. Last year, the majority of the commission were proprietors, men without prejudice, without theories, perhaps without what is called science, but possessed of sound sense, and great knowledge of the local interests of their several departments. This year, it is quite otherwise; Bankers, former Ministers of Finance, Authors on Political Economy, have been named. I much doubt, if this commission will show as much good faith, simplicity, and wish for the public weal, as the last.

Last Saturday, in the Chamber of Peers, Monsieur de *Chateaubriand* made a constitutional proposition, to beseech the King to institute an enquiry into the abuses and illegal influence practised in the last elections. The question was put to the vote, and rejected by a small majority. It is to be hoped, that the opinions of this Peer, so replete with wholesome doctrine, may obtain as much publicity, as possible, by being given to the press.

What has occupied the public most, for some days past, is the mark of royal disfavor shown to Monsieur de T——. He dined, about a week ago, with the English ambassador, when several foreigners were present. Towards the conclusion of the party, the President of the Chamber of Deputies came up to him, for the first time, and excused himself for not having seen him at his own house, on account of his daily occupations and conferences with the Ministers. Monsieur de T—— observed to him, that his relations ought necessarily to be confined to those with the Minister of the Interior, and that he conceived it very improper that the Chamber and its President should have any recourse to other ministers, and particularly to the Minister of Police. Monsieur P—— replied with warmth, that the quality of minister to the King was sufficient to authorise those relations; that all the ministers were linked together, and of course (even in the opinion of Monsieur de T——) must be equal. Monsieur de T—— replied, that if, as ministers of the King, they were equal,
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yet their general privileges could not be considered equal; and that the Minister of Police was to the other ministers, what the Prevôts Guard was to an army; that he was necessarily the first minister of an usurper, and the last of a legitimate king. It is not known, whether this conversation was literally delivered to the King, or whether the words and sense were given improperly; but His Majesty informed Mons. de T—— last Thursday, through the Duke de la C., that he need not present himself at the Thuilleries, till further orders. It is said, that Mons. de T—— has written a spirited, but respectful letter to the King, no doubt, in a masterly style. This nobleman has opened his house for the season, and continues to receive company, on Tuesdays, and Fridays. There are many visitors, but his house is by no means crowded. This kind of bickering, which creates neither pain, nor pleasure, in my mind, will soon dwindle to nothing; for the ministers will, doubtless, be able to carry things before them, as well in a political point of view, as a social one.

Nothing important has occurred, in the course of the last few days. However, all thinking people perceive, that a crisis is not far distant. To foresee accurately its nature or result, is impossible; but it will probably originate in the discussion of a budget, incapable of being put in execution; or, in other words, in the absolute impossibility of making the resources of the country meet its expences.

X.

Wednesday, 4th Dec. 1816.

THE minority of the Chamber has availed itself of one of the first opportunities, to replace itself in the position, which it has long wished to obtain. The right of petition, (the most precious of all the privileges, under a constitutional government,) together with the laws, which ensure individual safety, and the right of publishing opinions, are all annihilated, by the manner in which ministers wish to interpret them. M. de la BOURDONNAYE, with much address, chose these important topics, in order to discuss the true spirit of the constitution; and to determine the rights of the Chamber; which are as essential to its own welfare, as to the defence of the oppressed, and those who are the victims of ministerial abuses. I will not quote this speech, nor mention the circumstances to which it gave rise, in two successive meetings, as I am convinced that you have seen and read it with interest; but what I cannot avoid remarking is, that those who pretend to be exclusively attached to the constitution,

have been induced by personal animosity, to abandon its principles in their most important application. The first day of this discussion, a considerable number of the pretended Independents, voted with the minority, to exact more accurate informations, than the Minister of Police chose to give. It is certain, that the anti-ministerial side of the question, on the first debate, was supported by a majority of votes; but the partiality of the bureau got the better of this advantage; and this conduct created such a feeling of disgust, among the members of the minority, that, without regarding a cold calculation, which might have prevented them from forming an useless division in the Chamber, they refused to take any part in the business of the day. In the next day's debate, they were wholly deserted by all those who, the evening before, had voted with them. The ministers came, in person, to that sitting, to support their dependents, and to intimidate the weak-minded. This will shew, how useless and dangerous all these divisions are, which leave the enemy master of the field of battle, and often occasion the loss of the means to struggle with them, by opposing to them the strength of reason which still exists, even when the defeat is over. Moreover, these absolute divisions of deliberative assemblies have always the appearance of faction, which is incompatible with the good cause defended by the minority.

Mons. de Castelbajac pronounced last Wednesday his speech on the restrictions of the liberty of the press. Ministry sought to make this discourse lose its effect, by announcing, in the beginning of the sitting, that they intended immediately to present the project of a law on this subject.

It is not yet known, whether the Ministry can carry through its wretched projects of a law on elections, founded on three words of the charter; which it defines in the sense most suitable to its views; although the primary intention of these words was by no means that, which their party bestow on them. This incoherent law, democratical for many departments, and aristocratical for others, is founded on no sustainable principles. On the one hand, it indirectly excludes a great part of the nation from the choice of its representatives: on the other, it calls to a direct election the very small proprietors: and of course destroys the influence, which should be given, by every wise system, to the greater proprietors. In short, it is a law difficult of execution; and there would be no end to anticipating all the objections to it, which will no doubt be started in the ensuing discussion.

The persons, who look to our future situation with anxiety, have their eyes fixed on the budget. Mons. L. is named President of the Commission; and, as it appears, with the

assent of the members of the minority in that commission. They preferred his austerity to the pliability of Mons. B. However they may discuss this financial law, it is certain, that in the present state of France, a credit, to the amount required, cannot possibly be obtained. The only way to suppose it practicable is, from the assistance of foreign banks; and that is extremely uncertain. It is hoped, that the English, the Dutch, the Genoese, the Genevese, and other strangers, will be induced to bring us their money, by the tempting benefits held out to them. I believe this might be possible, if our political situation were not so disastrous and complicated; but if we take into view the dependence, in which the government has placed itself, with regard to certain foreign powers, (and which dependence awakens the jealousy of other powers,) if we reflect on the acrimony of parties in France, and the deplorable situation of the inferior classes, from the scarcity and high price of corn; and the consequent difficulty of collecting the taxes; together with the impossibility of giving effect to the laws, which must be made, as well to guarantee, as to pay, these loans; if we attentively consider all these things, there can be no doubt, that extensive foreign loans will with difficulty be procured.

It appears, that Mons. de CHATEAUBRIAND wished his opinion, on the undue influence which took place in the last sitting, to be printed by the printer of the Chamber of Peers; but the printer was intimidated by the threats of an agent of the Police. It is doubtful, whether any other printer will choose to execute this, in the present state of the press. If so, there will be no possibility of informing France, or foreign powers, how the principles of the charter are perverted and laughed at, by those who utter the warmest protestations of attachment to it, and profess to make it the idol of their adoration.

The utmost violence is shewn toward all the agents of Government, who evince in the Chamber opinions opposed to the ideas of ministry. Mons. B. has been displaced from his situation of Counsellor of State; and Mons. H. de L. has been recommended to resign his place of Master of Requests.

LETTER XVI. (Translation.)

On Fouché's Letter to the Duke of Wellington.

To E. J. Esq.

Paris, Nov. 19. 1816.

ECCE iterum Crispinus! My dear Sir, Here you have your old friend Fouché again. The letter of this worthy to the Duke of Wellington has been in print for several months. Foreign journals have spread copies of it over the whole of Europe, with great profusion: it is known every where, except in France, where, during the last seven-and-twenty years, all has been violence in practice, because all has been licence in theory; and where, consequently, nothing has been printed freely, because there has been, all the while, an unlimited freedom of the press. No answer has yet appeared to this letter, precisely because, though known every where else, it has never been published in the only country where it could be answered. Accident, however, has thrown a copy in my way; and perhaps you will not be unwilling to waste a quarter of an hour, in reading some of the remarks which occur to me upon it. The miserable style of this production does not excite my surprise; nor do I feel any difficulty in conceiving, how its author should write his own language incorrectly, considering how seldom he could have been conversant with societies, where it was spoken with purity, and how much he has laboured, in the course of his life, to vitiate all the sources of sound doctrine in literature, as well as in morals. It appears to me equally natural to expect, in such a writer, intricacy of statement, and obscurity of diction; for it rarely happens, that a man delivers himself with precision and clearness, when there is nothing clear in his head, or sincere in his heart. This want of perspicuity will prevent my entering on certain details, which I do not well understand; but there is little reason to regret this circumstance, from the abundant materials for reflection, and remark, furnished by passages perfectly intelligible, and from the striking disclosures of the revolutionary character, placed before us, in this profoundly meditated work of one of the patriarchs of the Revolution.

The address and subscription of this letter, set in contrast with each other, excite a world of reflections. The *Duke of Otranto* writes to the *Duke of Wellington*! The *Duke of Otranto*, formerly the Republican Fouché, and still recognized by that histo-

rical appellation! This assassin of a king occupies a position so exalted, that he can treat, on some sort of equality, with the illustrious Captain, who has been the instrument of safety to all kings! This *sans-culotte* Duke, compared to whom the Marquis of Mascarille would be considered a personage fit for gentcel comedy, has it in his power, not without an appearance of reason, to recal conferences which he held with the conqueror of Buonaparte, to appeal to his testimony, and to plume himself on marks of his affability! We thus obtain an explanation of the overpowering shame and misfortunes, which followed that memorable day from which we reasonably expected to date so much happiness and glory; that day in which all the nations of Europe, represented by their sovereigns, appeared, as it were, under the walls of Paris, to demand atonement for so many outrages offered to men, and so many impieties committed against heaven. The tyrant was overthrown—the Revolutionists had lost all courage and all hope. By a fatality, which many could not, for a long time, conceive, but which is now too plainly understood, since all prejudices are dispelled, the very men whose invincible power had overcome the rebels, and whose word could have annihilated them, stretched out their hands to raise them up, and this from respect to certain pretended rights of the people! They who had come to establish the rights of sovereigns, permitted men, of whom all society constituted them the judges, and whose punishments France especially demanded, to sit in their councils, and to negotiate with their ministers! In spite of the cries of an immense population, who invited their legitimate King, in spite of the execrations, which every where ascended against the authors of so many crimes, and so many misfortunes, it was decided, on the authority of the Revolutionists themselves, that the French people was for ever attached to the Revolution, to all its *franchises and liberties*, that it would expose itself to all dangers in their defence, and that consequently it was necessary to leave it in possession of them, together with the Revolutionists who had established them, in order to avoid the most frightful convulsions. The Royalists, who came forward affirming the contrary, found themselves repulsed, ridiculed, and overpowered, like the daughter of Priam when uttering sinister predictions, which exposed her to fresh contempt. The 20th of March arrived!

This has been said a thousand times; but how can we refrain from still repeating it, when we see the same circumstances, so momentous and decisive, produce the same events, and lead to the repetition of the same errors. On the first occasion, T—— was listened to, on the second, the counsels of Fouché, were taken! Men were able to persuade themselves, that a regicide could

sincerely desire the restoration of the brother of Louis XVI., and that he would point out, with truth and frankness, the best means of accomplishing it! Alas! the least sagacious of the Royalists, by giving advice diametrically opposite to his, might have been sure of recommending the proper course.

The result has shewn what reliance can be placed on his word: the Duke of Wellington is now sensible, (too late, it must be allowed,) that he has been deceived by Fouché, and Fouché cannot conceal from himself, that he is an object of contempt to the Duke of Wellington. What then can be the aim of a letter, in which he alleges, as facts, notorious and demonstrated falsehoods, and establishes principles, which he must have known to be execrable in the eyes of the noble personage, to whom they are addressed? This reflection, which did not at first occur to me, has convinced me, that the subscription has engaged too much of my attention, and that it really amounts to nothing. The great name of the Duke of Wellington is only a pretext, which furnishes to this profound conspirator, the means at once striking and mysterious, of extending to the whole of his party the voice of a chief, who formerly conducted their steps, and supported their cause, who now sees with sorrow division enter their ranks, and weaken their efforts, during their season of trial and tribulation, and who most anxiously wishes, by stifling all the resentful passions, which enfeeble them as a body, and by showing them the only result, at which they ought all to aim, to give vigor to their actions, and unity to their interests.

If this letter be considered, with regard to its composition, many will find it far below the idea, which they had been led to form of a man, who so long took part in the conduct of great affairs; but those who are more intimately acquainted with the Revolution, will be of opinion that this production, contemptible as it is, is in all respects worthy of its author; because they have never discovered any true talent among the Revolutionists; because, after twenty-five years of crimes, which have created twenty-five years of false taste, and been more than sufficient to barbarize the most exalted genius, it would be astonishing indeed, if meaner spirits escaped the contagion. I must therefore submit to the task, painful as it is, of endeavouring to discover, through that indistinctness of conception, that incoherence of plan, and that sort of jargon, which is the language of the initiated, and of which I have been necessarily compelled to learn the grammar, what is the predominant idea in this work of darkness, and what are the precise objects, which its author intended to accomplish. I shall at the same time endeavour to unfold the secret causes and true course of events, as collected

from its open declarations, as disentangled from its contradictions, or as inferred from its studied silence.

Fouché informs us, that explanations are demanded of him on different points: 1st, on the return of the King; 2dly, on his acceptance of the ministry of police; 3dly, on the ordonnance of the 24th of July; 4thly, on his mission to Dresden; and 5thly, as to the causes which prevented him from entering the Chamber of Deputies. Who can have required these explanations? It cannot be faithful Frenchmen, who have never entertained towards him any other feeling than contempt or horror, and who verily require no additional information on any thing that concerns him. It must therefore be the Revolutionists, the Buonapartists, the Jacobins, and others, who think they have a right to complain of his conduct. Before their tribunal he proceeds to plead his cause; and his cause is that likewise of the Revolution.

If we except a very impudent falsehood which he advances, in the first page, to the partisans of Buonaparte, in swearing to them, by all that is sacred, that he faithfully served him, while the proofs of his treachery towards him are as clear as the light of day,* the reasons by which he demonstrates, that after the battle of Waterloo, the country was no longer tenable, in favour of the tyrant, appear to us indisputable.

An army of eleven hundred thousand[†] men was advancing, in good order, against a hundred thousand disbanded soldiers: any attempt to resist would have been madness. The question was no longer, therefore, how to support the fortunes of a man, who had lost himself without resource, but to *serve our country*, to *watch over the public good*, the *general safety* — magnificent expressions, indeed! which, being translated into the Revolutionary language, simply signify to serve the *Revolution*, and to watch over the safety of the *Revolutionists*. Let the Napoleonists then abandon their chimera, let them rally zealously round this friend of his country. In the picture, which he attempts to present to them, of the situation of France, during this memorable crisis, he finds an opportunity to point out to them the sovereign who is fitted for them, the true mediator of all things, the secret object of all his wishes.

“There was,” says he, “a difference of opinion concerning

* Either he betrayed Buonaparte, or he betrayed the King; for nothing is better ascertained, than his correspondence with Ghent. We could even state the medium through which it was conducted. The truth is, he was a traitor to both.

the choice of a sovereign.* Some wished a foreign prince; others declared for the regency; others again insisted on legitimacy; a part of France named the Duke of Orleans. The personal qualities of this prince; the remembrance of Jemappe, and of some other victories under the Republic, to which he was not a stranger; the possibility of making a treaty, which would unite all interests; his name of Bourbon, which might be of service beyond the boundaries of France, though it could not be pronounced within it: all these, and other circumstances, offered, in this last choice, a prospect of *repose and security* to those even, who could not discover in it the presage of happiness." Truly, it is impossible to give clearer explanations, to seize better the true point of the question, to touch with more sagacity the principal difficulties of our situation. Europe must have guarantees. She rejects Napoleon, who cannot possibly give such guarantees himself; and every thing that belongs to him seems to inspire necessarily the same alarms. But the great name of the Bourbons, commands confidence and respect. The problem therefore to be resolved is, how to support its influence among the allied powers, while it is rendered contemptible in France, by the usurpation; and to find in this double arrangement the restoration of those exterior relations, which insure the existence of civilised states, together with the preservation of that barbarous and anti-social system, which converts France into the property of a troop of brigands. This project was seductive, but an insurmountable obstacle occurred to its success, in the impossibility of finding a prince of this august family, who would sacrifice his honor, his conscience, the feeling of his dignity, and his true interest, in order to throw himself, with that horde of desperadoes, into an abyss of perils and infamy. We do not know, whether an illustrious Duke has sufficiently reflected on these things, or whether he has ever been led to consider that as possible, which may have been represented to him as desirable; but if ever this illusion, which passion nourishes, and which it invests with all the attributes; and all the charms of reality, should regulate his conduct, he would infallibly have the merit himself of speedily detecting its unsubstantial nature.

You still accuse Fouché, impatient Revolutionists, of neglecting to support the right, which the nation possessed, of choosing a

* It may be proper to mention, that all the passages between inverted commas, and all the phrases in italics, are extracted from the production under review.

sovereign, and regulating its political existence. Fouché recognised that right, as well as you. He assures us, that it *would have been exercised*, if Napoleon had abdicated, at the *field of May*; an assertion, which convinces us, that this Napoleon, whom he pretends to have served faithfully, from the first to the last moment, occasioned him, at the very beginning of his new reign, the greatest embarrassments: "Am not I," adds he, "acquitted of all blame, by the necessity under which I was obliged to act, when his tardy abdication had bent us under the yoke of events? Was it my duty to expose that army, whose courage and dispositions I am accused of paralysing, to complete and inevitable destruction; to surrender our capital to hostile invasion; and thus to lose all, even the hopes of the future?" You understand him, ye ill-starred Revolutionists; this experienced pilot engages to conduct you, to the harbour of safety, through the furious tempests on which you are tossed; and in this world, at least, he will not allow you to lose all hope.

What did you demand of him? "Louis XVIII. advanced: wherever," cries he, "the enemy had penetrated, he was proclaimed King of France. It was hence to be foreseen, that the same spirit would have led to the same scenes in the capital." Some in this state of matters, he had before said, were inclined to legitimacy.

So! he foresaw, he *dreaded* the repetition of the same scenes in the capital! By them, indeed, the King would become the sovereign arbiter of the destinies of his enemies, the monarchy would recover its energy and dignity, and the Revolution would be for ever annihilated. At the loss of your master, ungrateful Revolutionists, return thanks to your deliverer. He proceeds, by the aid of falsehood, perfidy, and the most odious artifices, to regain his wonted superiority. By an audacity without example, he undertakes the task of driving the King of France into a position little less disadvantageous, than that to which he had led him on the 20th of March; and by a fatality still more astonishing than his audacity, his project succeeds! Here begins the history of his conferences with the Duke of Wellington. Those imposing words, *clemency*, and *moderation*, which the Royalists can appreciate, when they proceed from such lips, seduced and deceived a great mind; and this error and deceit penetrated even to the paternal heart of our King. In the depth of his calculation, the régicide had dared to consider it as possible, that he would be permitted to appear in the presence of the brother of Louis XVI., and the correspondence he had carried on with Ghent, his feigned union with the Royalists, and the hypocritical protection, which he had extended to them, during the hundred days,

days, authorised, and seemed to justify this strange introduction. However Fouché may redouble his effrontery, on this occasion, whatever falsehoods he may accumulate together, however much he may boast of the eloquence of his harangues, and the candor of his counsels, in whatever bright colours he may represent what passed at this fatal audience, the truth is now fully known. The whole of France knows, and history, compelled to speak of him, will declare, that whilst he dared to utter in the presence and to the face of his King, the most shameless falsehoods, in painting to him Paris as in a state of the most violent effervescence, ready to undertake any enterprise, or to suffer any calamity, rather than receive him, without obtaining concessions favorable to the rebels, and especially to the chief of the revolt; whilst emissaries instructed by him, and furnished with the means of playing an infamous part in this execrable scene of political hypocrisy, came successively on the stage, to increase the force of imaginary terrors, and to swell the rumours of frantic resistance—all France, I repeat it, knows, that by one of those dark combinations, which the revolutionary police alone can form and execute, armed brigands paraded this great capital every day, obstructed all the approaches to its walls, repressed by artifice, and even by violence, the transports which impelled a whole population to welcome their King, the object of so many fears and hopes; and thus gave time to finish a fraudulent treaty, which this excellent Monarch, forced to choose between an impolitic pardon and the sack of the capital of his kingdom, could not hesitate for a moment to conclude. The whole plot was unfolded before the King began his entry into Paris; while an immense people, maddened with indignation, forced at last the barriers which were with such unparalleled insolence shut against them, and returned, as it were, carrying Louis the Desired on their waves to his palace; but the concessions were already made, and as for Fouché, he himself has informed us, it was his *duty to make them public*, placing sufficient reliance on the royal word to believe that it could not be withdrawn, although to obtain it the King had been so grossly deceived. Such are the prodigious advantages, which the wicked have in their treaties with the good.

“Some reproach him for his acceptance of the ministry of police.” Some! what some? I say again, that he cannot allude to the Royalists: they openly *accuse* Fouché; they *reproach* him with nothing. Can it therefore be the Revolutionists of whom he speaks? Are there any persons so blind, as not to see, that so much knavery and treachery towards all parties, could have, in fact, no other object, but to elevate him-
self

self to this ministry, the only imposing post, in such perilous circumstances; to the Police, which none had ever wielded so skilfully, as an instrument of power; and by means of which he was sure of extending, almost instantaneously, a prompt and efficacious assistance to that beloved Revolution, which her children are anxious to protect at every hazard, because they conceive that their own existence is connected with hers. Shall I detain you, my dear Sir, to explain that, which is calculated to strike the duller capacities with irresistible clearness? That I may leave nothing undone, I will even venture on this proof. "Those," says Fouché, "who had been the counsellors of the King in his misfortunes, returned with the strongest preconceived notions; they grossly deceived themselves with respect to our situation, and concealed from themselves their own weakness. Time, which destroys every thing, had not been able to destroy their prejudices: they brought back their ancient routine, for experience. In the situation in which I was placed, was not a sacred duty imposed upon me, to resist, and to endeavour to dissipate, the storm? I may perhaps have carried simplicity too far, in supposing that I could throw a light on obscurity; that I could arrest retrogression, and the movements of hatred; that I could confine all within the limits of their duty, weaken the force of the passions, and, in short, enchain reaction! I succeeded in restraining those, whom my presence irritated. My reentrance into office was a *true resignation*, a *sacrifice*. I could have no other object to consult, but the *national interests*. At the moment that I accepted of the ministry, could my language inspire any party with the hope, that I would allow it unbridled sway?" You now see it. Fouché, who serves his country only, who consults nothing but the *public good* and the *national interest*, who, in furtherance of these objects, corresponds with Ghent, at the time that he holds a seat in the council of St. Cloud, Fouché, who actuated by these noble views, basely betrays all parties, finds even in his treason, the means of placing himself, like a kind of providence, between an incensed Monarch, and his rebellious subjects. He speaks of the weakness of the Royalists, whom united Europe conducted back to France along with their King; of *their routine*, of their *prejudices*; whilst these same Royalists * the spectators, or victims, for twenty-five years, of this same

* The Revolutionists endeavour always to confine the term Royalists to that limited circle of emigrants, who had not returned to France, from the year 1789, till the return of the King. Foreigners, therefore, ought once for all to be informed, that France is filled with Royalists, who have never passed its frontiers

same revolution, which they understand better, perhaps, than those who brought it about, and still support it; have so explained it, as to impart a competent knowledge of its spirit to the most blind and obstinate; whilst these Royalists of *routine* have demonstrated (and here lies the distressing disclosure) that the *weakness* rested not with them, but with the revolutionary party; and that in order to reduce the latter to the most complete nullity, nothing else was necessary, but to rescue from their grasp the people, whom they misled, and whom they converted into the instrument and the pretext of their fury. This is the true *reaction*, which was to be restrained; and in preventing it, Fouché but too well succeeded. Let us reduce to their just value these remarkable expressions: "I left with no party the hopes of domineering with sovereign power." Surely a herd of the most odious traitors, that ever disgraced a nation, could not pretend to preserve power, at the very time, that efforts were necessary to withdraw them from punishment. What party, then, could hope to gain the ascendancy? There is none other, but that of the Royalists. Fouché, therefore, in pretending to hold his scandalous balance even, between ~~two~~ parties, only presses down *one*, and it will be seen in proper time, that it is not difficult to prove, on which side this balance is to be turned. The Revolutionists, who do not fully understand these things, must have very dull capacities.

I promised you only a few minutes' employment, in the perusal of my remarks, but I begin to find, that if I am to go through the whole of this impudent production, to expose all its double meanings, and sly, designing prevarications, I shall spin out my own letter to an unconscionable length. I think I have said enough, to let you into the general scope and purport of the publication, as well as into the character of the writer. In my next, I will pursue my critical task, and show you, that Fouché is at least consistent in hypocrisy and falsehood. Meanwhile, I remain,

Yours, &c.

S. V.

frontiers for a moment, who have knowledge, good sense, and experience, and who know to the bottom, and in all its possible relations, both the Revolution and the revolutionary mob, having never lost sight of it for a moment, either when it walked in wooden shoes, or when it was tricked out in *cordons* of honor, and laced coats.

Note to page 88. line 20. — The French word, *Gentilshommes*, here rendered “Gentlemen of noble families,” requires some elucidation. From the Latin word, *Gens*, (a family, or race of men,) came *Gentilis*, (of the same race,) which word had two distinct applications: 1st, *Gentilis* meant, what we call, “a man of family,” e. g. one of the *Bruti*, of the *Scipiones*, &c. Thus, Cicero, explaining the nature of definitions, (*Topica* VI.) instances the word in question, “*Gentiles sunt, qui inter se eodem nomine sunt. Non est satis. Qui ab ingenuis oriundi sunt. Ne id quidem satis est. Quorum majorum nemo servitutem servivit. Abest etiam nunc. Qui capite non sunt diminuti. Hoc fortasse satis est.*” 2. *Gentilis* was used in Latin, to signify “foreigners,” those who were bound only by the *Jus Gentium*; whence the Jews, and from them the Christians, came to apply it to the Heathens, as we see in the New Testament. The French word, *gentil-homme*, is only a corruption of the Latin *gentilis homo*, and it signified, even before the Revolution, a person of *ancien* nobility, (in contradistinction to *modern*,) for one of two reasons, taken from the two meanings of the Latin word; viz. either because all men of high birth, in ancient times, whether of Roman, Gaulish, or Frankish origin, were described, on that account alone, as “*gentiles*,” or because the Franks, whom some writers suppose to have been the only Nobles, were originally Heathens, and therefore called “*gentiles*” by the Gauls. The former reason appears the more probable; but however this may be, it is clear, that the English word *Gentleman* was a mere translation of the French *Gentil-homme*, without reference to its Latin derivation, and was consequently used more loosely, as synonymous with the Latin *Generosus*, which SPELMAN says he found in no public instrument, earlier than the reign of HENRY VI. He explains it thus: “*minorum nobilium classis, apud Anglos, infima: convenit tamen vel maximis; sed his, in genere, ut nobilitatis vestibulum: illis, in specie, ut nominis fastigium.*” The titles of *Miles* and *Armiger*, (Knight and Esquire,) having been employed by the lower classes of the military nobility, *Generosus*, (*Gentleman*,) seems to have been principally taken (modestly says Spelman) by those of the law: and hence to this day it is technically used by Attorneys and Proctors, as their proper designation. Thus, we see, how the French *Nobility*, and the English *Gentry*, both came to be designated by the corresponding words, “*Gentilhomme*,” and “*Gentleman*,” but the one with strictness and exactitude, the other in a vague and indefinite manner.

CONTENTS

OF

No. II.

ENGLISH ARTICLES.

LETTER I.

To the Viscount de C——. (R. S.)

On the Life of John Wesley, the Founder of the English Methodists Page 157

LETTER III.

To the Count de V——. (Y. Z.)

On the Nepaul War 187

LETTER V.

To Monsieur de St. V——. (G. C.)

On the present State of the Drama in England 206

LETTER VII.

To Monsieur de Fr——. (W. J.)

On Parliamentary Reform 246

LETTER IX.

To M. de L——. (G. H. N.)

On the Political Societies formed in Germany during the Period of Buonaparte's Despotism; and especially on the Association commonly denominated the LEAGUE OF VIRTUE 289

LETTER XVII. (Extract.)

To Madame de D——. (J. S.)

On the Duchess of Angouleme 314

CONTENTS.

FRENCH ARTICLES. (Translated.)

LETTER II.

To Sir W. L——. (F.)

On the State of the Press in France Page 177

LETTER IV.

To the Honourable W. L——. (L.)

On the State of Education in France 200

LETTER VI.

To H. M. Esq. (L. Y.)

On the State of the Jews in France 231

LETTER VIII.

To the Editor:

Communicating the Eloge of Ducis, by M. Desceze 267

LETTERS X. XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI.

To ———. (X.)

On the Proceedings of the present Chamber of Deputies 297

THE CORRESPONDENT.

No. II.

LETTER I.

On the Life of John Wesley, the Founder of the English Methodists.

To the Viscount de C——.

Dear Sir,

WHEN you say, that you have read with interest the early part of Wesley's history, contained in my former letter, I accept your statement as a testimony to the character of the man, rather than as a compliment to the talents of his biographer. Wesley was indeed *vir singularis*, a man of singular endowments and acquirements, or, as he would perhaps rather have said himself, of singular gifts and graces. The first circumstance to which I come, in the progress of my narrative, exhibits him in a favorable light at present, though, at the time of its occurrence, it exposed him to much vexation and some obloquy. You recollect, that we had traced him to Georgia in North America, the scene of his first mission. The event to which I allude compelled him to leave that colony. Many of the circumstances were public, but Wesley observed such a silence concerning them in his public journal as made even friendly readers doubt whether his behaviour could bear disclosure; but his private diary supplies, by intelligible hints, a consistent story, supported by other evidence, and not discreditable to him. The reserve, therefore, which he maintained through life, upon the subject, may be imputed to a natural and proper feeling. From this diary it appears that he had formed an attachment to Sophia Causton, niece of the chief magistrate of Savannah. After expressing at different times his most anxious solicitude for her essential welfare, and the belief that in the main point his care had not been unsuccessful, he says, in his diary, "In the beginning of December I advised Miss Sophy to sup earlier, and not

immediately before she went to bed. She did so; and on this little circumstance did an unaccountable train of consequences depend! Not only ‘all the colour of remaining life’ for her; but perhaps my happiness too.”—He next alludes to the business thus: Feb. 5. 1737, “One of the most remarkable dispensations of Providence towards me which I have yet known, began to shew itself this day. For many days after, I could not at all judge which way the scale would turn; nor was it fully determined till March 4th, on which God commanded me to pull out my right eye; and by his grace I determined so to do; but being slack in the execution, on Saturday, March 12th, God being very merciful to me, my friend performed what I could not. I have often thought one of the most difficult commands that ever was given, was that given to Ezekiel concerning his wife. But the difficulty of obeying such a direction, appeared to me now more than ever before: when considering the character I bore, I could not but perceive that the word of the Lord was come to me likewise, saying, “Son of man, behold I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke; yet neither shalt thou mourn nor weep, neither shall thy tears run down.” The twelfth of March was the day on which Sophia married another man. It is evident that Wesley loved her, and regretted at this time his disappointment; and his brother Samuel says to him, in a letter, “I am sorry you are disappointed in one match, because, you are very unlikely to find another.” The obvious inference from all this would seem to be that he was strongly attached to the lady, and that when at length he thought it best for his salvation, that the match should be broken off, he had not resolution to break it off himself, and the point was still undecided on his part, when she put an end to all his struggles by marrying Mr. Williamson. Dr. Coke, and Mr. Moore, however, the official biographers of Wesley, give a different and very remarkable representation, which though intended by them to redound to the honour of Wesley is, upon the whole, less creditable to him, than the case appears from his own private journal; whilst it imputes to General Oglethorpe a most base and improbable attempt to ensnare Wesley by the charms of this and another young lady, and failing in that, to intimidate, if not to murder him, by means of an Indian assassin.

Whatever the previous circumstances may have been, Wesley thought proper, in the exercise of his ministerial functions, to reprove Mrs. Williamson after her marriage for some part of her conduct, and to repel her from the communion. In a man like Wesley, this should be imputed to his austere notions

of duty, which at this time led him wrong in every thing; but it was immediately ascribed to disappointment and personal feeling; and her uncle and husband took up the matter accordingly. They called upon him to give reasons for repelling her from the communion. He replied in writing, that she had not, as the rubric enjoined, signified her name to the curate the day before. And copying that part of the rubric which authorised him thus to act, he informed her that if she offered herself at the Lord's table he would advertise her wherein she had done wrong; and when she had openly declared herself to have truly repented, then he would administer to her the mysteries of God. Causton, the uncle, now presented a bill against him before the grand jury, and Mrs. Williamson made an affidavit, asserting, among other things, that Wesley had many times proposed marriage to her. The list of grievances contained many captious and frivolous charges, but Causton had some reason on his side when he charged the jury to beware of spiritual tyranny, and to oppose the new and illegal authority which was usurped over their consciences. The object was evidently to make him leave the colony: they then issued an order to prohibit him from departing: this was intended to accelerate it, and they succeeded. There was much informality, and some injustice in their proceedings, but his conduct had been highly imprudent. The affidavit and the charges were published in all the American papers; and as Wesley left the colony while the proceedings were pending, and in defiance of the order of the Court, his enemies were as triumphant as they could wish. His brother Charles, who had been stationed at Frederica while John was at Savannah, returned in consequence of ill health about the same time.

On his arrival in London, Wesley found that a certain degree of popularity attached to him, as one who had been a missionary in America, though his intercourse with the Indians had been confined to a few curious conversations. He was invited to preach in several churches; but was soon apprised that he must preach in them no more: one cause of complaint was, that the crowds who followed him, left no room "for the best in the parish;" another was, the manner and matter of the preaching, which attracted such multitudes. It seems that he had determined to become the founder of a sect, and his prayer was, that he might be prepared for the time when he should be hated of all men. A great effect had been produced upon him by those Moravians with whom he had associated in America. He now met three of this newly-gathered community, just landed from Germany, and he marks the time of the meeting in his

journal as a day much to be remembered. One of them, by name Peter Bohler, accompanied him to Oxford; Wesley conversed much with him, but says, that he understood him not, and least of all when the German told him *Mi frater, mi frater, excoquenda est ista tua philosophia*. Bohler possessed one kind of philosophy in a higher degree than his friend. The singularity of their appearance and manner, excited some mockery in the undergraduates; and the German seeing that Wesley was annoyed by it, chiefly on his account, said, with a smile, *Mi frater, non adhaeret vestibus!* it does not even stick to our clothes. This man, a person of no ordinary powers of mind, became Wesley's teacher; and by him he was clearly convinced of the want of saving faith. A scruple then occurred to him, whether he ought not to leave off preaching; Bohler answered, By no means. But what can I preach? said Wesley. The Moravian replied, Preach faith *till* you have it, and then *because* you have it, you will preach faith. Accordingly he began preaching this doctrine, though, he says, his soul started back from the work.

He had, ere this, resolved and written down the resolution as a covenant with himself, that he would use absolute openness and unreserve with all whom he should converse with; that he would labour after continual seriousness, not willingly indulging himself in any the least levity of behaviour, nor in laughter, "no not for a moment; and that he would speak no word and take no pleasure which did not tend to the glory of God." In this spirit he began to exhort the hostess or the servants at an inn, the chance company with whom he was set at meat, and the traveller with whom he fell in on the road: if a passing salutation were exchanged, a word of religious exhortation was added. And now also his heart, he says, being so full that he could not confine himself within the form of prayer, he resolved to pray indifferently with or without form, as the impulse might indicate. Wesley had now gone far with his Moravian friends: still one thing was wanting; they had persuaded him of his own want of faith, but he could not comprehend how this faith could be given instantaneously, as Bohler affirmed it to be, nor had he any conception of that perpetual and individual revelation which is now the doctrine of his sect. But he was at this time in a docile mood, and seeing Bohler in a happier state of mind, regarded him as having attained nearer to Christian perfection. He searched the Scriptures, and says, that he was utterly astonished at finding scarcely any instances there of other than instantaneous conversions, "scarce any so slow as that of St. Paul, who was three days in the pangs of the new birth." Is it possible, that

that, a man of Wesley's acuteness, should have studied the Scriptures as he had studied them, till the age of five-and-thirty, and not till now have perceived that the conversions which are there recorded are instantaneous? and is it possible that he should not now have perceived that they were *necessarily* instantaneous, because they were produced by plain miracles?

And now the first regular society of Methodists was formed. The fundamental rules upon which they agreed, were affirmed to be framed, "in obedience to the command of God by St. James, and by the advice of Peter Bohler." The parties were to meet once a week for the purpose of confessing one to another, and praying for one another. They were to be divided into bands consisting of no fewer than five, nor more than ten persons. Every one in order was to speak as freely, plainly, and concisely as he could, the real state of his heart, with his several temptations and deliverances since the last meeting. All the bands were to have a conference every Wednesday evening, begun and ended with singing and prayer; every fourth Saturday was to be observed as a day of general intercession, and on the Sunday seven-nights following, a general love-feast should be held from seven till ten in the evening. Hitherto Charles had been strongly averse to the new faith, but he also now yielded to Bohler's arguments. The day after this second triumph Bohler, left London to embark for Carolina. Wesley exclaims upon his departure, "O what a work has God begun, since his coming into England! Such an one as shall never come to an end, till heaven and earth pass away." That he had now formed the design of being, according to his own notions, the reformer or restorer of Christianity in England, is manifest both by his words and actions, and there can be little reason for doubting that he believed himself called to the work. At length his *conversion*, as it is called, took place; a point, says his official biographer, of the utmost magnitude, not only with respect to himself but to others: the manner of it is particularly described in his journal.

After three days of what he calls strange indifference, dulness, and coldness, and unusually frequent relapses into sin, he went very unwillingly in the evening of Wednesday, May 24. 1738, (the hour as well as the day he has recorded,) to a society in Aldersgate-street, where some person was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. "About a quarter before nine," says Wesley, "while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed; I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

death." He testified openly to all present what he now for the first time felt. "The enemy, however," he says, "suggested that this could not be faith, for there was no joy with it." In the school of fanaticism, many a thought which arose from logic and common sense, has been fathered upon Satan. Here was a contradiction in terms of an assurance which had not yet assured him. He was still buffeted with temptations. He cried out and they fled away; they returned again and again, and he as often lifted up his eyes; and herein consisted the difference between this and his former state, that he was "striving, yea fighting, with all his might under the law, as well as under grace; but then he was sometimes, if not often, conquered, now he was always conqueror." His weak mind, he says, could not bear to be thus sawn asunder; and believing that some intercourse with the founder of the Moravian church would be the means of establishing his soul, that he might go on from faith to faith, he set off for Germany, visited Count Zinzenendorf at Marienborn, and proceeded to Hernhuth. Here he heard several of the members relate their *experiences*, and this practice also he introduced into his own sect. He staid a fortnight, and would gladly have spent his life there, being exceedingly comforted and strengthened by the conversation of this lovely people, as he terms them. But as his Master had called him to labour in another part of his vineyard, he returned to London after about three months' absence, and preached his new doctrine strenuously, declaring boldly '*by grace ye are saved, through faith.*'

His imagination had now lifted him till he touched the stars: in a darker age or in a more convenient scene, raptures, extacies, elevations, and miracles might have followed; as it was, all that the age and scene admitted came in course. A powerful doctrine preached with sincerity, with unweariable zeal, and with fervid eloquence, produced a powerful effect upon weak minds, strong feelings, and disordered fancies. A woman argued with him against the new way. He prevailed upon her to break off the dispute, which had only tended to inflame her more and more, and join in prayer, and she consented so far as to kneel down. "In a few minutes she fell into an extreme agony both of body and soul," and soon after cried out, that she was forgiven for Christ's sake. Another woman, (for upon women it was, that the most remarkable of these effects were produced, the weaker vessel being the sooner cracked,) was present at a similar dispute, and in the midst of it, "felt, as it were, the piercing of a sword; and before she could be conveyed to another house, whither Wesley was going, she could not avoid crying out aloud

aloud in the street. No sooner," says he, "had we made our request known to God, than he sent her help from his holy place." At one of the love-feasts where his brother Charles, and Whitefield, with some threescore of the brethren were present, they were favoured with a kind of Pentecost, which he thus describes: "About three in the morning, as we were continuing instant in prayer, the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch that many cried out for exceeding joy, and many fell to the ground. As soon as we were recovered a little from that awe and amazement at the presence of His majesty, we broke out with one voice, We praise thee, O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord." A female enthusiast at the age of twenty-one, relates the history of her new birth to her "most dear and honoured father in Christ." She had felt herself to be in a state of damnation, and a violent pain in her head seized her whenever she began to pray earnestly, or cry out aloud to Christ. One night she went into the garden, and there by faith she saw Him whose eyes are as a flame of fire, Him who justifieth the ungodly. She pleaded His blood to blot out the hand-writing against her: she told Him that He had promised to give rest to all who were heavy laden: she claimed that promise, and by faith she saw the fountain opened in His side: as she hungered, He fed her, as her soul thirsted, He gave her of that fountain to drink. He washed her with His blood, He clothed her with His righteousness, He presented her to His Father, to His God, and her God, a pure spotless virgin, as if she had never committed sin. The devil came in about half an hour with great power to tempt her; she however minded him not, her sins were forgiven, but she knew that she was not yet born of God. "In the morning," she continues, "being by myself I found the work of the Spirit was very powerful upon me. As my mother bore me with great pain, so did I feel great pain in my soul in being born again of God. I thought the pains of death were upon me, and that my soul was then taking leave of the body. I thought I was going to Him, whom I saw with strong faith standing ready to receive me. In this violent agony I continued about four hours, and then I began to feel the Spirit of God bearing witness with my spirit that I was born of God.—The love of God was shed abroad in my heart, and a flame kindled there, with pains so violent, yet so very ravishing, that my body was almost torn asunder. I loved. The spirit cried strong in my heart. I sweated. I trembled. I fainted. I sung. I joined my voice with those that excel in strength. My soul was got up into the Holy Mount. I had no thoughts of coming down again into the body. I thought my
head

head was a fountain of water. I was dissolved in love. My beloved is mine, and I am his. He has all charms. He has ravished my heart. He is now in his garden feeding among the lillies. O I am sick of love!" And these were the feelings which Wesley excited and encouraged in his disciples! these the rhapsodies which he published in the first heat of his enthusiasm, and which he did not withdraw, nor even qualify with one cautionary remark in his old age, when time and experience had certainly taught him the nature of such emotions.

At this time he was a confirmed enthusiast. Whitefield requested that he would join him at Bristol, and he, instead of determining whether or not it were prudent to go, tried the *Sortes Biblicæ*. This superstition frightened him, for among other texts, upon which he opened to the same purport, were these uncomfortable verses: "Get thee up into this mountain, and die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people.—And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days.—I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake." Lastly, to crown the whole ill augury, "Devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentations over him." However the question was decided at a meeting in Fetter-lane by lot, and the lot settled that he should go. They had recourse to bibliomancy again, for divining the issue of this, and the texts were concerning violent death and burial. "This," his biographers say, "was using every means he could to know what was the will of the Lord concerning him." He and his brother were disquieted by the omens, but the result does not appear to have shaken their faith in the superstitious practice. To Bristol, however, in obedience to the lot, he went, where Whitefield had begun to preach in the fields. Wesley could scarce reconcile himself to this at first, having been so tenacious of all points relating to order, that he should have thought the saving of souls, he says, almost a sin if it had not been done in a church. In his present state of mind he recollected that our Lord's sermon on the Mount was "one pretty remarkable precedent of field-preaching," so he also began to proclaim salvation in the highways. Preaching in this manner had not been seen in England since the Reformation, itinerancy having been destroyed with the mendicant orders. It produced a great effect: the people assembled to hear him by thousands: they listened willingly, submissively, and eagerly, to his doctrines; but it was when he preached within doors, that the most extraordinary effects of enthusiasm were produced. The first case which occurs was that of a woman, who, during one of their prayers, to his no small surprise, he says, cried out aloud with the utmost vehemence,

vehemence, even as in the agonies of death. They continued praying, till, in his own phrase, a new song was put in her mouth. Presently two other persons, of good character and unblemished life, "were seized with strong pain, and constrained to roar for the disquietness of their heart." They soon burst forth into praise, and when this fit was over, the infection seized a third, "who called upon God as out of the belly of hell, and was presently overwhelmed with joy and love, knowing that God had healed her backslidings." There are passions which are as infectious as the plague, and fear itself is not more so than fanaticism. When once these bodily affections were declared to be supernatural, a free licence was proclaimed for every kind of extravagance; and when the preacher, instead of exhorting his auditors to commune with their own hearts and in their chambers, and be still, encouraged them to throw off all restraint, and abandon themselves to their spiritual sensations, the consequences were what might be anticipated. "One, and another, and another, sunk to the earth: they dropt on every side, as thunderstruck." Sometimes he scarcely began to speak, before some fell into this crisis, for so it may as well be called in methodism as in animal magnetism. "A physician who suspected fraud, and attended to discover it, saw one person whom he had known many years, break out into strong cries and groans. He went and stood close to her, and observed every symptom till great drops of sweat ran down her face, and all her bones shook; and when he saw that both her soul and body were healed in a moment, he acknowledged the finger of God." Whatever he might have known of the body, this physician was deplorably ignorant of the mind. As the disease spread, the symptoms became more and more violent: men, women, and children began to act the demoniac, as well as the convert. Some sunk down, and there remained no strength in them; some were torn with a convulsive motion in every part of their bodies so violently that four or five persons could not hold one of them; some cried out against the devil whom they felt within them, and beat themselves against the ground, their breasts heaving as in the pangs of death, and great drops of sweat trickling down their faces. Wesley had seen many hysterical, and epileptic fits, but none that were like these, and he confirmed the patients in their belief that they were torn by Satan. One or two indeed perplexed him a little, for they were "tormented in such an unaccountable manner that they seemed to be *lunatic* as well as sore-vexed." Suspicions of this kind made little impression upon his intoxicated spirit: the fanaticism which he had excited in others was now re-acting upon himself. "The sword of the spirit was dividing asunder their souls,

souls, and spirits, and joints, and marrow." The devil spoke from the bodies of the possessed; blasphemies and execrations were uttered from female lips in these frantic scenes; exorcism was boldly practised, and, of course, with its usual success; and Wesley was so elated with all these things, and with the sense of power which they produced, that he says, "Methought I could have cried out; in another sense than poor vain Archimedes did, give me where to stand, and I will shake the earth." While these exhibitions were confined to private rooms, the heat and closeness of the apartments were assigned by unbelievers as operative causes; "our Lord," he says, "answered for himself; he began to make bare his arm, not in a close room, neither in private, but in the open air, and before more than 2000 persons." The last slight restraint which the enthusiastic leaven had exercised over themselves was thus thrown off, and the frequency of these fits seemed to increase with the exposure.

Enthusiasm is rarely found co-existing with clearness of intellect. Wesley and Swedenborg are remarkable exceptions, and the exception is more remarkable in Wesley's case, because no man ever expressed himself, where precision was his object, with more beautiful perspicuity: he states the argument always fully, simply, and concisely, discards all irrelevant matter, leaves nothing in ambiguity, and comes at once by the shortest process of reasoning to the point. How is it then, that a man who so perfectly understood the right use of reason should on these occasions have renounced it utterly, and accounted for these extravagancies by possession, by the immediate agency of Heaven and Hell! Is it possible that it should never have occurred to him, that as men are intoxicated by strong drink affecting the mind through the body, so are they by strong passions influencing the body through the mind? There was nothing here but what would naturally follow whenever persons in a state of spiritual drunkenness abandon themselves to their sensations. This he ought to have known, and to have known also how rapidly such sensations spread by voluntary as well as involuntary imitation. Samuel Wesley was greatly offended at these things, which, he said, "were bad branches of a bad root, and calculated to turn fools into madmen:" it grieved him that such alloy should be found among so much piety; but he never doubted the perfect sincerity of his brother, and their love was not in the slightest degree interrupted, till his death, which took place about this time. Had he lived longer, he would have seen more reason to condemn his brother for imprudence; for he now believed that several persons had been converted in their sleep; talked of the conversion of children between three and four

four years old; accredited and repeated the predictions and visions of boys and girls; and not only got rid of head-ache and tooth-ache on his own person by faith, but cured his horse of lameness, and raised people miraculously from the bed of sickness, and from the very point of death. His mother died soon after her elder son; John had succeeded in converting her, and recorded upon her grave-stone that God had revealed His Son to her, after she had mourned seventy years in darkness.

A little before this, Wesley had separated from the Moravians. He has preserved a curious dialogue in Latin between himself and Count Zinzendorf, in which the Count assumes the tone of a master towards an heretical disciple. The causes which Wesley assigns for this separation were, that the scheme of the Moravians is mystical rather than scriptural; that they despised self-denial, conformed to the world in vain apparel, extended Christian liberty beyond what is warranted by holy writ, were not zealous of good works, or at least only to their own people, were dark and close in their behaviour, and made inward religion swallow up the outward. On the other hand, Zinzendorf accused him of preaching false doctrine, and argued with great force against his notion of sinless perfection. On Wesley's part it may be suspected that the desire of being the undisputed head and leader of the sect which he had raised, was one motive for this separation. A second division soon followed. Wesley and Whitefield differed upon the point of predestination: this doctrine the followers of the latter conceived to be of such importance, that they could not consent at the meetings of the society to let the subject rest. Whitefield, a thoroughly sincere and virtuous man, was at first inclined to live in harmony with his old friend and teacher, and promised that whatever his private opinion might be, he would never preach publicly against the Wesleys; but after a few days, he told Wesley, that the promise was only an effect of human weakness, he was now of another mind, and would give him the right hand of fellowship no more. Accordingly he began not only to preach, but to publish against him. In this dispute Wesley behaved with great forbearance and tenderness: Whitefield felt this: they saw each other after some lapse of time as friends; and when Whitefield died, his funeral sermon, in pursuance of his own desire, was preached by Wesley. But a union between their respective followers was impracticable, and the new sect was now divided into two great branches, the Calvinists, who call themselves Lady Huntingdon's connection, after their great patroness, and the Arminian or Wesleyan Methodists.

Wesley

Wesley had begun his career without any clear conception of his own doctrines, and without any plan of discipline whatsoever. The rudiments of both he learnt from the Moravians; but their economy would ill have suited his more aspiring views; and the system into which Methodism settled, was formed insensibly by a succession of expedients adapted each to the immediate occasion. Field-preaching was resorted to, because when he and Whitefield were refused the use of the churches, private rooms could no longer contain the multitude who flocked to them; indeed two fatal catastrophes had nearly happened by the floor sinking under them. But field-preaching, however advisable it might sometimes be, could never be established as the regular practice of his sect; appointed places of worship were indispensable, and accordingly he began to build a meeting-house at Bristol; without having the least intention of being personally engaged either in the direction or the expence of the work, but thinking the business would fall upon eleven feoffees whom he appointed. He was however presently obliged to take upon himself the payment of the workmen, and as he was advised; discharged the feoffees, and did every thing in his own name, for otherwise the meeting would have been under their controul, not his. "Money," says he, "it is true I had not, nor any human prospect or probability of obtaining it: but I knew the earth is the Lords and the fulness thereof, and in his name set out, nothing doubting." The necessity of providing funds for this building from the Bank of Faith, led to a scheme of finance, and this again to a more perfect organization of the society. It was proposed at Bristol that every member should give one penny per week till the whole debt was paid, and that one person should be responsible for eleven others, to collect their contribution, or pay them himself if they were unable. Thus they formed into classes of twelves, the collector being the leader; it was soon perceived that he had thus an opportunity of enquiring into the conduct of those whom he met regularly for this purpose: this was the very thing which Wesley wanted; and the leader was now required, not only to collect the contributions for the stewards, but to watch over every member of his class, advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort them, and report any misconduct to the minister. Accordingly, whenever a Methodist society existed it was modelled after this manner; and for the convenience of all parties it was determined that the class should meet weekly. The next institution had no utility to recommend it, and was obnoxious to obvious and great objections. Wesley was informed that several persons met at a school which he had founded at Kingswood, near Bristol, and spent

spent the greater part of the night in prayer, and praise, and thanksgiving, and he was advised to put a stop to the practices: he however approved it, and instituted monthly watch nights. Next he resolved to visit the classes himself once in three months, and give every person whose good conduct he found no reason to doubt, a ticket to be renewed at every quarterly visitation; by this means an easy mode of excommunication was provided, and the bearer of a ticket, like a Free-mason, was recognized by his brethren wherever he went. A farther improvement was made by dividing the members into bands, in which the sexes, and the married and the single were separated; this was done because they could not confess their temptations freely to each other, when young and old, men and women, met together. The bands were to meet weekly, and the members were then to confess plainly and freely to each other the faults which they had committed in thought, word, or deed, and the temptations which they had felt since their last meeting; and they were to be asked by their leader as many and as searching questions as might be. Lastly, an evening love-feast was appointed once a quarter, the food being plain cake and water.

As the members increased, a difficulty arose in providing ministers for them. His brother was indeed an active and invaluable coadjutor, and he himself indefatigable above all men, but his presence was required in many places, and the very few clergymen who joined him were stationary. It was therefore necessary to appoint some person to pray with the societies in his absence, and advise them as might be needful, and these persons were unavoidably laymen. Thomas Maxfield, one of the instantaneous converts at Bristol, who had roared out at his conversion, and beaten himself against the ground, so that six men could scarcely hold him, was chosen to inspect the society in London. He exceeded his instructions, and from praying proceeded to preach. As soon as Wesley heard of this irregularity he hastened to London to put a stop to it. His mother was then living, and said to him, "John, take care what you do with respect to that young man, for he is as surely called of God to preach as you are! Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching, and hear him also yourself." He did so, and soon perceived that a practice which he could not prevent, was in fact indispensable to the extension of his system. A journeyman mason in Yorkshire, by name John Nelson, raised a congregation; Wesley went down to see him, and lay-preachers became from that time a part of his establishment. As these multiplied, the first regulation was to divide the country into circuits, appointing so many preachers to each; the next, that a
consi-

considerable number of them should annually meet him, and consult concerning the affairs of the society. This meeting was called the Conference.

The Methodists did not increase thus rapidly without some opposition. Their manners, and their field-preaching were likely enough to invite insults; all persons could perceive the extravagancies into which they ran, and it required more candour than is commonly possessed, to acknowledge, that they did good, amid the ruder classes of society, and more charity than is usually exercised to impute these excesses to a meritorious, though erring, zeal. Profligate clergymen preached against them, in a manner to excite popular indignation; many from mere love of mischief were ready to set the mob on, and the beasts of the people, as Wesley calls them, were easily instigated by such advisers. Some of the preachers were outrageously used, and his own life was more than once endangered by a furious rabble. But Wesley was not a man to shrink from dangers. It was his rule always to look a mob in the face: and mobs in England have some generosity about them: they respected his courage; and when he could obtain a hearing, he never failed to win over some to his assistance. On one occasion, a mob who had risen for the purpose of delivering him over to justice, when they found that the magistrates ordered them to go home and be quiet, took him under their protection, and fought against another mob in his defence. The charges brought against him were truly absurd. Some accused him of being in correspondence with the Pretender, others affirmed that he was a Jesuit, and a more sagacious head, pronounced him a Presbyterian-papist. The spokesman of the Wednesbury mob, when the Justice demanded what charge they had to make against the Methodists, replied, Why they sing psalms all day; and make folks rise at five in the morning. At another time they were accused of pretending to be better than other people, and moreover praying from morning till night. The magistrate asked if they had done nothing else. "Yes, Sir," said an old man, "an't please your worship, they have *converted* my wife. Till she went among them she had such a tongue, and now she is as quiet as a lamb." "Carry them back," replied the Justice, "and let them convert all the scolds in the town." A few magistrates seemed rather to favour these outrages, than to take any methods for preventing or repressing them; but the government was advanced beyond the people in its just principles of toleration, and when the aggrieved persons called upon the laws, they found that even justice which is the boast of England. An effectual stop was then put to their popular persecutions.

The

The bodily exertions which Wesley made are perhaps greater than those of any other saint-errant upon record. During fifty years he travelled about 4500 miles yearly, one year with another, preaching generally two, frequently three or four sermons in a day. His usual mode of travelling was on horseback, in defiance of wind, rain, sleet, or snow. Great good was, beyond all doubt, effected by his preaching among the rude and uneducated classes of society, who were in a state of heathen ignorance. His greatest success was among the colliers at Kingswood, near Bristol, and in the neighbourhood of Newcastle. A Turkish writer describes the men who bring charcoal to Constantinople as Greek infidels, condemned to be blackfaced both in this world and in the next: by turning their attention to the next world, Wesley did much toward bettering their condition in this, reclaiming them from the more brutal vices. There is no wretchedness so abject, no ferocity so savage, as that which is to be found in the midst of civilised society. Here his work was easiest, and the good effects unequivocal and unalloyed. While he was preaching, the colliers would sometimes shout amain for mere satisfaction and joy of heart; but their usual token of approbation, which, he says, somewhat surprised him at first, was clapping him on the back! The scenes of his preaching are sometimes strikingly described. A garden, which is one of the most beautiful things in Exeter, has been made in the castle-ditch under the directions of Jackson, the musician, a man eminently gifted in many ways. Before the ground was thus appropriated, Wesley preached there to an audience consisting of half the grown persons of the city. "It was an awful sight," he says, "so vast a congregation in that solemn amphitheatre, and all silent and still while I explained at large, and enforced that glorious truth, 'happy are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered.'" At a place in Cornwall, he says, "I stood on the wall, in the calm still evening, with the setting sun far behind me, and almost an innumerable multitude before, behind, and on either hand. Many likewise sat on the little hills at some distance from the bulk of the congregation. But they could all hear distinctly." The most impressive of all these scenes was at Epworth, his birth-place, and the scene of his father's long and faithful labour. Mr. Romley, the curate, would not permit him to preach in the church. Whether it was prudent in other places to refuse it, may well be doubted: here it was indecent and brutally unfeeling; and he preached therefore for eight evenings in succession in the church-yard, standing upon his father's tombstone. It may well be conceived what an effect

effect this would produce upon his own mind, and upon all who heard. "O!" he exclaims, "let none think his labour of love is lost, because the fruit does not immediately appear. Near forty years did my father labour here; but he saw little fruit of all his labour: I took some pains among the people too; and my strength all seemed spent in vain. But now the fruit appeared. There were scarce any in the town, on whom either my father or I had taken any pains formerly, but the seed, sown so long since, now sprung up, bringing forth repentance and remission of sins." The curate, whose stupidity was incorrigible, because it lay in his heart more than in his head, sent him word, that he would not administer the sacrament to him, for he was not *fit*. "How wise a God is our God," says Wesley. "There could not have been so fit a place under heaven, where this should befall me first, as my father's house, the place of my nativity, and the very place where, *according to the strictest sect of our religion*, I had so long lived a Pharisee. It was also *fit* in the highest degree, that he who repelled me from that very table, where I had myself so often distributed the bread of life, should be one who owed his all in this world to the tender love which *my* father had shewn to *his*, as well as personally to *himself*."

In this manner Wesley past more than fifty years of his life, travelling over England and Ireland; and constantly during all that time preaching at five in the morning and rising at four; it is not wonderful that he should have had sleep at command; so that, as he says, whenever he felt himself almost worn out, he called it, and it came, day and night; but it is wonderful that his body should have endured such unremitted exertions. After the yearly conferences began, the society easily assumed a regular and permanent form. The preachers were first admitted as private members; after a certain time, they were allowed to exhort occasionally in the smaller congregations, then promoted to be local preachers, afterwards proposed as itinerants to the conference, and if then approved, nominated to a circuit; four years farther trial were required before they were admitted into full connection. The preacher was allowed food for himself and his horse wherever he went, twelve pounds per year, as much more for his wife, and four pounds for each of his children, till they were able to support themselves. During the American war, having outlived all his scruples respecting discipline, he ordained ministers for America, and as a natural consequence, he soon ordained for England also, thus effectually setting up a church of his own in opposition to the establishment, rivalling that which it was his original wish to revive and reform. A school for the prophets

he had instituted at Kingswood, designed chiefly for the sons of the preachers, and a seminary from whence the convalescences might derive a constant supply of ministers. For the use of this school he composed an English, a Latin, a Greek, a Hebrew, and a French grammar, and formed a plan of studies, from which the classics were not excluded, (for he had outgrown that folly,) but they were placed in strange company: and the discipline was intolerably severe, the poor boys being kept to hard praying, when they ought to be fast asleep, and allowed no holidays, and never permitted to play. No part of Wesley's system is so thoroughly injudicious as this. It was necessary to provide for the system after his death; while he lived he was the acknowledged head; a preacher, occasionally, who, in their own phrase, began to "wax fat, like Jeshurun, and kick," would secede, and set up a schism-shop for himself. Maxwell, who had been the first lay-preacher, did so; but the effect was temporary and local, and over the collective body Wesley exercised a more absolute power than the Pope has ever arrogated over the Catholic church. But he wished that there might be no disputes concerning the Caliphate after him; and, therefore, by a trust-deed, made over the chapels to the Conference after his death; as that term would not be recognised by the law, it was necessary to name a determinate number of persons; he therefore appointed a hundred, thinking this number as many as could meet without too great an expense, and without leaving any circuit "naked of preachers while the Conference was assembled." Upon this body his authority devolved: and of this number the Conference still consists, the members filling it up by election as vacancies are made by death. Some of those who were not appointed took offence. The discontented complained that an oligarchy was established, and after a while a schism was made, under the title of The New Methodists, or Killhamites, whose government is purely democratic.

One false step Wesley made in his life, and it was a very important one as affecting his private comfort. He convinced himself, that he ought to marry: his brother Charles was not convinced of this, and offended him by interfering so far as to prevent one match which he would otherwise have made. In 1751, however, he married Mrs. Vizzle, a widow with several children and with some fortune, the whole of which he settled upon herself. In him, this was unquestionably a foolish act; and he did not make it appear the less so, by meeting the single men a day or two afterwards, and showing them on how many accounts it was better for them to remain single for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake, unless where a particular case might be an

exception to the general rule. The lady took him under an explicit agreement, that he was not to preach one sermon or travel one mile the less on that account. "In this respect," said he, "surely it remaineth that they who have wives, be as though they had none." But Mrs. Wesley would fain have made him, like Mark Antony, give up all for love; and being disappointed in this hope, she tormented him in such a manner by her outrageous jealousy and abominable temper, that she deserves to be ranked with Xantippe and the wife of Job, as one of the three bad wives. Wesley, indeed, was neither so submissive as Socrates, nor so patient as the man of Uz. He knew that he was of the more worthy gender by nature, and by law lord and master, and that the words, "honour and obey," were in the bond. "Know me," said, he in one of his letters to her, "and know yourself. Suspect me no more, aspersè me no more, provoke me no more. Do not any longer contend for mastery, for power, money, or praise. Be content to be a private insignificant person, known and loved by God and me. Attempt no more to abridge me of my liberty, which I claim by the laws of God and man. Leave me to be governed by God and my own conscience. Then shall I govern you with gentle sway, and shew that I do indeed love you, even as Christ the church." He told her that she had laid to his charge things that he knew not, robbed him, betrayed his confidence, revealed his secrets, given him a thousand treacherous wounds, and made it her business so to do, under the pretence of vindicating her own character, "whereas," said he, "of what importance is your character, if you was buried just now: or if you had never lived, what loss would it be to the cause of God?" This was very true, but not very conciliating; it was administering humility in strong doses. She frequently left his house, and returned to it upon his earnest importunities; till after having thus disquieted twenty years of his life, as far as it was possible for any domestic evils to disquiet a man whose life was past in locomotion, she seized on part of his journals and many other papers which were never restored, and departed, leaving word that she never intended to return. He simply states the fact, saying, that he knew not what had been the cause, and briefly adds, *non eam reliqui, non dimisi, non revocabo*; in this summary manner was a most injudicious marriage dissolved.

Mrs. Wesley lived ten years after the separation, and is described in her epitaph as a woman of exemplary piety, a tender parent, and a sincere friend; the tomb-stone says nothing of her conjugal virtues. He survived her ten years, enjoying all his faculties and undiminished strength till his eighty-fifth year.

year. They who have seen John Wesley in his old age will not easily forget his venerable appearance. His face was remarkably fine, his complexion fresh to the last week of his life, his eye quick and active, and when you met him in the streets of a crowded city, he attracted notice not only by his long white hair, but by his pace and manner, both indicating that all his minutes were numbered, and that not one was to be lost. "Lord, let me not live to be useless," was his prayer; his faith in prayer amounted sometimes to presumption; but the extraordinary vigour which he preserved to such extreme old age, might well make him believe that in this instance his heart's desire was granted. On his 86th birth-day, he observed that he was less agile, not being able to run or walk so fast as he did, that his sight was a little decayed, and that his memory failed him with regard to names and things lately past, but not with regard to former transactions, and he felt no weariness either in travelling or in preaching. On the next anniversary, he says, "I now find I grow old;" sight, strength, and memory were failing fast. "What I should be afraid of is," he adds, "if I took thought for the morrow, that my body should weigh down my mind, and create either stubbornness by the decrease of my understanding, or peevishness by the increase of bodily infirmities. But thou shalt answer for me, O Lord my God." On the first day of the following year, he writes, "I am now an old man, decayed from head to foot, my eyes are dim, my right hand shakes much, my mouth is hot and dry every morning. I have a lingering fever almost every day. My motion is weak and slow. However, blessed be God, I do not slack my labour; I can preach and write still." He lived however till the year afterwards, and scarcely remitted his exertions till within a fortnight of his death, which took place on the 2d of March 1791, in his 88th year. Such crowds came to see him in his coffin, that it was deemed prudent to bury him privately; the funeral therefore was between five and six in the morning; it could not however be kept entirely secret, and many hundreds attended at that early hour. The preacher who buried him, made one alteration in the burial-service; when he came to that part, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother," he substituted the word *father* instead of *brother*; and pronouncing it with a tone that plainly expressed in what manner it was felt, the congregation, who before had been shedding silent tears, burst at once into loud weeping.

You will doubtless expect me to say something of the growth of the sect of which Wesley was the founder. At the time of

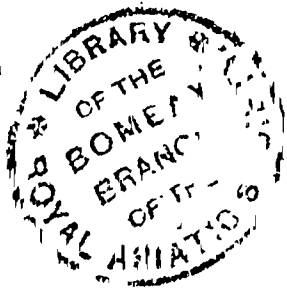
his death, the number of his preachers in the British dominions amounted to 313, and in the United States to 198; the number of members in the British dominions 76,968, in the United States 43,233. The returns of the last Conference in July 1816, will show the progress of the sect. There were then 953 travelling preachers and 241,310 members in Great Britain and its dependencies; 704 preaching in America, and 211,165 members. The increase for the last year in Great Britain had been about 10,000.

Such was the life, and such the labours of John Wesley, a man of great views, great energy, and great virtues. That he awakened a spirit of religion, not only in his own community but in a church which needed something to rouse it, is acknowledged by that church itself; that he encouraged extravagancies, lent too credulous an ear to false and impossible relations, and spread superstition as well as piety, would not now be denied by the more candid and enlightened of his own people. It may sometimes be suspected that he wished to lay claim to miraculous powers, but faith will account for much, credulity for more; and it would be absurd to deny that he was both a good man and a great one. Whether more good or evil is to be expected from the progress of Methodism, is a question that I have no room for examining. Be that as it may, the powerful principle of religion which has been communicated in that form, has reclaimed many from a course of sin, has supported many in pain, poverty, sickness, and sorrow, and imparted to many a triumphant joy in death. What Wesley says of the miracles wrought at the tomb of the Abbé Paris, may fitly be applied here: "In many of these instances, I see great superstition as well as strong faith; but God makes allowance for invincible ignorance, and blesses the faith, notwithstanding the superstition." To this remark I have nothing further to add, except the assurances of respect and esteem with which

I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

R. S.



LETTER

LETTER II. (Translation)

On the State of the Press in France

To Sir W. L——.

Dear Sir,

Paris, 1st Feb. 1817.

YOU wish to know the state of the press in France: in other words, what degree of freedom our writers enjoy. To answer this question clearly, it might seem sufficient to send you an abstract of our laws on the subject; but we have no laws. Then you will say what is the usage? Why, we have not yet any usage. Indeed, how can usage be established, in a country which has renounced all experience, in order to venture upon untried systems? Besides, a knowledge of the laws on any particular subject, is of little avail without an acquaintance with the manners of the nation for which those laws were framed. Thus, you see, your question leads to a far wider discussion, and if you would comprehend the state of the press, you must be made acquainted with the manners of the literary class in France.

The term *public opinion* is not to be found in any of the French historians prior to the reign of Louis XIII. Until that period, our literature was unformed; no one wrote on the administration of government, because the concerns of government were then very limited, and politics were a science studiously concealed from the vulgar eye. The minister of that King, our famous Cardinal de RICHELIEU, having formed the design of attacking the privileges and independence of the nobility, flattered the passions of the commonalty, and did all in his power to exalt that order. He affected to suppose that the French nation in general, entertained an opinion on state affairs, and by means of the support derived from this opinion, he endeavoured to render every thing subservient to his own will. There were some grounds for this notion; for in fact the French people really felt the want of union, steadiness, and congruity in their operations, qualities which had not existed since the death of Henry IV., not through the defect of the institutions, but through the weakness of the government.

Either from zeal for the advancement of literature, of which the Cardinal RICHELIEU, though totally devoid of taste, was a great admirer; or else from policy, and a wish to erect a sort of visible tribunal for that *public opinion* to which this minister so

frequently appealed, he associated the writers of reputation in his days, and founded the *French Academy*. In forming this association he took the members of it into regular pay, a proceeding apparently simple, but attended with important consequences, because our men of letters from that moment concluded that they were to depend on the government for subsistence, and that pensions granted by the court, were preferable to any emoluments that might arise from the independent exercise of their talents.

The nature of our legislation was conformable with these ideas. Our laws did not protect literary property. The dramatic authors were under the control and at the mercy of the players; whilst other writers were in like manner subjected to the booksellers. Our nation, in its chivalrous spirit, though enamoured of the pleasures arising from literature, imputed shame to a subsistence derived from the pen; and to make a trade of the art of writing, was to lose a portion of respectability, whatever might be the writer's talents, or however splendid his success. This will serve to explain, why the masterly productions of our literature during the age of Louis XIV. were utterly profitless to their authors. Thus the legislature, the national manners, and the prevailing prejudices, all contributed to debar them from every prospect of security against want, except such as might arise from the bounty of the government. It is not surprising, therefore that they should become flatterers of power, and yield easily to its insinuations.

The maintenance of all those doctrines, which were in harmony with the form and spirit of the government, was at that time confided to certain religious societies, who pronounced public censure on authors whenever they deviated from the principles essential to the safety of the state. Our high courts of magistracy, to whom belonged every branch of police, even that which regarded opinions, punished the errors of writers; and though there were no special laws against the delinquencies of the press, yet, as in every civilized country, whatever is considered detrimental to established order, is in some way or other punishable, justice was executed on criminal authors, in the same manner as on criminals who were not authors. Thus, it may be said that the religious bodies denounced, and the parliament punished.

On attentively considering the history of the whole world, we shall every where perceive a distinction between *intellectual* and *material* power. To govern bodies and to govern minds have almost always been considered as two distinct things; and it would not be difficult to prove that nations have been more
agitated

agitated by the pretensions of those who wished to influence the mind, than by those who confined their aims to the subjection of the person. This idea suggests a thousand curious reflections. I merely throw it out for your consideration, and proceed with my survey. It is now generally allowed, that the main spring of *representative governments*, is public opinion; but public opinion I regard as nothing more than the triumph of intellect over force. In this point of view, it is not to be imagined that the liberty of the press, can ever become questionable, in countries where the interests of the state are discussed in large assemblies, and where the deliberations of those assemblies are public. Indeed the very question would suppose an alarming inconsistency; but of this inconsistency we have just given another example; for in France we do not appear to take any interest in the establishment of a principle except for the pleasure of violating it in all its consequences.

The privilege of directing men's minds may sometimes belong to the passions, but never to ignorance, and those, who in the present day blame the monastic orders for having possessed themselves of that privilege, do nothing more than reproach them with having had greater talents and acquirements than the rest of their contemporaries. Had there been only one monastic order in Europe, I think it would have been impossible to take from that order what I call the *intellectual supremacy*; but when several such orders arose, there sprung up a rivalry among them; they contended for this power, which is certainly the greatest, and that which has most charms for exalted minds. What, indeed, can be more attractive than the idea of gaining the ascendancy of the age by dint of mental power alone? What other end does a man of letters propose to himself? Honoured be those writers who, on questions of public interest, sacrifice every personal consideration to the pleasure of meditating on the general welfare!

The Jesuits in France were in quiet possession of the right of directing the public mind, when the Jansenists attacked them for the purpose of wresting from them this high privilege. This was the real ground of the quarrel between these two bodies; theological disputes were merely the mode in which it was carried on. The Jesuits preached a lax morality in order to ensure a majority in their favour; the Jansenists, to make a striking impression and produce a strong contrast, propagated a system of morals at once gloomy and severe; but we may rest assured that if they had found the Jesuits maintaining their influence over the public mind by means of strict principles, they would have sought popularity by propounding milder doctrines. Is not this generally the case, at the present day, in deliberative

assemblies, when the parties opposed to each other, consider contrary doctrines merely in relation to the means which they afforded for obtaining the direction of public affairs?

It is here that we meet with a singular result of the creation of the French Academy; a result, certainly, not foreseen by Cardinal Richelieu, one of the most despotic of men in principle and disposition.

Whilst the Jesuits and the Jansenists contended for the privilege of directing the public mind, the men of letters who swayed the French Academy, formed an association under the name of *Philosophers*. Serving both parties in turn, for the sake of inflaming the quarrel, and alternately satirizing them both, in order to expose them to equal ridicule, they at last overthrew them both, and occupied their place. "We have driven out the foxes," wrote Voltaire confidentially to his disciples, "and now we must hunt the wolves." The foxes were the Jesuits, the wolves were the Jansenists; and though M. de Voltaire beheld in both of them the enemies of that supremacy over the public mind at which he was aiming, it is easy to perceive, by the different names which he gave them, that he still retained a tender recollection of the Jesuits, among whom he had been educated, and whose amiable and lively manners he loved, as much as he detested the rudeness and rigour of the Jansenists.

The former being ousted, and the latter overthrown, the men of letters in France, and all those whom they had admitted into their *philosophical* fraternity, ruled the nation, the Court, and even a great portion of Europe. As it had been necessary for them to propagate new doctrines in order to rouse the public mind, they were desirous of developing all the consequences of those doctrines in order to perpetuate their power. These consequences, rigorously uniform in their progress, placed the government in the hands of the populace in 1793; and the excesses of the populace paved the way for Buonaparte's usurpation. Thus the dominion of force over the ascendancy of intellect was again re-established in two different ways. Such is the circle in which human nature moves; and if there be any means of giving a legal organ to public opinion in order to ensure its triumph, those means can only consist in the adoption of a *representative government*, by which we Frenchmen generally mean the form of government so long and so happily established in England.

What the men of letters had received as a boon under Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIV, they imperiously demanded when they had gained the ascendancy toward the close of Louis XV's reign; always asking, always complaining, and
always

always threatening, it is impossible to say what was lavished upon them, and whether their cupidity did not even exceed their ambition. Secretaryships for military bodies were created for them with considerable salaries; places were multiplied for them in all the establishments dedicated to literature, science, and the arts; they had apartments in the Louvre, the finest of our royal palaces; and as it had become customary for every writer to be paid by the government, the better they were paid, the more their numbers increased. They were insolent and factious; but not one of them was independent except *J. J. Rousseau*, who, not being a native of France, set some value on his liberty; and in consequence he was the only one among the literati of that time who was really popular.

Buonaparte, eager to take the lead in every thing, had one measure of universal application; it was that of forming men into regiments. Thus he made a regiment of men of letters, [*savans*,] and artists; he gave them an uniform, a sword, and other ridiculous equipments, and this regiment was called the *Institute*. Dissatisfied with being held in subjection, but cowardly and ever ready to side with the victor, the members of the Institute knew not whether they were to consider themselves as a part of the state, or simply as a learned society; for the servants of government among them, who were strangers to literature and science, were more numerous than the men of letters; and all the men of letters and scientific persons of any merit were made servants of government by Buonaparte. This strange combination is not one of the least skilful contrivances of that man, who perfectly understood the vices of his age, who would allow no liberty except to himself, and who was more ambitious of governing minds than bodies.

If the foundation of the French Academy by Cardinal Richelieu gave birth to a general notion that every writer in France ought to subsist on the bounty of the government, the establishment of the Institute by Buonaparte in like manner propagated the idea now so prevalent, that the cultivation of literature, science, and the arts is not to be regarded as an end, but simply as a means of getting into place; and since books, dramas, and articles in the journals are written only with a view to obtain one or more situations under government, when that purpose is answered, nothing more is done unless the situation be such as to require its holder to write in favour of those by whom he is paid. Again, who are those that pay? Formerly it was the King. In our way of thinking every favour from the King is honourable, Gods and sovereigns are the only beings, it seems, to whom men may confide their wants without blushing. Accordingly, nothing

thing is more noble and more decorous than the letters written by Colbert to the men of merit in his time, announcing the favours granted to them by Louis XIV. Buonaparte, on the contrary, whose aim was to degrade human nature, assigned the duty of pensioning the men of letters to the police ! Thus was established the custom which still continues. From the sacrifice of independence, we have proceeded to the disregard of delicacy. Such is in the natural course of events ; but money compensates for every thing, in cases where it does not create an obligation, or even excite gratitude. Posterity has become fully acquainted with the pensions granted by Louis XIV. to men of letters ; the modern police acts with greater mystery ; for the most of its pensioners are not even known to the literary world.

Having thus seen how the characteristic manners of our writers have been formed, having considered their habits and pretensions, and being able to appreciate their expedients for obtaining or extorting money from the government, you may compare the existing state of these matters in England, with that in France ; you will then easily comprehend the details which I have to give you concerning the state of the press in the latter country ; in what respects it differs from the freedom enjoyed by you, and what may be the obstacles to its improvement. But there is another observation for me to make, which is not without importance in the question before us.

In England, as the government does not undertake to provide for men of letters, philosophers, and artists, the rich and enlightened classes of your nation consider themselves as not exempted from all concern respecting them. For a different reason, the French nation, which has the reputation of being devoted to literature, sciences, and arts, does nothing for those who cultivate them ; it leaves them to the care of the government. In your country, a writer of talent and reputation may open a subscription for a work ; and it is soon filled up. During the time of the emigration, several French authors adopted this expedient, and met with the same liberality which is exercised toward your countrymen. If one of your political writers join the party either of ministry or of opposition, if he remain faithful to the cause he has embraced, and if his writings appear decisive and convincing, he is sure not to be abandoned. This is not the case in France. Opinions are there so variable that no value is attached to any except the opinion of the day. If a writer enjoying the greatest share of public favour were to sustain a misfortune he would be blamed, and if he were reduced to open a subscription for a literary work, as a mode in which relief might be honourably afforded him, he would not only be
unsuc-

unsuccessful, but I can affirm that the public would begin to doubt his talents. Opinions are not sufficiently settled among us, to become a bond of fraternity; and the interests of public liberty never elevate men's minds above the minor proprieties of social life. Your nation is conscious of being charged with the compensation of service and merit of all kinds; we are not conscious of this, because all our habits have tended to prevent us from feeling such a duty. Our minds are therefore not so independent, and consequently the government has less difficulty in establishing the restrictions, which it may require against the development and exercise of the intellectual faculties, the fairest endowment of man, and the only one, which can successfully contend against force in favour of liberty.

If you are convinced that public liberty is never sufficiently secured by the laws, when it is not guaranteed by the national manners, you will perceive that nothing in France is more unprotected than the present and future state of the liberty of the press, since the manners of our writers are servile; and our politicians never find in the past, the measure of those sacrifices that are demanded from them in the name of the general safety. Ever under the dominion of ancient habits, they give up everything which is demanded in the name of the royal power; because the royal power formerly left us nothing of our own. Certainly in a nation which had long been accustomed to discuss its own interests, to defend its liberties, and which had not witnessed the origin and sudden death of more than twenty constitutions, a minister would not dare publicly to say, "You are not wise enough to enjoy the liberties granted to you by the fundamental laws of the state; I alone am wise; place therefore the liberty of each individual at my disposal, and you shall see that I will make a better use of it for all, than each would for himself. Let the liberty of the press also be at my disposal; let every one be silent; let me alone speak, and you shall be convinced that I am more in the right than all of you." In every country where such language could be held, its success would be certain; for if the manners of the people were not such as to suffer them to listen to such a proposal without laughter, not even a fool would attempt to make it. The moment it was hazarded, the greatest obstacle to its success would be surmounted. This has taken place before our own eyes ten times in the course of twenty-seven years; we have again witnessed it very recently, and it has succeeded, among those who had a right to discuss the question. Beyond the walls of the chambers indeed I do not think that the same opinion prevails concerning this very important subject. So long as we are without regular and lawful

lawful liberty, we shall have liberty by fits and explosions which is the worst of all its forms: hence I fear our politicians may be compared to engineers who, having charged their cannon with powder, should say that they only put in grape-shot and wadding to prevent the powder from taking fire; but they forget that it is not at the cannon's mouth that the fire is applied. The liberty of the press is an article of our constitution; certain temporary laws are used with it, as wadding (we are told) to prevent it from enflaming the public mind; but there will still be a sufficient opening for the fire to be communicated, and the detonation will be the more violent in proportion to the force of the constraint.

On the first return of the King a law was made against the liberty of the press, that is to say, against the public journals, and against books containing fewer than twenty printed sheets. This law was made in concurrence with the two chambers. The journals thus compressed by the hand of authority, could not defend the power which coerced them: on the contrary, one might have supposed that the restrictions had been contrived for the sole purpose of preventing the King and his ministers from obtaining any knowledge of the conspiracies then carrying on, for the purpose of bringing back Buonaparte or the Republic, for both those schemes were in agitation. Restrictive laws are fatal in consequence of their tendency to discourage the well disposed, who always feel less repugnance in obeying a law than in evading it, even when they deem it a bad one; whilst artful men turn and twist the law so many ways, that they at length find means to elude its provisions. So it happened in the present instance; the loyal writers had not time for the composition of publications of temporary interest exceeding twenty printed sheets; whilst the Jacobins, formed volumes of twenty-one sheets; and they would have contrived others of fifty, in order to keep clear of the law. In consequence, the latter became masters of the field almost before the battle had begun. This strange legislative combination fully exposed the futility of the minds which conceived it; and was favourable only to the factious. Such was, and such must always be, the event in similar circumstances.

On the second return of the King, it was unfortunately imagined that the restrictive law had not been made for the general interest of society, but for the particular interest of the King; for the King alone in part reformed what had been done, and could not have been done without the concurrence of the chambers. His ordinance left the journals under the control of the police; and books, of whatever size, were exempted
from

from all ministerial censorship provided they were not *periodical*; thus the *Correspondent* could not be translated into French, nor orders received for supplying it, without the permission of the police and a previous censorship, simply because it is *periodical*, that is to say, published at stated seasons, fixed upon and notified before hand. The law is so inconsistent that it apprehends danger from the circulation of a book which appears only every two months, yet foresees no danger in the publication of the same book if it appear twelve times in the course of a year, at periods not previously determined, because in that case it would not be periodical. You will begin to doubt whether we are in our senses, when we take these precautions against a book, because it is announced on the 1st of January for the whole year, while we are without any legal provision against other works, which may be published without any previous annunciation. Let me undeceive you; nothing can be wiser; and be assured that when ministers propose laws, they have made every arrangement to avoid being annoyed by them. This belongs to their station; it will be for the chambers to enquire whether the nation shall remain as free as the ministers. The police, having the control of all the journals, can prevent them from announcing works, which it is disposed to restrain from circulation; it can assail the authors, expose their books to the laughter of fools, and injure their sale by other means that are at its disposal, and this so effectually, that a printed work shall be as little known as if the author had kept it by him in manuscript. On the contrary, a work appearing at fixed periods, and having regular subscribers, might circulate in spite of the journals, and would meet with striking success if conducted with talent and on sound principles. A periodical work might therefore obtain a greater ascendancy over public opinion than the works of all the writers in the pay of the police; this is what they will not allow. It would disturb the union of the *intellectual* and *material* power. The whole, then, that we have hitherto gained by a representative government, is that the laws guarantee the ascendancy derived from intellect, to those who have none, against those who possess that faculty. Under the ancient order of things such a combination could not have been conceived; and if the direction of the public mind was engrossed by the monastic orders, it was because they were at that time the sole depositaries of every science. It was reserved for what has been called an enlightened age to shew us that the law recognises every science to be the privilege of one man when he is minister of police. Do not laugh at us, but pity us; for every nation that has been misled from her ancient paths is for a long time to be pitied.

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That which was regulated by an ordinance of the King on his second return has been confirmed by the present Chamber of Deputies and is now before the Chamber of Peers. If the Chamber of Peers should also adopt it, which they probably will do, the state of our laws regarding the press will be an apparent liberty for books, an avowed control over journals and periodical works. Now take our national manners into the account, and you will find that this state of things, which would be insupportable in England will scarcely be felt in France, where political liberty is a matter of only secondary concern, where every one has his own little private interest to promote, and with which he is exclusively occupied. Our writers aim not at independence of feeling; they aim at places and money; every thing is arranged with that view, and what is not yet so arranged, will be in a short time. As there is much less resistance in our manners, than warmth in our minds, recourse is rarely had to violent measures of control. The ministers are but little provoked by an attack; and those who are opposed by the ministers are also good-natured people who feel no sort of rancour, because they feel as little conviction. And how should there be any in a nation where doctrines are all uncertain and vacillate between remembrances of the past, and pretensions newly asserted. If we really loved public liberty, the case would be different; for the sake of a mighty interest the passions would take a loftier tone; but that is out of the question.

Do not conclude, however, that we are in love with despotism; our manners are too variable to yield to it; indeed we have no faith in it. Having for these twenty-seven years been accustomed to dwell on the events of to-morrow, what passes to-day never engages our thoughts; they are fixed only on what will come or what may come. How is it possible for a people, incessantly changing their constitutions and laws, living only on exceptions, and in a continual succession of ordinances, to attach themselves to any thing? The royal charter had given us the liberty of the press: it was quite natural for a Frenchman to expect that the laws would take it away. In fact, a law has taken it away; it is quite natural for a Frenchman to look for some circumstance that will restore it to us. The same may be said of personal liberty; if the constitution had not guaranteed it to us, you would have heard of great debates for obtaining it; but as we have it by the constitution, great debates have been held to deprive us of it. In short, my dear Sir, a single reflection will suffice to show the difference between your English ideas relative to the press, and the notions which prevail on the same subject with us in France. You will probably admit, that if your ministry were to propose that all the public journals

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should be placed at their disposal, and under their control, the whole English people would deem it an attack on one of their most important privileges. Well, Sir, let us suppose the same proposal made in France, and you would scarcely meet a person who would think the question regarded any body but the Journalists. With this brief remark, which, I assure you, is not intended for sarcasm, but for simple, historical truth,

I remain very truly yours,

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LETTER III.

On the Nepaul War.

To the Count de V——. *

My dear Sir,

YOU have desired with earnestness that I would give you some information upon the transactions which have recently occurred in India, to which you tell me your personal acquaintance, when you were formerly in England, with the Noble Lord who is now at the head of that government, has imparted an interest, which from the remoteness of the scene and the difficulty in general of understanding the details of Indian politics, would not otherwise have been excited. You desire especially that I would explain the causes of the war, which we have just terminated in that country, and the character and circumstances of the people, with whom we have had to contend: I willingly comply with your wishes, and without going into details, which might carry me beyond the limits prescribed to this sort of communication, I will endeavour to exhibit to you a clear view of the origin, progress, and termination of the short but arduous conflict, in which we have been engaged, and of the situation, in which the peace concluded with the Nepaul government has left

* Since this letter was sent to press, the brave and respectable Nobleman to whom it was addressed has terminated his career of honour. He was one of those faithful servants of his king and country, who maintained the cause of both, amidst all the privations of exile and ill success. While engaged in this warfare, he became known to the Marquis of HASTINGS, then Lord MOIRA, from whom he received those attentions, which could not but interest him most deeply in all the subsequent events of the Noble Marquis's life.

our relations with that power; I shall afterwards add a few observations on the general state of India, and on the prospect which its present political circumstances afford.

To understand at all the origin of the Nepaul war, it will be necessary to advert to the geographical position and nature of that country; and to form a judgment of the character of the people, it may be proper to notice some of the most prominent of the few facts in their history, with which we are acquainted.

The chain of the vast *Himaleh* mountains which separates Tartary from India, constitutes the northern boundary of the Nepaul empire: another range of mountains running nearly parallel to the *Himaleh*, and at a distance of about a hundred miles, which are commonly called the Nepaul Hills, may be regarded as its natural limits to the south: it extends in length between six and seven hundred miles, from the territories of the Bootan Rajah, which form its eastern extremity, to the banks of the Sutledge, which bounds it in the west, and separates it from the nation of the Sikhs.

The intermediate space between these two ranges consists, for the most part, of lofty mountains covered with forest trees and deep ravines, formed by the torrents, which issue from the *Himalch*, and force their way into the plains of India: here and there are found cultivated vallies of different extent and dimensions, the only access to which is through narrow passes and defiles; of these the vallies of Catmandoo and Nepaul Proper are the principal: the latter is to be remarked as giving its name to the country in general, of which it forms only a very small district, and the other as containing the town of Catmandoo, which is distinguished as the capital of the empire: at no distant period, this extensive tract of mountainous country appears to have been divided amongst several small independent sovereigns, of whom the most considerable were the Rajahs of Nepaul Proper and Catmandoo. In the year 1768, the former of these princes, entertaining apprehensions from the ambitious designs of the latter, entered into an alliance with the neighbouring Rajah of Gorcah, whom, upon the invasion of his territory by the Rajah of Catmandoo, he called to his assistance. The Gorcah Chief readily complied with this invitation, and joining the Nepaulese troops succeeded in expelling the Rajah of Catmandoo; but the country which he had delivered, he was not willing to relinquish; he accordingly retained possession of it for himself, put an end to the existing government, and established the Gorcah or Goorkha dynasty upon the throne of Nepaul. It is thus that in speaking of these people, they are commonly called Goorkhas, from the origin of the reigning family, while the country in general is denominated Nepaul.

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From the year 1768, the Goorkha government by a series of vigorous operations has been gradually increasing its strength, and extending its dominions. It had successively reduced all the independent chieftains of the hills, and by the incorporation of their territory, had consolidated a vast empire, and had become at the period we are about to consider a very formidable power. At the bottom of the Nepaul hills, and along the whole of their extent on the side of Hindoostan, there is a narrow slip of land, not more, on an average, than twenty miles in breadth, which has been considered to belong to the Nepaulese, and is denominated the Terraie: it adjoins and forms a sort of margin to the whole line of our provinces of Bengal, Bahar, Oude, and Oelhi, and touches also upon part of the territories of our ally the Vizier.

This narrow slip of land, bordering thus upon our territories and those of our ally, has brought us into contact with the Goorkhas, and given rise, as might naturally be expected, to continual disputes concerning the line of boundary between the two states. The Goorkhas have ever been desirous to extend their possessions upon the plains, and with this view they have been pursuing, for many years, a system of petty encroachment upon our provinces; at first by steps so gradual as hardly to be noticed, but latterly, when impunity had made them bolder, by larger strides and more palpable aggression, until on one occasion they seized twenty-two villages in Nunnore, a portion of our district of Bettiah, and continued to occupy them, notwithstanding the remonstrances of our government. Though the violence of this proceeding would have justified the Bengal government, at that time, in recurring immediately to arms, yet as a claim of right had been advanced by the Goorkhas, it was determined, in pursuance of the principles of moderation and forbearance which had uniformly actuated the Bengal government in its transactions with this people, to submit the claim in question to an investigation, to be conducted on the spot by commissioners appointed by each party.

The effect of this enquiry, and the examination of evidence and documents, was to establish the clearest and most indubitable right on the part of the Company to the lands, which were the subject of dispute: but the Goorkha government still found pretences to delay their evacuation, and to protract the discussion from one period to another, till the year 1813; when, after repeated remonstrances on our part, the Rajah proposed that the question should be settled by a new commission, and that, after a review of former proceedings, and a more full and thorough investigation at the different places, the commissioners should finally determine the future boundaries of the two states, without fur-

ther reference to their respective governments : this proposition was immediately acceded to by the Bengal government, who deputed Major Bradshaw to meet the Goorkha commissioners : the result of this enquiry was similar to that of the preceding, as there was not a pretence in justice for the claim which the Goorkhas had set up ; but when their commissioner was applied to to give the necessary directions for delivering up the disputed lands, it appeared that he had no powers to do so ; and to the representations made to his government no regard whatever was paid ; on the contrary, Major Bradshaw received a peremptory order to quit the Nepaul frontiers. Under these circumstances a detachment of our troops was ordered up ; and upon their advance the Goorkhas retired from the disputed ground, which was peaceably occupied by us, and the Company's authority re-established ; and it seemed as if, without making a formal renunciation of their pretended rights, the Goorkhas had tacitly acquiesced in our resumption of the territory. Shortly afterwards, the rainy season making it necessary to withdraw the troops in consequence of the fevers, which at that period of the year prevail in the neighbourhood of the hills, the charge of the recovered lands was intrusted to the Company's civil officers at the several Jannahs or police establishments along the frontier ; but no sooner was our military force removed than the Goorkhas advanced a body of their troops, attacked our Jannahs, killed several of our people, and murdered in cold blood with circumstances of peculiar atrocity the Company's principal Jannahdar or police officer, who was put to death in presence of the commander of the Goorkha troops, after the post to which he belonged had been surrendered ! By this means they succeeded in re-occupying the disputed lands. It was now evident that from negotiation no satisfactory consequences could be expected, but that it was the purpose of the Goorkhas to retain by force, what they had acquired by injustice. In this posture of affairs the Governor-general the Earl of Moira, now Marquis of Hastings, actuated by a laudable anxiety to avoid war as long as there appeared any probability, that our provinces could be secured by an amicable adjustment of differences, transmitted a strong and indignant remonstrance to the Goorkha government, calling upon it for a disavowal of the acts of violence and atrocity committed by its officer, and demanding his immediate punishment, together with the restoration of the lands that had been seized. With this atonement, it was stated that the Company's government would be satisfied ; but if not instantly made, the Governor-general would have recourse to arms, nor lay them down until a severe chastisement had been inflicted, and an effectual security obtained against any future molestation. To this

expostulation no proper answer being returned, war was formally declared, and the troops received orders to march. The contest in which we were thus involved was one of considerable difficulty and importance; a signal insult had been offered to us, and a most wanton outrage committed upon our territory, for which apology and reparation were refused. The foundation of our empire in India rests upon the opinion entertained of our power; to have failed or to have only partially succeeded in punishing the insolence of this people, would have been attended with effects the most injurious to our influence in other parts of Hindoostan. It became necessary therefore, in embarking in the war, to contemplate, as its only adequate end, the complete submission of the Goorkha government, and the conclusion of such a peace as would effectually secure us against any future danger from that quarter. But the difficulties to be surmounted in the attainment of these objects, were of the most formidable description, for it was not a contest likely to be terminated by one or two battles fought in the plains, where the discipline and valour of our troops would have had to encounter the superior numbers and irregular courage of an Indian army, and where, from past experience, the result might be confidently predicted; but we were to engage with a new enemy in a mountainous country, where nature opposed every obstacle to the prosecution of war, and where the advantages of discipline were in some measure lost by the impossibility of acting in large and united bodies. Amidst the multifarious transactions of war, there is perhaps no kind of enterprise more arduous and more doubtful, which has oftener baffled the skill of the ablest generals, and chilled the courage of the bravest troops, than the endeavour to subdue a mountain country defended by a hardy, warlike, and resolute people. It is by this standard that the difficulties, which were overcome, and the ability displayed in the conduct of the Nepaul war, must be estimated. To bring such a war to a speedy and decisive issue was the task imposed upon Lord Hastings, and the plan of the campaign laid down by him was admirably calculated to accomplish this purpose. His first object was to penetrate into the mountains; and with this view, he divided his army into four columns: that to the eastward, consisting of the troops from Dinapore, under Major-General Marlay, was destined to enter the hills opposite Catmandoo, and march upon that capital. At some distance to the westward, the Banares division under Major-General Sullivan Wood was instructed to occupy Bootwal, and to co-operate from that side with Major-General Marlay. Upon the banks of the Suttledge, the western extremity of our line of operations, the division under Major-

General Ochterlony was opposed to the Goorkha army under Amer Sing, their principal General. Major-General Gillespie was ordered to enter the Doan, and to possess himself of Kalonga; to secure the passes of the rivers in that district, and prevent the retreat of Amer Sing when pressed by Major-General Ochterlony. The effect of this extensive plan of operations, was to weaken the enemy's line in every part, by compelling him to occupy a most extensive front, and to render him uncertain of the precise point where the passes of the mountains would be forced; while the success of any one of our columns in penetrating into the mountains, by turning the enemy's defences, would insure the issue of the whole campaign. Had Lord Hastings formed his army into one or two large columns, the enemy would have concentrated his whole force opposite to the menaced point, and have rendered the chances of success in forcing our way into the hills very doubtful; and if we had prevailed in this preliminary operation, the embarrassment and difficulty of our movements within the hills, through narrow defiles and pathways, where scarcely two men could march abreast, would have been precisely in proportion to the magnitude of our corps, and have added to the enemy's means of prolonging the contest.

The plan therefore adopted by Lord Hastings was well contrived to bring the war to a prompt decision; but its commencement was not signalized by that immediate success which His Lordship appeared to have had reason to expect. The columns under Generals Marlay and Wood, which were destined to act against Catmandoo, experienced some difficulties in their march under the hills, which delayed their operations; and they do not seem to have made any attempts to enter the mountains in pursuance of the original instructions.

Nevertheless an important advantage, which it was the merit of the plan to secure, was derived from them, as by drawing large bodies of the enemy to that quarter, they weakened the defences in other parts. The division under Major-General Gillespie entered the hills as had been designed, and attacked the fortress of Kalonga, which he attempted to storm; but the determined resistance of the enemy, and it is supposed some misconception of orders, baffled the efforts of our troops, and after an obstinate conflict they were repulsed with considerable loss. The Major-General, in a renewed effort to carry the place, headed himself the storming party, and while cheering on his men to the attack, fell at the foot of the breach, covered with wounds, and lamented by the whole army, of which his chivalrous character and ardent courage, displayed on so many

occasions, had rendered him one of the brightest ornaments. The assault failed in consequence, and the troops were withdrawn. But here, as in the case of Generals Wood and Marlay, although the operations were not successful, yet by the diversion which they caused, they essentially contributed to the result which was preparing in the west. In that quarter Major-General Ochterlony was advancing with that perseverance, judgment, and ability for which his military conduct is remarkable. To aid his exertions more effectually, Lord Hastings, who was himself at this time in the northern parts of Hindoostan, directed another column to be formed, of which he gave the command to Colonel Nicholls, an officer of his own staff, with orders to enter the province of Kemaon, one of the western districts of the Goorkhas, which His Lordship conceived might be occupied while the attention of the enemy was engaged in opposing the other divisions. Colonel Nicholls was instructed to possess himself of Almora, the principal fortress of Kemaon, to secure the passes of the rivers from the westward, and thus cut off the retreat of Amer Sing, and operate in his rear. Colonel Nicholls executed this movement with the greatest promptitude and success. He passed through the mountains without loss, engaged the Goorkha army under Husty Dhal, one of the Rajah's uncles, and completely defeated it; Husty Dhal himself was killed in the action. The Colonel next attacked the advanced positions of the Goorkhas before Almora, and carried them by assault. He then opened his batteries upon the fort of Almora, which capitulated; and in about ten days of most laborious exertions and hard fighting, the province of Kemaon was completely reduced, and occupied by our troops. This operation was decisive of the campaign; for Amer Sing, commanding the principal corps of the enemy on the Suttledge, being repulsed in some attempts which he made upon Major-General Ochterlony, and severely pressed by the judicious movements of that excellent officer, found his retreat intercepted by Colonel Nicholls' occupation of Kemaon, and in consequence proposed the surrender of his army to Major-General Ochterlony upon terms, which were acceded to.

Thus the whole of the Goorkha country, from the banks of the Suttledge to the Gogra, was occupied by the British army; and the positions from which we were now enabled to prosecute the war rendered the conquest of the remaining part of the country certain. Under these circumstances the Rajah of Nepaul sent deputies to our camp to offer his submission, and to solicit peace on any terms we might think proper to grant. A treaty was accordingly framed, the terms of which, while they left the

Rajah an independent sovereign, effectually secured us against any future danger from that quarter. By these terms the whole of the Terraie, which had been the source of so much dispute and the immediate cause of the war, was to be ceded to the British government, with the exception of the district of Morung, which was humanely left to the Goorkhas, on account of the urgent want of some lowland pasture for their cattle. The province of Kemaon was to be given up and united in perpetuity to the Company's dominions, and the country upon the Jumna, to the west of Kemaon, to be restored to the several chiefs from whom it had been conquered by the Goorkhas.

The fortress of Nagree, and a certain extent of territory to the eastward, were to be assigned to the Rajah of Siccem, the chief of a nation partly Hindoos and partly Tartars, with whom recent events had brought us into connection, and who had aided us in the war. This treaty was signed by the Rajah's deputies, and the ratifications were to be exchanged within a certain period; but the Rajah, with the ordinary policy of Indian courts, interposed delays, and finally refused to sign the ratification, in the hopes that the approach of the rains would oblige us to desist from our operations. This foolish act of perfidy, which could be attended with no other advantage to him than the procrastination of a few months, whilst it exposed him to more rigorous treatment at the end of that period, rendered however another campaign necessary. Accordingly, during the interval of the rains, preparations were made for the conquest of the country; and as we had retained military possession of Kemaon and all the western provinces, as far as to the Sutledge, the scale of operations was now reduced within narrow limits, and the success certain.

The chief command of the army in this second campaign was given to Sir David Ochterlony, who was to advance by Muckwanpore to the capital Catmandoo. As soon as the season admitted, Sir David commenced his operations, and encountered the enemy at Muckwanpore: at this place they made a vigorous stand, and fought with great courage, advancing close up to the bayonets of our men, and pouring in their fire; but after a sharp contest they were completely defeated with considerable loss, and our march to the capital was secured. Deputies now arrived for the second time in our camp from the Rajah, supplicating from our generosity any terms of peace that would but leave him a sovereign. It was in our power to have acquired the country for ourselves, or to have disposed of it in any other way that we might have thought expedient. But the Governor-general was satisfied with the terms of the former treaty, as fully answering
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all the objects for which we had gone to war, which the Rajah now gladly and speedily ratified.

At the commencement of the war the state of India in other parts was by no means satisfactory, and it was only by an extensive scheme of military movements, and a vigorous and decisive line of policy, that Lord Hastings was enabled to keep the Mahrattas in awe, and to prevent any interruptions on their part to the operations against Nepaul. There is the strongest evidence that, previously to the breaking out of the war, the Goorkha government was in correspondence with Scindiah and other Mahratta chiefs, and that a reliance on their co-operation was entertained; but the promptitude of Lord Hastings' determination, when he found that no settlement of the points in dispute could be expected from negotiation, entirely disconcerted this plan: he had for some time, indeed, foreseen the issue that the discussions would probably take, and had with great secrecy made all his preparations, so that at the same instant the war was declared, and the troops were in march for the different points on which they were to act, before Scindiah or the other Mahrattas had any conception that the war-arrangements were began.

At this period the number of effective troops which Lord Hastings had at his disposal was inadequate to the prosecution of a war, that required a considerable force to bring it to an easy decision, and to the security at the same time of our empire, from the danger to which it might be exposed in other quarters; but he immediately adopted the more active measures for raising men, and promptly collected an army in the northern parts of Hindoostan, where he himself then was, sufficient to check the Mahrattas, should they have attempted any movement upon our provinces. There were several indications which made it necessary to watch their steps with particular vigilance: Scindiah was at the head of a considerable force at Gwalior, a fortress close upon our frontier, which had been conquered by us in the last Mahratta war, and ought to have been retained as forming a most useful barrier against any inroads from that side, but it had been most unaccountably restored to Scindiah during the weak and spiritless system which immediately succeeded the splendid and politic administration of Lord Wellesley; instead therefore of being a bulwark of security to us, as that noble lord had wisely designed, it was now become an object of jealousy and apprehension, on which our attention was necessarily fixed. Meer Khan, with an army of 25,000 men, partly free-booters and partly Mahrattas, was also near at hand, and the Mahratta Rajah of Berar, or as he is sometimes called

of Nagpore, from the name of his capital, was collecting a large army for the ostensible purpose of chastising the Rajah of Bhopaul, a petty sovereign, whose territories lie between Berar and Scindiah's country, but in reality with the view of uniting with Scindiah and Meer Kkan in a joint invasion of our provinces. The means, by which it was hoped our government would be deceived in this instance, were skilfully combined. The Rajah of Bhopaul, with an affected dread of the preparations making by the Nagpore Rajah, applied to our government for assistance, and offered to subsidise a British force, and place himself under our protection. This proposal was readily accepted by Lord Hastings; but when the terms of the alliance were to be adjusted, the Rajah interposed all kinds of difficulties and delays, which, with other circumstances that transpired, led to a clear discovery, that the application to the British government had been made in concert with the Nagpore Rajah, to further his deceitful purposes, and to conceal more effectually the real object of assembling his army. Lord Hastings however had not been deceived. He had discerned the meditated hostility of the Rajah in the collecting of his troops, and he had in consequence ordered the Madras army, together with the Hyderabad subsidiary force, to move forward. So that about the time when the Rajah's army was assembled, and ready to march, as he pretended, against Bhopaul, but actually to form a junction with Scindiah, Colonel Doveton had reached Ellichpore upon his frontier at the head of 30,000 men; and Lord Hastings sent to acquaint the Rajah, that the instant he moved his army to Bhopaul, Colonel Doveton had orders to invade Berar, to assault his capital Nagpore, and to raze it to the ground. The effect of this menace was immediate; he disavowed in the strongest language any hostile intentions, and offered to go himself into the Governor-general's camp to prove his sincerity. Further to deter Scindiah and Meer Khan from advancing, the Bombay army was moved to Jaulna in their rear. By these bold and comprehensive measures, the projected Mahratta confederacy was entirely disconcerted, and Lord Hastings was left at full leisure to carry on the war in Nepaul. Had hostilities with that power been delayed by Lord Hastings, it is highly probable that we should have had to oppose the Mahrattas as well as the Nepaulese, and been subjected to no inconsiderable embarrassment. It would seem, that the Goorkhas had precipitated measures by their last aggression, before their schemes were matured; but that they cherished the most ambitious views upon our provinces, and entertained the most confident hopes of eventual success, there can be no doubt. A very remarkable letter,

letter, written in triplicate, by Amer Sing their principal General, who is said to be a man of great abilities, was intercepted by us, and afforded some insight into their plans. This letter, which was addressed to his sovereign the Rajah of Nepaul, while it urges the vigorous prosecution of the war, since it had commenced, remonstrates with him on having provoked hostilities by an unjust aggression at an unseasonable period, and goes on to state that it is only by the concert of the other powers of India that the greatness of the Nepaul empire can be achieved, and the English driven from the plains; that it is necessary, that those powers should be united in the cause, and, that the Emperor of China should also be drawn in to afford his assistance, whom it would not be difficult, he thinks, to impress with an apprehension, that the English intended to possess themselves of Nepaul for the purpose of penetrating into Thibet. But whatever were their projects, the success of the war, and the terms of the peace which has deprived the Goorkhas of nearly half their territories, have effectually secured us against future molestation. It must certainly be regarded as a fortunate event that we were awakened in time to the danger which threatened us, and thus enabled to dispel it; when the character of the people, the genius of their government, and their local situation, extending for some hundred miles along our most defenceless provinces, is considered, it is evident that that danger might have become most alarming, especially in the event of a war with other powers, when our attention was engaged in a distant quarter. They were indeed a people fast growing up to power, and growing up in a spirit of implacable hostility to us. If it be supposed that they at all resemble the other natives of India, it is a great mistake; they were in fact a nation of Highland soldiers, a hardy, vigorous race, bold, active, and enterprising, inured to war, in which, for the last fifty years, they had been almost constantly engaged, insolent in their deportment to others, full of confidence in themselves, and like all Highlanders entertaining a great contempt for the inhabitants of the plains. Such was the character of the people; and that these qualities should not idly evaporate within the hills, seemed to be the constant care of their government, which paid unremitting attention to whatever could augment their military strength, and prepare them for further conquest. They had, (besides a large force of regular troops applicable to the defence of the hills,) a regular army of about 25,000 men, in a high state of discipline and equipment, clothed like our seapoys, and trained to all those evolutions, which fitted them either to contend in line when opportunity offered, or to take the utmost advantage of their difficult and almost impracticable country.

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We found that some of our latest improvements had been introduced into their army; amongst others, they had adopted and used with effect the shrapnel shell, which they manufactured at Catmandoo. They had also in use the tangent scales upon their howitzers, a practice which had been only employed by our own artillery in Bengal since the arrival of Lord Hastings in that country. These facts shew the vigilance with which every thing was observed and embraced by their government that could contribute to the increase of their military strength, and the furtherance of their ambitious views. Such was the nation with whom we had to contend, and to have reduced them to submission in so short a time in a country, which afforded every means of defence, must be acknowledged to have been an enterprise of no common difficulty, the successful and complete performance of which reflects the highest credit upon the military talents of Lord Hastings, as well as upon the steady persevering courage of the officers and men employed under his direction. I have thus endeavoured to give you an idea of the Nepaul war, a subject which even in this country appears to have been very little understood, and its importance very inadequately appreciated. With regard to its results, it is necessary to remark that the arrangements made by the Governor-general at the peace, have more than repaid the whole costs of the war. The Nawab Vizier, whose territory in Oude bordered upon the Nepaulese, and who was equally interested with ourselves in the reduction of those troublesome neighbours, advanced the sum of one million sterling by way of loan to the Bengal government, at 6 per cent., to be employed upon the war, the expence of which that sum is understood to have more than covered. In return, we have assigned to the Vizier all that part of the Terraie (the whole of which was ceded to us by the treaty) which lines his territory, and which he has gladly accepted as the repayment of the loan, so that Lord Hastings has been enabled to bring this most arduous war to a close without its costing the Company one single rupee.

But besides that the terms of the peace have liberated us from all future apprehension in that quarter, we may expect to derive considerable advantage from the conquests we retain. The province of Kemaon, which is united to our empire, will much more than repay the expence of any establishment necessary to its administration and defence, and from its extending to the northward close up to the Hemmaleh mountains, it will enable us to enter into direct communication and commercial intercourse with Western Tartary. Kemaon is bounded on the west by the Alekunnundra river, a branch of the Ganges, the course of

of which we possess, and which is navigable close up to the great aperture in the Hemmaleh, so that the convenience of water-carriage will afford the means of maintaining an advantageous trade with Tartary, not only in all the commodities of our Indian provinces, but in several articles of European manufacture, particularly woollen cloths, for which there is said to be a constant demand, and which hitherto have been received overland. To the eastward we have also opened a connection with Tartary through the territory of our ally the Rajah of Siccem, which it is expected will lead to commercial advantages. Moreover, in consequence of this war, an interchange of civilities and very friendly relations have taken place between the Chinese governor of Jassa and the Bengal government; so that the successful termination of this contest has not only brought with it direct and immediate benefits of the utmost value, but affords the promise of ultimate and contingent results of the greatest importance. The appearance of India, indeed, since this event, is in the highest degree cheering. Its present political aspect gives every promise of lasting tranquillity. The politic and judicious measures adopted by Lord Hastings, upon the recent death of the Nagpore Rajah, have terminated in the conclusion, in May last, of a subsidiary treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with his successor, upon the most advantageous terms. Thus one of the principal Mahratta states has been detached from their confederacy, and in a manner incorporated with our strength against any attempt on the part of those powers. This must render the probability of success in any war against us, in which Scindiah might engage, so hopeless, as to afford every ground for believing, that the tranquillity of India for some time will not be interrupted by his machinations. The only source indeed at present existing, from which the quiet of India is likely to be disturbed, consists in the Pindarees, an independent body of predatory cavalry, comprising all sorts of military adventurers. They are encamped for the most part on the banks of the Nerbudda river, from which they make frequent expeditions. They subsist entirely by plunder, performing rapid marches, and falling suddenly upon defenceless districts, where they commit the most horrible ravages. Their horses are trained to undergo the greatest fatigue, and it is said that they will travel a distance of 100 miles in 24 hours. They recently entered one of the Company's provinces, and after perpetrating the most atrocious excesses, carried off an immense booty, and escaped by the rapidity of their flight from the utmost efforts of our troops to overtake them. The alliance which we have now effected with the Rajah of Nagpore, by bringing us close upon the Nerbudda, the seat
of

of these plunderers, will enable us to prevent their future incursions; and, with other measures which the Governor-general appears to be actively pursuing, in particular a subsidiary alliance with the Jagpoor Rajah, will probably lead to their entire suppression. From the character indeed of the native powers, it would be rash to affirm positively, that an unbroken continuance of peace and tranquillity awaits us in India, but every probability arising out of the consolidation of our power, and the little chance of assailing it with success, suggests that expectation. This would appear to be the impression made upon the public mind in India by the efficient measures, civil and military, which have been adopted since Lord Hastings assumed the government in Bengal; nor can there be a more striking indication of such public opinion, than the improved state of our Indian finances and credit. At no period was money more abundant in the Calcutta market, and the Company's 6 per cent. bonds, which, when Lord Hastings arrived in India in 1814, were at a discount of 14 per cent., were in August last discounted at less than 3.

Such have been the happy results of a system of government founded upon those high and honourable principles, and that enlarged view of the Company's interests, by which alone the ascendancy of the British character in India can be maintained, and our empire preserved.

I am, &c.

London, Jan. 27. 1817.

Y. Z.

LETTER IV. (Translation.)

On the State of Education in France.

To the Honourable W. L. _____

Sir,

JUSTLY observing, that as in the words of one of your philosophic poets "the child is parent of the man," so Education is the root of Politics, you tell me there is nothing in France, about which you so much desire to be well informed, as the state of education. I shall feel an equal honour and pleasure in conveying that information to you; but we must begin by defining what we mean by the term *education*.

The

The meaning of this word, like that of most words relating to similar subjects, has various degrees of extension, and some confusion may arise if we do not state its principal distinctions. In the first place, then, taken in its widest import, it comprehends all the means used in the developement of the human faculties, moral, intellectual, and physical; so that, among us, a good education is that, which, in forming the heart, has cultivated the mind, and improved the qualities of the body. But we also use the word in a more limited sense, to signify merely the culture of the understanding; for it cannot be denied that the principal object of our public schools is *mental* instruction: to this all the cares of the masters and the efforts of the pupils are directed; this is the point, toward which all the motives of emulation concur; and on this depend all those brilliant rewards which are every year assigned to exertion, forming at once the encouragement of the student and the glory of the professor. The natural goodness of man is so far relied on, as to allow a presumption, that the mind, well enlightened, will prove a sufficient guide for the heart. It is expected that the examples of parents, the indirect lessons of masters, the subjects selected for lectures and compositions, the study of good authors, regularity of discipline, and religious habits especially, will be more effectual than courses of moral instructions, which might possibly fail to be interesting. Hence the disregard of those physical regulations, which the ancient Greeks and Romans deemed necessary in their constitutions, where every citizen, being necessarily destined to be a soldier, was formed to become robust ere he became intelligent. It seems probable that, among the ancients, this bodily training was the only kind of public instruction; and that all the rest was left to the discretion of individuals. Rhetoricians opened schools, which were undoubtedly sanctioned, but not paid, by the government; and with the exception of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, and Plato's *Republic*, it may be doubted whether the ancients had any idea of what we call *Public Instruction*.

The system of education adopted generally, with some few modifications, throughout modern Europe, is that which we, after some fruitless experiments, have retained. It is founded principally on the study of the dead languages. I shall not pause to enquire, whether this mode of instruction be attended with inconveniences, or whether a better might not be substituted. I look only to its effects; I see it practised particularly among yourselves, where it produces profound reasoners and statesmen of the first eminence. We also owe to it the illustrious period of our literature, and, as Sallust observes, "*imperium facile*"

iisdem artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est." I cannot impute blame to our predecessors; and without contemptuously rejecting the theories of innovators in education, I think they might be applied to the improvement of the existing system, but so as not to risk its entire subversion. For, doubtless, the rising generation must suffer from that fluctuation of plans and ideas, that varying succession of contradictory schemes, that rage for censuring whatever is, without the power of substituting something better. Education, above all concerns, requires constancy of method, and an uninterrupted regularity throughout all the degrees of its progress. You, more fortunate than ourselves, have made no changes; and your schools, enjoying throughout Europe a well-deserved reputation, have not, like ours, extensive ruins to repair, and chasms to fill up. Your universities still shine with the same splendour; while our re-established institutions have at once their own glory to achieve, and the glory of their predecessors to sustain: you are not, however, to suppose that the state of learning in France is so deplorable as some gloomy censors represent it, who, shocked by certain particular abuses, attack the general system, and who, indulging ancient recollections, imagine that the future ought in all particulars to resemble the past; like an unskilful physician, who should be surprised at finding his patient, on recovering from a violent fever and delirium, with less strength of body and mind than he had before. Nay further: if learning in some provinces be less prosperous than formerly, at Paris on the contrary it is understood to flourish more vigorously than ever; ampler means of instruction are afforded to youth, and better use is made of them. If, during a season of trouble, morals have been neglected, mind certainly has not. The sciences, especially, have been cultivated with care, and it would be impossible to find in all Europe, a body of professors constituted like that of the Academy of Paris. It is here that some details will be necessary; and for the sake of order, I shall arrange what I have to state to you, under the separate heads of *primary*, *secondary*, and *special instruction*.

Primary Instruction.

This charge, formerly, and even at present intrusted to religious societies, namely, the *Ignorantine Friars*, for boys, and the *Charitable Sisterhood* for girls, did not admit of very great extension for the labouring classes. Some persons, prone to indiscriminate censure, have reflected bitterly on these schools and their founders. Doubtless their means of instruction were limited, and the masters sometimes well deserve their appellation of

of *Ignorantines*. But what men could the villages and country towns employ in gratuitous instruction, except those who made the vow of poverty, and were always sufficiently acquainted with it, to fulfil their modest functions? This was the best resource that then existed. But it is certainly desirable that the method of Bell and Lancaster, introduced among us, should be more and more encouraged, because it will afford a remedy for the inconveniences complained of. Its daily progress already seems to promise permanent success. From Paris, where it has received some advantageous modifications, it is extending into the departments; and is there beginning to be practised. In the capital there are now twelve schools opened, and the number of their pupils is daily augmenting. Besides the original school in the street of St. Jean de Beauvais, which receives more than four hundred children, two Protestant schools have been established in the street *des Billettes*. The Duchess of Duras has founded a school for girls in the street *de Fleurus*. There are others in different quarters; and each of these establishments has, on an average, from 1000 to 1200 pupils; so that the number of children receiving this species of instruction will soon exceed that of the children taught by the old method. You see that by perseverance this beneficial system has been brought to bear among us, and that the obstacles raised against it by prejudice and ignorance are giving way. The circumstance which tended to throw discredit on this system in the eyes of some persons, already alarmed at the idea of innovation, and perhaps possessed with the notion, that there is danger in instructing the common people, was the manner, in which it was first introduced. You may remember that it began to take effect in consequence of a decree of Buonaparte, during the hundred days. But it is to be hoped, that the advantages obviously resulting from it, will defeat the opposition, which indolence and an adherence to routine presented to its establishment. Those, indeed, are the only hindrances, to which this system, of teaching is liable, now that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities concur in sanctioning it. Such, then, is the instruction destined for the common people; it consists in reading, writing, and arithmetic. I now proceed to that which offers itself to the higher classes, and which, as already stated, is founded on the study of languages. This is what I term *secondary instruction*.

Secondary Instruction.

Before the Revolution, this instruction was derived from different sources. Besides the University, several religious bodies devoted themselves to the education of youth. Among these were

were distinguished the Oratorians, the Doctriuiaries, and some Benedictines. I make no mention of the Genovese, and the Theatins, because they laboured, *intrâ privatos muros*, rather for their young proselytes than for others. Such were those bodies now so much spoken of, and the loss of which some persons, at the present day, regret, without considering, that all those houses were rich and well endowed, and that consequently they would not now have the same means of doing good. I doubt much whether men of talent would be at present desirous of belonging to those societies, since their existence would become totally precarious, and dependent on the uncertain success of a new establishment. Besides, where are now to be found the corner-stones of those institutions, when the old members of those societies have either fallen victims to the Revolution, or are employed in the present University. During an interruption of twenty-six years, how many losses, how many changes have occurred! In 1791 the oaths then exacted, occasioned many religious houses to be closed. The others scarcely subsisted until 1793, when anarchy became predominant. This interregnum of education lasted until 1796, when the Normal School was founded, which numbered among its professors the celebrated Laharpe. This was soon succeeded by the institution of central schools; and they, in 1808, gave place to the establishment of the University. In the Central Schools, instruction was more diversified, and some further scope was given to the study of the sciences, which does not now enter into the plan of the existing classes. The concerns of instruction were superintended by a Director-general, which appointment was replaced by that of Grand-Master of the University, with a numerous train of officers. The jurisdiction of each court of appeal formed an academy, whose chief, or rector, corresponded at Paris with the Grand-Master. Houses of instruction, called Lyceums, were established, and inferior ones, denominated Colleges. Private institutions were required to frequent the public schools, and attend the lectures of professors, appointed and paid by authority. To obtain admission into them, the pupil must have previously construed Phædrus and Cornelius Nepos; he then entered into what was called the fifth class, and subsequently into the fourth, forming together the Grammatical Course; he then passed successively into the third and second, called the course of the Humanities, in order to arrive at Rhetoric. Other professors were appointed to teach Mathematics, Physics, and Philosophy. Such were the objects of the public studies. The Grand-Master and his train were superseded in 1815 by a Council of Public Instruction, with its President; and afterwards by a Provisional Committee, of five members;

members; but no change has been made, either in the organisation of houses of instruction, or in the systems of studies. They have merely suppressed the name of Lyceums, and adopted that of Royal Colleges; the other establishments are called Communal Colleges. Such is the present state of things, and we are daily expecting a law which is to determine the fate of what we call the University. I do not think it will affect the mode of instruction; but doubtless it may produce some change in the present system of centralization, and, above all, restore to the professorships somewhat of that independence which men of science cannot dispense with. It is but a slender recompense for the arduous toil which they undergo in preparing youth for their outset in public life, and providing them with the various means of entering upon the career that is opened to them. Education, as yet, exists only in outline; and the pupils have been stinted in the aids requisite for perfecting those talents which their instructors endeavoured to develop in them. These form the objects of *special instruction*.

Special Instruction.

There are schools for the Arts, but they are beyond the sphere of the University, which has five faculties or branches of special instruction; Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine, Sciences, and Letters. In each *faculty* are opened different lectureships by eminent professors, of whom France has reason to be proud. Their lectures, attended by a multitude of amateurs, are particularly frequented by the pupils of a normal school, founded for young persons destined for professorships, and by others desirous of taking their degrees in the different faculties. These degrees are three in number; Bachelor, Licentiate, and Doctor. The Academy of Paris, solely, possesses the five faculties; the others have one, two, or three, according to their local necessities. I have to observe, that the chairs of the College of France, of the King's Garden, of oriental living languages, as also the Polytechnic school, those of bridges and roads, and of mines, are not in the jurisdiction of the University.

From this succinct and rapid view, you may perceive that the means of instruction are not wanting in France, and that education is not in such jeopardy as some persons are inclined to represent it. The tempest has raged; our vessel has been shattered; but from its wreck we have constructed another, which, with labour and time, may acquire solidity. Only let no attempt be made, while its parts are but slightly joined and imperfectly secured, to disturb it by imprudent shocks and movements, which may irrecoverably destroy it.

In thus opening the subject to you, Sir, (for I have done nothing more,) I point the way to further and more detailed research, in which, if agreeable to you, my assistance shall not be wanting. You will see that there is much curious and even important matter to be learnt respecting the ancient religious bodies, who devoted their labours (as I have above noticed) to the work of education; as well as respecting the ancient University. These subjects, by dint of becoming obsolete, if I may so speak, have again become new: I doubt not, at least, that they would be so considered in England. We have other points of curious disquisition, which having risen up and again disappeared, in the ocean of our unhappy Revolution, possess a novelty of a different kind. Such are the brief memoirs of the institution of Central Schools; and the still more curious and *piquant* history of the administration of the University, under Buonaparte. Add to this the peculiar organisation of our different Colleges — the courses of study for the respective Faculties — the system of distributing prizes, and inflicting censures, when necessary, in the University — the Schools on the plans of Bell and Lancaster, or, as we call them, Schools of *Mutual Instruction* — and you will see that the whole may easily furnish matter for a long continuance of that correspondence, which you have done me the honour to solicit.

I am, Sir,

with great respect,

Your very obedient Servant,

L.

LETTER V.

On the present State of the Drama in England.

To Monsieur De St. V——

Dear Sir,

IN letters, which have for their objects the mutual acquaintance of nations, the drama has a right to find a place; not in its usual acceptance, as a holyday amusement for the idlers of the earth; but as that feature in which a portion of the finer mind of a people fixes its expression. To the distinguished poet trained to the graceful formalities of the French stage, the freedom of ours may have no high original attraction, but to that poet as a philosopher, there may be value in the enquiry sufficient to counter-

counterbalance the fatigue of a rude unpromising path, or even overpower the habits of early association. I do not hold up the English stage as the mirror of the national character; it has not yet been fashioned to that truth of representation; its breaks and roughnesses are too numerous, and perhaps ought to be so, for a perfect reflection. It is enough for our pleasures, (its prime object,) that it gives a resemblance by which the nation may recognise itself, heightened by the colouring of fictitious circumstances, or sustained by the adjuncts of a bold and picturesque back-ground; we desire no more than a general representative portraiture. But it is obvious that the stage may serve important purposes to the investigation of moral physiognomy, long after its subjects have sunk into dust and the grave. It stands as a permanent memorial, bearing no decidedly untrue inscription and record of the dead; it might be unwise to take its characters for the material of history, yet they may serve for a chronicle; it tells us something worth our gleaning, if it tells no more than what virtues were held in honour among those of our fathers, who wished to be remembered. But an influence is actually exerted by the stage; it is contrary to nature that it should be otherwise. It addresses itself to the spirit, in its more softened moments; the heart is melted by the scene, and ready to receive an impression deeper and more severe than the signet of the stage is often employed to lay on; it comes upon us with its beauty, at the hour when we solicit relaxation for its own sake, when we throw aside the cincture of our sterner philosophy, and love to make experiments on our affections. It seldom startles us by the language of declared impurity, and always finds its finest artifice in wrapping us in those sublime illusions in which we mistake the warmth of imagination for the vigour of virtue. All this assists its importance to our object. I am not disposed to think too highly of its value, either as a teacher of morals, or a test of the past age. But it has its value as both.

A fragment of one of the extinct triumphal arches of Rome has not unfrequently conveyed at once the only memory of the victor, and a lesson on the vanity of human fame. Some of those crusts of dust and ashes dug up in Herculaneum, with the shape of the human body pressed into them, give us the noble proportions of the masters of the world, and the evidence that they were not more secured from a miserable death than ourselves. If the tile of Aristides were to be found at this day, it might be a doubt whether its greater value arose from its containing the autograph of an eminent man, or from its adding a powerful proof to our conceptions of the madness and ingratitude, and headlong blindness, and malignant injustice of democracy

democracy in all times and ages, Heathen or Christian, under the serenity and sunshine of Attica, or the clouds and tumults of England.

Allowing theatres their full importance in providing for the harmless indulgence of the people, to you their higher ministry would probably lie in the office of which I speak. The amusements of a nation give an inlet into its biography. What men love and hate at the moment of their being seen; what they meet with the shout of admiration, or the more unquestioned and grateful worship of silent delight, gives a hope of some knowledge denied to the eye that looks for it only in the old and universal ceremonial costume of councils and combats. I should not think well of his habits of research, who would turn away from the testimony of an old ballad; an old play has a right to graver attention from its professed adherence to human passion, from its necessary development of character, and from the observing spirit of the man who founded his hopes of fame with all to come, on his faithfulness to the mind of his own brief day. From the tone of *Æschylus*, that solemn, stern, triumphant, and yet melancholy tone, as of a voice from an oracle, or an evening trumpet over a field of bloody victory, we might conjecture that this supremacy was tried upon a haughty people exalted with success, and still not recovered from the memory of their danger, even if we had never heard of Marathon.

In London we have two principal theatres, magnificent establishments, sustained with much industry; and when considered as the mere overflowings of the popular purse, giving a striking example of the general opulence.

One of those theatres, that in Drury-Lane, has been lately made the subject of a rather interesting experiment. It had been a few years since, accidentally burned down, and from the embarrassed state of its finances seemed likely to be left in its ashes. But the celebrated Sheridan was its principal proprietor. His intercourse with the first ranks gave him an influence among the great disposers of this world's goods possessed by few men in his day. By an unusual fate, he combined with this high acceptance, distinguished popularity, perhaps favouritism would be the more suitable word, among the inferior classes; and a strong interest was excited for the restoration of his theatre. The English in the midst of their crowd of perplexing and ponderous concerns, are not untouched with those lighter vanities which make men of all minds eager to show their feeling for national genius. Sheridan was in this point of view standing on an elevation which drew the popular eye, and deserved to draw it, for no modern day has produced a man of more various, fertile,

fertile, and exquisite faculties. He is lately dead; and England has lost in him at once her most luxuriant and lofty orator, her most poignant wit, and her dramatist unequalled, or unapproached since the days of her dramatic glory.

Invito processit vesper Olympo.

A committee was formed, at the head of which was the late Mr. Whitbread. How rapidly all that we have seen of greatness and power, of the gifted by fortune and by nature, sink from before us! The direction of the new hopes of the Drury-Lane Theatre could not have fallen into more suitable hands. Strong influence in the legislature, without which, and the trait is peculiar to England and happy for her, nothing can be done here, a stern enthusiasm in whatever he undertook, and vigorous and clear habits of business, enabled him at length to reconcile the innumerable difficulties of his undertaking. The theatre rose again with singular expedition, and in singular beauty, almost a model of gorgeous convenience, and delicate and graceful splendour. I have gone into even this slight detail of the birth of the Drury-Lane House, from its giving some illustration of the perpetual call on public spirit in this country.

The public spirit was materially embarked in the progress of the restoration; for its chief popularity arose from its promise of a revival of the drama. The discontents of authorship are proverbial. But of all its ranks, that connected with the stage has always allowed itself the most boundless latitude of complaint. Where works are necessarily to be decided on by an individual, who may be prejudiced, who probably is incompetent, and who, from the labours of his daily management, is not unnaturally weary; the hopes of an author must be liable to injuries, seldom sustained when the tribunal is held in the face of day; and with the imputation for its assessors. It was conceived that the British drama had fallen into the hands of the feeble, simply from its decision having been given to the caprice of the ignorant. The committee of the new theatre chosen at a public meeting of the subscribers, and certainly chosen from no motive but their eminence in the requisites for their duties, commenced with that declaration of perfect respect and zeal for liberality and literature which was presumed to be the grand spell for raising the dead majesty of the stage. *Du sublime au ridicule il n'y a qu'un pas*, was the oracle of your great charlatan. Our committee made their first step with all possible boldness, and with all imaginable ill fortune. They proposed an universal competition of the English poets, a new "Ara Lugdunensis," of which the prize was to be the solid and animating gratification of

hearing the poem, thus evolved, mouthed by some bowing and shuddering actor on the first night of the theatrical season. There was, however, some appearance of a nascent doubt in the minds of its propagators, whether the unassisted appetite for fame would be equal to the effort of the composition, and a whisper, an unnamed and untraccable whisper, was suffered to wander abroad, that the poet's pleasure in universal applause might be reinforced by twenty pounds. The want of wisdom in the original conception was displayed in the negative fact, that of the known and popular writers not one was ascertained to have sent in a line, and still more strongly in the positive one, that of the unknown writers there was almost a general insurrection; that verse and prose, and the Heteroclitcs and Amphibia of both rushed in upon the unfortunate committee with resistless terrors; that the whole bedlam of Parnassus poured out in their straw crowns and rambling recitations, and that after enduring this calamitous encounter, and wading for weeks together through a pile of absurdities, some humbly offered to them, some flung with haughty and contemptuous ridicule at their heads, the committee found themselves repaid for their labour by the airy dole of their patriotic intentions. Among the whole ten thousand, or ten times the number, the contributions of the nameless or the moonstruck, there was not to be found one which would not throw the unhappy and blameless reciter into the subject of inexhaustible ridicule. In this distress, Lord Byron, a poet and republican of great fame, was implored to come forward, *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*. And His Lordship very fairly, with a view at once to save his own trouble, and to give a lesson of future wisdom to the committee, made a *cento* of the whole, and presented this babe of national contribution under the hasty and ill-fitting drapery of his own noble appellatives. But the most formidable conclusion was to come. Like Falstaff, "they were the cause of wit in others," and the last ridicule alighted on the whole scheme in a burlesque, under the assumed names of the principal poets of the day, a work of exquisite finesse and poignancy, seizing on their peculiarities of style, and turning them all, in all their shapes of vigour and weight, and keenness of point, and dexterity of incision, and consuming touch, upon the proposers of this ill-omened innovation.

The Drama finally profited nothing. The cause lay deeper than the simple justice of those men who appear to have been strictly honourable, diligent, and manly in their object and occupation. They have since continued to sit at the receipt of custom, and found that something more was necessary than to open their

their toll-gate, and display their notes. They have spared, I will believe, no means of which they could be fairly capable, to resuscitate the vegetation of that illustrious and lovely overshadower of the people's hour of relaxation, but they have failed. Their stooping from their just station and ease in life, into the drudgery and bitterness, and obscure and thankless details of management, has been left to its own reward. If, like Shakspeare's usurper, they have thrown off their nobler habiliments, and left their upper dwellings for the cavern, and the darkened presence, they have been only cheated with lying visions, the word of promise has been made only to their ear, and they are at this moment probably lingering on in no feeble desire for the time which shall break up their whole uneasy attempt at modern miracle. It is now about five years since the rebuilding of the theatre. In that time, but two tragedies of any value have been produced, and neither of them survived the season.

Our old stigma, such as it might be, of the paucity of our theatres, compared with those of your capital, is now wiped away. We have eleven in London; I can recollect in Paris but ten. Our number would increase too, with a rapidity neither advantageous to our morals, nor to their speculators, but for the necessity of their being licensed by the Lord Chamberlain, or by an Act of Parliament. It is to be recollected, however, that our population is nearly twice that of your city. Of these theatres, but two are strictly for winter exhibitions, and but one for a foreign language. The Italian Opera-house is a great establishment, which has fought its way through a battle of a hundred years, against the prejudices of the people, and the party-spirit of the national stage, still it stands at last fixed in a stately security, patronised by the noblesse for its exclusiveness, and by the public for its more graceful attractions; perhaps the only Opera of Europe which has been enabled to subsist without direct bounty from the government; and yet exhibiting all that is most costly in the talent and ingenuity of the Continent, from Paris to Naples. The leading English theatres, those in Covent-Garden and Drury-Lane, are not unsuitable monuments of the lavish and lofty expense, to which the saving habits of commercial nations will give way for their pleasures. The accounts of their architecture and accommodations are to be found in all the guides which are put into the hands of strangers. I will not of course wander over them. The only views on which I can venture now, are those relative to the dramatic feeling by which they are impelled.

With us, the greater undertakings are almost universally private property. Our bridges, canals, and that whole colossal

class of works, which, in other countries, have been grasped by the avarice of government, or have been its property, from the inability of the people to supply their expense, are, among us, the work of individuals, or subscription. This, attended with incalculable benefit on the scale of national concern, has the disadvantage of making profit a primary object. In matters of taste, the spirit of money-making has a natural roughness in its touch, injurious to the spirit of elegance. A large portion of what has been considered our want of sensitiveness, must be laid to the charge of this great and overruling propensity for sudden emolument. It is the incubus pressing upon our bosoms, even when the wakeful and sterner cares of the day are done, and turning our gentler feelings into channels of coarse and distorted emotion. In the whole world of our finer intellectual efforts, it is the chief impediment to the free aspirations of the native and luxuriant mind; a powerful agent, it is like the wind condensed, and rushing on us from an engine to the loss of that rich delight, which it gave in its wild breathings, and intermitted falls, and sudden and fragrant whisperings, in the range over valley, and lake, and mountain. If old fable could be allowed, as an illustration of truths, so late as our own days, we might find "its similar" in the figure of Juno, sitting before Alcmena's gate, a noble and stately principle, descending to repress the salient vigour of the infant, that was yet to spring out, in more than mortal beauty and hope, and while it sat there, only preparing the young demigod for a long slavery to an earthly taskmaster.

This spirit has turned our theatres into places, less of rational amusement, than of ingenious extortion, large receptacles for the display of antics on the stage, and the collection of a poll-tax at the doors.

The Drury-Lane Theatre has still some recollection of her early prospects, and if she submits to this venality, probably does it with a blush. The rival Theatre has no compunctious visitings; her colour is steady; she lays herself out for the popular admiration, and no submission is spared that can increase her profits, at the loss of her reputation. A rope-dancer, who walked from the stage to the roof, in perpetual danger of a fall, which must have crushed her, and those on whom she fell, to powder, was lately night after night, the object of two thousand five hundred pair of eyes, admiring in terror, in shame, but paying punctually, and the season closed with unusual eclat and congratulation. A live elephant, a ferocious and untameable brute, who, night after night, seemed to ponder only on the alternative of trampling his keepers, or rolling into the pit,

was

was the charm of a preceding season. The attraction which, twice a year, is looked for as regularly as the solstice, is a pantomime. A long, expensive, and exhausting display of the adventures of the Italian Harlequin, with us a successful lover and an indefatigable jumper, *melée* with those of Pantaloon's and Clowns; and closing in a reconciliation with his persecutors, and a marriage with his mistress. Those performances, however, give room for very striking mechanical ingenuity, and the scenery at the commencement and the close is generally an admirable display of technic skill, and picturesque beauty.

We have not yet learned your wisdom of making the Theatre compatible with the other engagements of the evening. Our plays are universally too long. The doors are opened at half past five, the play commences within an hour, and seldom concludes before ten. The afterpiece occupies the remainder of the night, till nearly twelve. But the early part of the performance, while the senses are still unfatigued, and the eye undimmed by the glare of the chandeliers, which beset every box, sometimes affords as high and touching a delight as the art of Theatres has ever presented.

The stage is, at this moment, fertile in able actors; probably more fertile than at any period since Garrick's fame.

The elder *Kemble* is the senior of his profession, a man of admirable faculties, original and acquired. Nature had moulded him for an actor, and for eminence in a distinct and lofty style. A striking stature; bold and muscular contour, stateliness of movement, and dignity of countenance, had placed the stamp upon him. A sculptor might have looked for more energy in his hero, but a painter would have found in his profound expression of face, and noble attitude, and solemn and almost melancholy majesty of look and manner, the model for the sage, the prophet, or the king. To such advantages, rare in any class, *Kemble* has added those, still more rare in his own, of extensive acquaintance with modern, and it is said ancient literature; much travel, and much intercourse with the higher and more interesting ranks of society. He has had, like Reynolds among artists, the fortune of raising his profession into a degree of respectability, which even Garrick, the friend of ministers, and favourite of all the world, had failed of securing for his inferior brethren. In the Classic Drama, this actor has no competitor; within the arena of the stern and frigid struggles of the men of might of the old world, he walks without having even seen an opponent. His *Brutus*, *Coriolanus*, and *Cato* are among the noblest and most perfect performances that have ever been before a British audience. They are not beings of our day; probably

those

those high and unmixed abstracts of self-denial, stoicism, and haughty contempt of meaner existence, were beings of no day since man first had passions; but Kemble gives them, like a cast fresh from an original sculpture; every line and touch comes out with the sharpness and power of the antique chisel, and if we feel the art, it is not with the effect of diminishing our admiration at the skill, which has touched them into life, and interest, and beauty. But this sober excellence limits the field of his view; the distinctness with which he has trained his eye to one model of regular splendour, has deprived him of the skill or the faculty which loves to sweep the whole luminous region, and he loses the lustre and the delight of that infinite host of glorious influences beaming through nature, and not capable of being classed or constellated. His empire is limited to that ancient world of which we are habitually weary, and to that narrow though transcendantly noble portion of it which belonged to Greece and Rome. The philosopher, the statesman, and the pontiff, are the forms into which his spirit naturally springs; his accustomed movements are among councils and armies; the temple, the curule chair, and the triumphal arch, are the prescriptive adjuncts of his solemn and deep-coloured portraiture of human being; and when he touches on inferior subjects, he feels, as Raphael might have felt in copying Teniers, if they had been contemporary, the closest approach to total failure possible for sense and genius. But within this circle, he has had no rival; in this narrow court of pomp and gravity, and superb association, and kingly supremacy, he has sat upon an uncontested throne. He is now, with that natural looking to age which most becomes a wise and superior mind, about to relinquish his place among the "observed of all observers," and to retire from the stage. I have spoken of this man with a respect, which on the Continent is seldom felt for the "brief chroniclers" of our unoccupied hours. But in England we have learned the advantages of public respect, for working a reformation in its objects. Character is with us, and well and wisely, all in all; the prime possession for which every man maintains a struggle, of some order or other, and whose hope is the noblest, and the most ready purifier of all that is vicious, low, or corrupting in the habitual life of the community. Kemble has been a well-conducted man; his celebrity on the stage has not led him into absurd trespasses on the favouritism of the public, in domestic life; and when he is at length withdrawn, he will be remembered, as one who sought no glaring and fatal varnish for his laurels in the hot painting of the vices.

The Kemble family is among the most memorable, which have ever turned their powers to the stage. It has supplied six performers,

formers, all bearing a sufficient estimation, a considerable share of the appearance and faculties which gave it a name; and two, the seniors, male and female, rising to the summit of stage-celebrity. *Charles Kemble*, the brother of the actor of whom I have just spoken, is the lover, and knight, and is marked for both, by grace of person, and expression of countenance. His gestures are sometimes of such picturesque beauty, that they would fix and improve a painter's eye. He too is a public favourite, and sustains his place not less by his talents than by his domestic respectability.

Our actors do not undergo the same system of training as yours. There is but little pupillage; and nothing is more rare, than an education for the stage. They are generally young men, who, from some fantasy, having conceived themselves destined to climb the heights of Garrick and Kemble, leave advantageous obscurity, and silent gains, to try their fortunes in the perilous bark of popular admiration. Some perish, some grow weary and ashamed; and return to sober labour, with the cheap benefit of repentance; a few, after having run the circle of the provincial theatres, are suffered to develope themselves on the London boards. *McCreedy* is a late accession from this circuit, and has brought with him obvious diligence, an unsparing use of his person, in acting, considerable intellect, and a most unexciting exterior. Whatever triumphs are to be obtained by this actor, will have the full indulgence of not being divisible with face or form. But he knows the language of the passions, and time may teach him to reconcile their violence with grace, ease, and simplicity.

Young is a powerful performer. From his being the principal permanent support of the higher tragic characters at the Covent-Garden Theatre, he is unfairly tried with those who have superior leisure. But he has genius, regulated by common sense, the second, if not the first quality of human intellects. He has the difficult faculty of throwing a share of intelligence into the multitude of the fatiguing and feeble parts, which he is obliged, in their routine, to sustain. His merits are seen by the audience, through all that misty and repulsive veil, which must encumber the actor, at the moment it clouds the eye of the people; and when he gives way to his natural powers, he is secure of making the impression, which belongs to a cultivated and vigorous understanding. His misfortune was to have been born in the same age with Kemble and Kean, if it be a misfortune to a man of talents, to see hardy competition rushing out for his prize. His fault is, that fear of palpable plagiarism, which binds him in a state of rigorous mediation between them. His talents incline him to the school of Kemble; but they have
a buoy-

a buoyancy, which raises them above the common and easy charge of imitation. It is yet to be discovered, whether the presence of the great actor has not been injurious, and whether Young's popularity has not been rather chilled, than cherished and drawn up, by the neighbour-magnificence of that solid and towering monument of the classic stage.

Kean, the principal tragedian of the Drury-Lane theatre, is an extraordinary being. A few years since, he was found wandering among the discomforts of the lowest theatrical employment, struggling from village to village, and probably looking to that time as near, when his patience and his mind would refuse to struggle farther. On this "perilous edge" he was accidentally seen by a man of taste, who had an accidental intercourse with Mr. Whitbread. The theatre happened to be at that moment in a state of depression, which made all expedients of popularity essential. Kean was immediately engaged on the hazard. A fortnight later, and he might have found the doors of the theatre closed by the failure of its funds. This train of chances was wound up in bringing forward the man who is asserted to bear, of all living, the strongest resemblance to the strength, facility, and magical conception of Garrick. Kean's low stature and dissonant voice, and meagre physiognomy, throw him at first sight to immeasurable distance from the heroic and regal majesty of Kemble's form and style. But he has the possession of all that vast region from which his precursor has abstained; that wild and uncultured, but luxuriant and exhaustless world of the natural heart; through this he passes with the power, sometimes with the rudeness of a savage king, but in all his wanderings rewards the eye that will follow him, by perpetual discovery, a new unfolding of some tract of fresh and vigorous beauty, or startling and profound grandeur. His characteristic is energy, a spirit that seldom slumbers where there is noble sensation to be created, a master-faculty of seizing on the whole mind of the part, and the whole impression of the moment; of discovering where the popular feeling has been bared, and of striking it downright, and immediately upon this hot and palpitating nerve. There appears to be in decided genius a power of instant intercourse, for which the narrowness of our language has not yet thought of finding a name. But this power appears to be one of the distinctions of the great actor. It is not generally recollected how large a portion of the actor's labour is perfectly mental. Perhaps no imagination of the painter, no glorious and burning rapture of the poet, is more conversant with the loftier agencies of the spirit, than his faculties must be, who is to give us the perfect and very image of the mind

mind upon the stage. His whole path is among the passions, his foot is planted and borne along upon those clouds and vapours of our nature, which, as they are tossed or enlivened, may add so much to its darkness or to its splendour. But among those he must be sustained by an assimilation to their substance, — an erroneous step, or an undue weight would bring him down headlong. The multitude of actors have neither this path to walk nor this descent to fear; they belong only to the highest aspirants; but the man who can play Shakspeare, with a thorough power of embodying his visions, must have a mind not unlike that of the summoner of the visions. It may be doubted whether Kean does this in its total extent, but he sometimes rises into a fierce animation that communicates his feeling with resistless swiftness and sympathy, a constant chain of fire, conducted into the audience from the chafed and sparkling machine upon the stage. To conceive the true idea of this man's powers, he should be seen only in Shakspeare's tragedies, and of those, only in a few of the more impressive and agitating. He has his periods of inferiority; but the spectator who has sat close to the stage, and followed him through the chamber-scene in Macbeth, through Othello, and through Richard the Third, has seen the limits of the dramatic excellence of modern times.

The principal female tragedian of the Covent-Garden theatre, Miss O'Neil, sits supreme in tragedy; in comedy she has at least rivals. She already feels the formidable consequences of ambition, and her failures in exciting smiles have diminished her triumphs over tears. But she has strong and touching influences on human tenderness. Her talent leads her to the picturings of domestic life, a subject which has peculiar charms for this country. She wants dignity for the matron of Rome, and captivation and romance for the heroine and the enchantress of Greece: the whole train of the Sapphos and Cleopatras in all their descents are beyond her flight. But in that class of which the English wife, and mother, and daughter, are the head, in the quiet sinkings of unanswered hope, in thwarted fondness, in affectionate and dutiful endurance, in the whole mystery of the loving, struggling, breaking heart, she is perfect, and deeply painful. Her time for improvement in her general art may be yet long; she is young. But she should have come when the memory of former excellence had passed away from us, or when the generation which had seen Mrs. Siddons was in the grave.

I must give you some idea of a woman, who has within these few years disappeared from the public eye, but who has left there the strongest impressions that it was in dramatic genius to make. The general aspect of Mrs. Siddons, in
tragedy,

tragedy, her commanding figure, solemn beauty of countenance, and profound eye, are familiar, from the innumerable engravings which have been made of her portraits. But no portrait could give the conception of her acting, when all that form, and those features, were kindled with a feeling the most overwhelming and sublime. This description is vague, — all description of that which addresses itself only to the sensibilities must be vague. The praises of excellence past, and beyond trial, always lie under suspicion. But the standard is the effect on the audience; and the *laudatores* have a right to be believed on such evidence of superior emotion, in the spectators of their favourites. Two anecdotes are told of Garrick; which set the question of his excellence more at rest with me, than all the panegyrics with which the old worship his memory, and all the careless depreciation with which they press down our inferiority. One evening, in the last scene of *King Lear*, when the old monarch brings in his dead daughter, and awaking from his miseries of a crazed brain, finds himself plunged into the deeper wretchedness of a withered and agonized heart, Garrick; in the king, in the wildness of the scene, obtesting earth and heaven, and alternately crying for vengeance; and gushing into tears, suddenly flung off his white locks upon the stage. This accident would, with an inferior actor, have been ludicrous. But the man, before that audience, was too much master of their hearts, at that moment, to leave room for laughter. They were full of tears, they were suspended in breathless anxiety; they forgot the colour of the monarch's locks, in the sufferings of soul; in the sinking of life, in the dying and final convulsion of him who lay undone before their eyes; and there was not a smile in the house.

In another of his performances, he had fallen too near the front of the stage, for those in the first row of the pit to see him! They rose gradually. The spectators in the next row, now obscured, followed. This irregularity would have produced riot and clamour at any other time. But the heart was too deeply spelled. Row after row the audience stood up, slowly and regularly, as a tide, without a remonstrance, and stood gazing on the worker of the miracle in silence, and almost unconsciousness that they were standing, till the curtain fell, and left them to wonder at their own enthusiasm. Mrs. Siddons's career has been fertile in all the evidences to be given, by strength of feeling in the audience. I recollect one, which though not to me so pregnant as those which have just been given, may serve to give a conception of her general effect. About ten years since, I saw her, for the first time, in *The Gamester*, a plain and touching tragedy,

tragedy, which depicts the ruin of an amiable man, by the single feebleness of his nature, a love of play. Mrs. Siddons was the wife. The actress was at that time probably fifty years old, but by the power which mind sometimes exerts over form, still handsome, full of even youthful animation, and the vigorous and flexible grace of our prime. She was a beautiful, as well as a noble creature. Her performance was the *beau ideal* of the English married woman; tender and deeply loving, yet not slow to feel her honourable rights in the name and fortunes of her husband, cautious of personal character, yet ready to hazard character, and hope, and life, when her unfortunate husband was to be redeemed by the sacrifice. That husband has been drawn on to ruin by the artifices of a former acquaintance, Stukely. The tempter has the further purpose of seducing his matchless wife. In the scene, of which I speak, he visits her with the appearance of interest for his victim, and gradually strays into details of the husband's infidelity. The unhappy woman listens to him with doubt, struggle, pain, anguish, agony. She is driven through the whole circle of the passions; like a being enveloped with fire, she has only to rush through the same round with the same weary wildness, and then to burst through it by a frenzied effort, or to sit down in despair and die. You may conceive the tossing and conflict of a powerful sensibility in this loosing of the elements. Stukely details to her a train of those trivial circumstances, which, trifling as they are, embarrass and fret the understanding, by their variousness of attack and endless number, more than it can be pressed by the approach of solid and firm hostility; those stinging and feeble assailants, which, too slight to be repelled by the hand, can draw tears from the fine and quickened eye of affectionate jealousy. The wife resists, is forced to believe, determines to withstand growing and irresistible conviction; till at length, to that most galling insinuation of all, that she was beguiled of her family-jewels only to give them to a wanton, she answers, by heaving off the whole load of intolerable conflict in one fierce and final resolution not to be convinced. Her, "He has no mistress," was one of those total convulsions of the heart, that scarcely leaves the power for another; a mental earthquake, in which the unconquerable grief forces up its way, but it is through ruins; the struggle is at an end, but it is quiet only because all above and around is shattered, and silent, and dead. I have mentioned this fragment of acting, not as it might be fashioned from the play, though in all hands it must be powerful, but as it came inspired with a living soul from the actress. The effect on the audience was indescribable. I feel a reluctance to speak of emotions, which must be spoken

spoken of only in the language belonging to a novel. It was an universal passion of sighs and tears. The house was crowded to the summit; and yet at intervals there was not a sound to be heard, except the deep and pleading voice on the stage; even the sense of the pressing and inward pain of the moment was suspended, in the anxiety to imbibe more deeply the bitter and potent influences of that ruler of human passion. On her parting, there was no applause, but the fountains of tears were loosed, men turned away to weep, women cried aloud, and the multitude were in a tumult of wild sorrow, even while there was nothing before them but a green curtain, and a desolate stage. After the play, *Macbeth* was given out, in which Mrs. Siddons was to perform the Lady. A female near me said, "I'll not come: if I were to see that woman with the daggers, I should die."

I will admit, that this occurred in Ireland, among a people remarkable for strong, perhaps for violent, sensibility, disposed, often unwisely, to give way to the impression of the instant, and less touched by the delicacies of taste than maddened by the boldness and extravagance of a fiery imagination; a barbarian mind, but not without its portliness and grandeur. But before any audience the effect must have been powerful. I have seen this actress repeat the character but with inferior dominion; and in the hands of others I have seen it sink down into a mere instrument of the tears which romantic people feel themselves bound to contribute to a tragedy.

The expenses of our theatres are heavy; that of Covent-Garden is said to be 1100*l.* a week. That of Drury-Lane is rated at nearly two-thirds of this serious sum. The result is, that both houses are forced to play six nights in the week, for a season of nearly nine months, from September; that they must stoop to the tastes of the populace, who, in all countries, love the coarser ranks of entertainment; and that melo-dramas, and pantomimes, translations which have the sole merit of novelty, and which have been rejected from the French stage, and a few original absurdities not to be suffered on any stage, but one which must swallow and digest all immaturity as it comes, make up the chief business of our theatrical representation. Operas are occasionally performed; and some of the older ones have exquisite music. The modern are universally feeble. Our present composers are not likely to take off the long-standing stigma of our unmusical reputation. Their most prosperous offerings are wise plagiarisms from Italy.

But if our tragedies were in sufficient number to supply the natural appetite for novelty, the whole inferior race, which live in their absence, would perish from their track. No humility of condition

condition seems to preclude the people of this country from taking a strange interest in the joys and sorrows which can so seldom visit their sphere. The encouragement of this style of authorship is strong. The man who could produce a good tragedy, would be sure of large emolument and extensive literary fame; the man who could produce a succession of tragedies, of even tolerable excellence, would be secure of fortune; to close the climax, the man who could discover once more the track of "that olden time," and give the nation the hope and glorying that a Shakspeare was again risen among them, would be secure of the highest honours of literary ambition, and possibly of no inferior flow of national liberality. Yet all has hitherto failed. The last hundred years have not produced an eminent tragedy. Great powers have been employed in this school. Addison a man of Attic taste, and Johnson a man of a dignity, force, and purity of thought, to which Athens may possibly have had no equal, a philosopher of all times and nations, each tried a tragedy, and failed. Addison's feebleness might have been unable to penetrate beyond the surface and bark of tragedy. But Johnson had the strength of a giant, and his fate; he was like Milo in the oak, he was wedged in by his own vigour; and he lay for the eye of the world an emblem of ponderous impotence, perhaps of repentant ambition. Within these four years, but two tragedies have been enabled to live to the end of the season; they are said to have produced nearly the same sums, from eight to nine hundred pounds each. But it is not to be presumed that this vast wilderness of years, in which we count centuries for steps, has been utterly lifeless. Multitudes of a fading and fluttering generation have sported in it through its whole extent. Wild figures, native and foreign, have crossed it in its most stagnant state; it has thrown up an occasional meteor, the child of its rankness, visible only in its surrounding night; some with a sickly beauty, which still glows on their path; some with the evidence that a more powerful and living heat might have exalted them into permanent splendour; but the countless majority, rising, gleaming, and perishing with the suddenness of exhalations. Shakspeare alone has ascended to that height which exempts from the whirl and changes of the earth. He still shines in the zenith, but he shines without even a satellite. He is glorious, but he is the glory of a lonely sky.

Some of your writers will not give us credit for our unqualified admiration of this man's writings; others give us the praise of sincerity at the expense of our taste; and conceive us to love even his errors. Schlegel has gone farther than all; and with the true High Dutch affectation of omniscience, has found out

that he was incapable of error, that his barbarisms were vigour, and his eccentricity independence; his bombast grandeur, his puns the perfection of wit, and his plots the essence of happy intrigue. We disclaim all those canons; we will not alter our hereditary laws of criticism, to meet the attack or to square with the defence. We think it next to impossible, that a foreigner, however enlightened, should understand Shakspeare as he is understood by us. We set the untranslatable beauty of his language out of the question, those exquisite and spiritual snatches of phrase, which come upon an English ear

“As silver sweet as lovers’ tongues by night;”

that rhythm which lies before us in its antique and coloured tessellation, like the quaint and time-stained architecture of one of our old castles. But for his mastery, his grand source of that feeling, which lifts up all our eyes to him where he “walks in brightness,” strangers appear to have no faculty; if their eyes are not trained to take in his lustre, their instruments are still more feeble to measure his altitude. With us Shakspeare derives no part of his praise from our partiality to his errors. We consider with you his plots ill arranged, and such as, except in a few instances, would not be now endured. Against the German, we dislike his general wit, are utterly adverse to his occasional grossness, and perhaps altogether love him least, where he is most sportive or magniloquent. With us his charms are fidelity to nature, and unwearied and perpetual vigour of thought; and those are more than atonement for greater deficiencies, than Voltaire was able to detect, or Schlegel to panegyrise. Of the combination of those two qualities, I find but little evidence in the continental dramatists; the natural are feeble, and the vigorous extravagant. The passion for their union seems to be exclusively English, and to have its origin in causes peculiar to ourselves.

The English have been called a nation of philosophers. If by philosophy be meant that rare and fine faculty of extracting wisdom from its corporeal encumbrances, and raising it like “a steam” of rich distilled perfumes, for the quiet healing of our own spirits, or for the lifting our eyes with it on its way towards heaven; if it mean that scarcely less noble perspicuity which loves to look below the surface for the service of the blind and eager multitude, and trace in the depths of the past and the present, the seminal principles of the future; whether it shall develope itself in mercy or in evil, in the vegetation or the storm that lays waste the hopes of man; philosophy is as rare a gift of nature in England as in other lands. But if it imply the mere habit of thought, we have an undoubted title to pre-eminence. Among us life is laborious:

rious. The necessities of our day are numerous and expensive. We cannot, as in the southern climates, sleep in the open air nine months in the year, nor feel the beatitudes of earth included in a cloak, a cigar, and an unclouded sun. We cannot, like the men of the north, bury ourselves in nine months' snow, and let the world take its course, till we reascend with the spring. Of all the gradation, from those torpid extremes, up to acute and agitated existence, ours is, by an immense interval, the highest in the scale. There never has been a country in which there was so incessant an evolution of thinking, in which the mental machine has revolved with such hot and incessant friction. In addition to the actual toil for the support of life, which stirs up the depths of society, we have an unexampled abundance of stimulants for the indolence of those who might otherwise loll away their understanding on the couches of an assured opulence. The openness of public distinctions makes the whole superior population descend into that amphitheatre. The immense influence to be obtained by the disposal of wealth, leaves no man without his care, his pursuit, or his necessity. We live like men on a sphere; there is but one point, the summit, secure for the foot; all the rest leaves us in a slippery struggle, to rise, or with the risen, to keep from falling. Few men lie down at night without having felt the evil of the day sufficient to it; and feeling assured, that the morrow will bring its own inheritance of perplexity. We have no tropic serenities in our course of society, no trade winds carrying us direct into the accustomed port without shifting a sail. Our voyage is by instinct and intention a voyage of discovery; we go by necessity *inter syrtis atque inhospita terrarum*, to obtain the possession of some new outlet for our exuberant, and restless energies, we are perpetually forced to be at the helm; the plummet is never out of our hands. Something of this exists in all countries. In France it may increase, but in England it has long been at its height. Our insular position, has done much of this. We have none of your facilities of escape from shame, from public danger, from that overwhelming neighbourhood of powerful qualities which throw us into the shade, from the perturbed spirits of our own bosoms urging us to distinction. We have no continent through which we can wander, till our tumult of heart is exhausted. We are here tied to the stake, to make good our cause by our muscle and courage, or to perish. We stand crowded on a great non-conductor, open to every electric influence of heaven and earth, where every shock to one is communicated through all; and where every access of the principle is an added charge to the old accumulation. In addition to all, we have the press, that great

steam-engine, in its full work of change upon the moral surface of our country, eternally raising or overturning, draining or deluging. We are a nation of readers. An unusually large proportion of us have gone through the regular institute of universities; a much larger have been accustomed to find their regular employment or most grateful recreation in literature. The number of our reading societies has been calculated at between three and four thousand; to each of these there belongs a library of from one hundred to a thousand volumes of standard excellence. The circulating libraries, an injurious and childish luxury, are nearly as numerous; and it is probable that between both classes, there may not be less than half a million of volumes in constant circulation, and of those, perhaps the fourth part, works of solid value. You know the ubiquity of the newspaper press. A single journal in London is said to have printed 80,000 within a week. Every provincial town of eminence has its paper, and some three or four; 30,000 papers are said to be printed in London on the Sunday. Some of your journals print a larger number. But you are to recollect the difference in the quantity of an English paper; the price; the peculiar nature of its interest; the number of its competitors; and the strong feature, that all this is the demand of a population, scarcely more than a third of your own. We are not discontented with this law of labour and anxiety. We are even inclined to look upon it as the source of some of the most fortunate events in our moral history. We think this necessity for incessant effort to have been, as by a sacred genealogy, the parent of manly feeling, the parent of patriotism, the parent of liberty, the parent of domestic virtue, which was to be, in the fulness of time, the parent of pure religion, the last and noblest descendant of that more than regal lineage, for whose advent the whole line might have been preserved unbroken and inviolate, and which was yet to be its preservation and its glory.

The natural result of this incessant mental exertion, must be, if not to invigorate the whole constitution of the British mind, at least to strengthen its fondness for exercise, and to make us a people of thinkers. Among such a people, thought will be valuable only in proportion to its intensity, to its directness, to its freedom from the encumbrances and mere adjunct meretriciousness of style, to its supplying strong food for the strong appetites of a mind that turns contemptuously away from ingenuous insipidity, or hungry and meagre elegance.

Shakspeare came among men at a period when this frame, the old and habitual frame of the English intellect, was braced into double nerve by the pressure of imminent public danger. A theory

theory, has been lately started by some of our occasional writers, which assigning Elizabeth's reign, and the period immediately subsequent, as our Augustan age, attempts to ground its literary triumphs on the impulse of its triumphs in religion and arms. The theory has been eloquently sustained, and it has its claims on the imagination. There would be few nobler moral visions than that which saw the whole mind of a people thus starting from slumber at the sound of the trumpet which led its champions into the field, and forming a grand and invincible array for ever; a great general coming of day and illumination following the march of those separate and inferior glories which had first gone forth to scatter the darkness of the world. But this belongs too much to what we might wonder at, and too little to what we have seen, too much to miracle, and too little to nature.

There is no evidence of a peculiar flow, a periodic spring-tide of human faculty in the æras of the earth. The average mind of man may have been as uniform as his stature. Great events undoubtedly call more of this power into demand; in the time of scarcity we drive our plough through the waste and the common, and find that fertility is alive even in the bosom of those old weedy and unprofitable expansions. But there is no instance of superadded faculty, of the descent of "the rushing mighty wind," of the new heart, and the sudden inspiration, and the tongue of fire sent down for human purposes. The more probable, because the plainer, solution seems to be, that those were times of peculiar difficulty; that men adopted a habit of vigorous thought, simply because they had no time, no fitness, and no use for the diffused, and the studiously and feebly graceful. It was a time of infinite business and anxiety. Their hopes of heaven and earth were on their swords; and they had no leisure to devote to the elegancies of the art of swordsmanship. It was the story of the son of Cræsus revived, — those spoke in that moment of life and death, who never spoke before; they had no practice, no leisure, no heart for the polished and artificial pleadings of minds at ease; they sent out their souls in one wild, saving cry; and in the midst of terror and impending ruin they prevailed. There might have been also some immediate excitement in the national success; the mine of the British mind might have been inflamed by the sparkles of the swords then hewing down the Spaniard through his helmet. But the mine must have been ready charged, and the blast and splendour have passed away with the occasion. The theory makes a large allowance for the extent of the explosion, in drawing Milton a hundred years later within its sphere. The truth seems, not that the same glories were held in view through all those changes

and clouds of public circumstance from Elizabeth to Cromwell, nor that the same models of expression were held in honour, but that the same causes, the same public tumult succeeded by intervals of comparative calm, called for the same effects in sustained vigour of thought, and force, purity, and unaffected plainness of style. Milton obviously felt this necessity coercing him. If there ever lived a man who would have delighted to give the full sweep to his spirit, and float away in magnificent diffusion, it was Milton. With all the learning of the age, with all the poetry of the head and heart, no man would more obviously have rejoiced to enter the field with his stately and Persian array, gathered from all the regions of romantic beauty, and "Barbaric gold;" no being would have more loved to sit, like Homer's thunderer, on the summit of Ida, covered round with splendid clouds compelled from every quarter of the horizon, and forgetting the lower world and its employments, indulge in that far off, and ambrosial "heaven of his invention." But this was not to be done; the battle was raging beneath his feet; he was forced to descend among the struggles of men; and when he came, it was with the pointed and lightning vigour fit to decide such a battle. The Latin secretary of Cromwell, and leading champion of the usurpation, he was forced to conform to the popular taste; but even in his political prose, he gives incessant indications of the pain with which he foregoes the wild luxuries of amplification. His pace is that of the lion harnessed to the chariot of the Roman conqueror; in his chains of ceremonial and politic state, he reminds us of the forest. He is the eagle rushing from above upon his prey, and while he rends it with his beak and talons, keeping his wings perpetually expanded.

The same cause may explain more distant phenomena. The unceasing agitation of Athens allowed of but slight changes in the vigour of its writers. But there is an obvious difference between the tastes which could have admired Æschylus, and those which gave the prize to the young flow and sweetness of Sophocles. Thucydides, nervous and condensed, was fashioned in a time of national peril. Demosthenes harangued a people who stood with ruin before their feet; and his language was brief, potent, and plain, to the discomfiture of all the opposition which came against him in diffuse pomp and polished far-fetched state-
liness.

The fashion of our ancient style, or the growth of that study of expression which finally substitutes words for thought, was assisted by the imported tastes of Charles II. and his courtiers; but its great cause was to be found in the actual repose of his day. The old necessity for labour among the people kept the old

old vigour alive in the body of the nation; but the multitude were not readers, and the taste of the Court was the guide of the few who continued to be the writers of England. The people of England have honoured Shakspeare for his supplying them with their favourite food of mind; and hundreds of thousands of copies of his plays have been sold age after age to those who never dreamed of sustaining national rivalry by guarding the greenness of his laurels. He was their chief favourite in the midst of a vast circle of literary excellence, and has continued so to this hour; and this not from any vague traditional deference for old opinion, not from any of that lingering superstition which covers a deformed image with modern opulence, and bows down before it now, on the strength of miracles wrought in a dark age; but from the living influence, that still touches and sublimates the heart before the shrine.

I give an example of this compression, rapidity, and natural flow of thought, as it lies before me in one of Hamlet's soliloquies. The young prince, full of grief for his father's death, and of disgust for his mother's precipitancy in marrying again, has just seen the usurper and the queen in their new pomp. He is left for a moment alone, and breaks out with all the groanings of a burdened heart:

“ Oh that this too too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew!
Or that the Everlasting had not fixed
His canon 'gainst self-slaughter! Oh God! oh God!
How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable,
Seem to me all the uses of this world!
Fie on't! oh fie! 'Tis an unweeded garden,
That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature
Possess it merely. That it should come to this!
But two months dead! — nay, not so much, not two,
So excellent a king; that was, to this,
Hyperion to a satyr; so loving to my mother,
That he might not beteem the winds of heaven
Visit her face too roughly. — Heaven and Earth,
Must I remember? Why she would hang on him,
As if increase of appetite had grown
By what it fed on! — And yet within a month,
Let me not think on't! — Frailty, thy name is woman!
A little month, or ere those shoes were old,
With which she followed my poor father's body,
Like Niobe all tears, —
She married with my uncle,
My father's brother; but no more like my father,
Than I to Hercules! —
It is not, nor it cannot come to, good;
But break, my heart; for I must hold my tongue.”
This is the earliest opening of Hamlet's mind, by His medita-

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tion

tion has not yet gained the strength and depth of circumstance, which are to be given by the full knowledge of his father's murder, and his personal peril. He speaks from the simple depression of a nervous and wearied sensibility. To his apprehension, his father had died two months before according to the common lot of mortality, and his father's wife had forgot him according to the common fashion of women. Yet of those materials, general and even common-place as they are, Hamlet weaves a soliloquy full of thought. It unfolds weariness of life, regret for the unlawfulness of suicide, the change which all external things undergo in the eyes of a dejected spirit, surprise at female forgetfulness, contrast of his father and the usurper, his mother's hypocrisy, contempt for the fickleness of the sex; the brevity of the time in which grief may pass away, and the good be remembered no more; the solemn conviction, that those hasty and licentious acts which disregard the opinion of the world have their origin in guilt, and find their close in misfortune. Yet this is but a passing glance at the creations of this fine fragment. The sentiments are brief, but each has its place, and its power. There is nothing of the hasty mingling of a feeble mind in their dense and clear arrangement. In other writers we can trace their conscious weakness by their anxious nursing of their more auspicious ideas, their hopelessness of an abundant offspring, makes their narrow progeny of double value. Shakspeare flings away invaluable conceptions, as if he drew from an inexhaustible treasure; he expands what would make the fortune of others, on his triumphant way through the streets. The completeness of his descriptions of passion in even their narrow limits is one of his miracles; with medallic minuteness, they have medallic comprehension, clearness, and that solidity of material, which leaves them recognised through every age. Those descriptions have become to us moral maxims; and they merit the distinction from their dignity, their precision, and their grave beauty. But their characteristic is force. In other writers we can perceive the gradual branching out of the original conception, and its gradual weakening at every remove from the trunk, till it vanishes in spray and "thin air;" in Shakspeare we find the conception compact, but dissoluble into its parts,—as a bundle of lances, each complete, each capable of independent use, and each fitted to strike directly into the vulnerable depths of our nature.

It is, for such things, and not for his barbarisms, and coarse subserviencies to the rudeness of his day, and distorted wit, that we honour Shakspeare, as among the first, if not singly, and splendidly standing at the head of all the gifted minds of England. Old prejudice has but little share in this honour: there is

no country in which merit of all kinds is more frequently put upon its trial; we are constantly employed in examining, not seldom in jealously reversing, the old judgments of our fathers. Every age has made wild work with the boasted supremacy, or even with the real dignities of the age before; but Shakspeare's eminence has deterred or deflected the spoiler. He is certainly rising in our estimation. Time, which impairs all inferior things, seems necessarily to give its due distinction to exalted genius. It sweeps away the innumerable little appendages and imitations which had grown round it in its earlier building. The great pyramid in the desert lost half its grandeur, while a city was clustered round its base. It required to see its horizon desolate, before it could stand forth, in all its claims of the massive and the sublime. We have not been blind to the skill of the foreign school; but, fully inclined to acknowledge its elegance, and its ingenuity, we have returned unsatisfied from what strikes us as its want of force, simplicity, and nature. Perhaps your Corneille is our chief favourite; not from any charm of language, for the charms of a foreign tongue must be left to native taste, but for his vigour. To Racine, we forgive much of his tameness, for the stream of tenderness which flows so softly through his page. To Voltaire we forgive nothing. He seems to us as much the perverter of the literary taste of France, as of her moral delicacy. A man of wit, but inveterately determined on perpetual brilliancy; a mere dexterous repeater of the fashionable tone of his stately and artificial court. Voltaire's muse had no relation to the pure and sweet sunshine of the Greek, and still less to the animated beauty, and grace, and ease, and human healthful bloom of the English muse. Her archetype was a court lady of the reign of Louis XIV.; a being, with the equipments of the stomacher and hoop, the *phrases contournées*, and rouged cheek, and strained decorums of that monstrous caricature of truth, modesty, and nature. Alfieri is a copyist, and of no high rank in that humble school. His chisel imitates the roughness, while it loses the grandeur, of the antique. The German drama raved its short day among us, and is gone back to the confines, from which it should never have been allowed to break loose. We now look for the revival of the drama, simply from our own resources. We have but just emerged from a struggle of imminent difficulty, where all but ourselves sunk in succession; we have a right to some exultation. We have, then, the elements of which our early greatness was composed. Whether the heaving which still disturbs us after the layings of that mighty tempest, will retard our literary diligence, or increase again to that violence, in which men can think only of
their

their lives, and thus put off still longer those days of production, in which the halcyon sits

Brooding upon the charmed wave,
must be left to the decision of the coming time. In this sketch I have not adverted to English Comedy; the subject would lead us too far for the present. In speaking of the actual state of our theatres, I have passed over one point on which I am anxious to exonerate the good name of my country. The nature of the crowd in their lobbies and saloons, surprises foreigners, who have been accustomed to respect the moral feeling of England. There is no excuse to be made for the vicious and corrupting display, which there repels the eye of all but the giddy and the dissolute. It is felt by the nation as a public disgrace, and what is more serious, as a public crime. But the immediate property of these lupanaria is in private hands; the Legislature does not stoop to notice an abuse which would be well worthy of its correction, and is besides in some degree within the control of the local magistracy; and the magistrates are slow to exert the control they have, from many motives, and perhaps, among the rest, from some idle idea of the necessity of a compromise between the vices.

I am satisfied of your agreeing with me, that the prospect of cultivating the dramatic power of a nation is not unsuitable to mingle among its noblest hopes of intellectual eminence. Considered in its common view, as the amusement of the idle or the childish, it has no right to interest minds of a rank capable of firmer science. But it may be unwise to judge of its capabilities by what it has done. Condensed, and made more applicable to the uses of society, by the masculine understandings which may be won, to give themselves up to its amelioration; it may be turned from the vague, summer-evening meteoric sportings that now amaze only the eyes of clowns, into a great source of moral agency; a penetrating and vivid spirit, which shall have the power of shooting its influences through every rank of society. A love of letters is gradually spreading through mankind, the inferior classes are becoming more susceptible of moral motion, the field for the conquests of the stage is becoming wider year after year. In this view, there is no wisdom in neglecting any instrument by which the mind of man may be carried upward. That instrument may have been used hitherto only as a toy, a gaudy and inflated machine, to amuse us with its gilding and its wanderings, but there would be more than childishness in pronouncing its buoyancy incapable of yet being brought under direction, and giving us a larger command of

of that vast and fluctuating empire of popular feeling, in which it alone has yet attempted to launch. In France, you have found its powers, like those of the press, active, and even irresistible in the cause of evil. That finer experiment may be in reserve, which is to shew their service on the side of obedience and wisdom, honour and virtue. Whatever has the means of exerting an influence over the general mind, assumes an immediate interest to the wise, and the lovers of their country. Some of the greatest questions of the day, through which we have survived, have been decided by the votes of the multitude; we may be destined to live to a time when all our questions will descend to that formidable and headlong tribunal. No expedient will be prudently neglected, which contains the promise of softening, and instructing, and rectifying that heart, whose passions must to the last be its law. We will not expect this total good from the stage, nor wisely from any single agent of conversion, but while grave men may contemn the powers of poetry, and song, and lofty character, and touching sentiment embodied in the drama, the deeper read and more nobly wise will examine how far it may be capable of general usefulness. If that old Phrygian sower of the earth were to pass over our heads without a fable, there are thousands who, after the first gaze, would look on his dragon-car and fiery pomp with ridicule, as an idle device of charlatanry, the wiser would gather up the seeds of the grape, and the olive, and the corn that he flung from his chariot, and turn them to the happiness of mankind. Farewell, my dear Sir.

Believe me,

Your faithful Friend,

G. C.

LETTER VI. (Translation.)*On the State of the Jews in France,*

To H. M., Esq.

Paris, 14th January, 1817.

IT is a long time, since I promised to send you some account of that singular people, the Jews in France. I shall now endeavour to fulfil that promise; and, at any rate, if you do not

not find that interest, which you anticipated, in my letter, yet be assured, you may depend upon the truth of the facts. This is the only merit to which I lay claim.

The Jews have, for some time past, been much spoken of in the public papers, and there have been also many pamphlets, published here, upon the same subject. You have probably seen the one, and may easily procure the other, so that perhaps you have already made up your mind upon the subject of their emancipation. I shall pass over in silence the long declamations of the friends of humanity, as they call themselves, as well as the hateful recrimination of their intolerant opponents. The common-place sayings of panegyrists, have never proved any thing. Facts are the only things of importance in all questions of political economy; from them, and from them only, can we reason with any certainty. Nothing, says Sinclair, is more inflexible than cyphers.

The Jews, despised and vilified for so many ages past, but who yet make their oppressors pay so dear for the humiliations which they impose, have enjoyed in France, and still enjoy, a great degree of liberty, guaranteed to them by the intelligence and toleration of the government. They have, for a long time past, been exempted from the uneasiness of living under an untenable and oppressive system of regulations. The question of their total freedom from restriction was agitated even before the Revolution. At that period, the government wished gradually to destroy the popular prejudices, which prevailed against them, by adopting some prudent and rational plan in their favour. In the year 1788, an effort was made to efface every trace of those antisocial regulations and dispositions, which still existed with respect to the Jews, in most parts of the kingdom. With this view, the highly respectable and unfortunate MALESHERBES appointed a commission, consisting of some counsellors of state, for the purpose of selecting from among the ancient inspectors of those provinces, where the Jews were most numerous, such as had most information in regard to them. The commission had in consequence chosen some able assistants in their labour, when the political events of that period prevented them from proceeding with their plan.

The National Assembly at once admitted the Jews to all political and civil rights, by their several decrees of the 24th of December 1789, and the 28th of January, and 21st of February 1790. The Jewish population was then estimated at 50,000 souls; yet, notwithstanding the civil liberty, and other advantages they have enjoyed for twenty-five years, this population has not in-

creased ; on the contrary it has sensibly diminished. It amounts now to only 48,850. This is doubtless to be attributed chiefly to the conscription and military services, from which the Jews were not exempt, as well as to some other accidental causes of depopulation during this period.

In order that you may be the better able to judge of the state of the population of the Jews in different parts of France, I have drawn up, from the most authentic documents, a table, by which you may see their numbers at one view. *

Upon the first view of this table, every one must be struck at the very small number of proprietors, manufacturers, tradesmen, and children, engaged in useful occupations, in proportion to the whole population, that is to say, barely one thirty-fifth part ! But this surprise will be much diminished, when we reflect upon the restrictions under which the Jews for so long a time have laboured, and consider that any amelioration, in order to produce an important effect, must be the work of time.

In the early ages of the French monarchy, there were a great many Jews at Rouen, Nantes, Pontoise, Soissons, Chalons, Troyes, &c. They were then remarkable for their knowledge and information, if we may believe Benjamin de Tudela, their countryman, who thus speaks of them †: *In quâ sapientum discipuli sunt omnium qui hodié in omni regione sunt doctissimi.* Basnage, whose erudition gives him great weight, and whose evidence is less to be suspected, cites a great many Jews, by name, who were much distinguished for their knowledge, both in the sciences and in general literature.

After having been banished, at different times, from Paris, they returned again in 1740 ; and at the time of their emancipation, in 1789, they amounted to about seventy families. Their number has since very much increased ; and the capital now contains about five thousand Jews, possessing three Synagogues, and a central Consistory. The proprietors of land or houses bear the same proportion there as in other places, notwithstanding the people are in general very industrious ; and, with the exception of the Jews of Bordeaux, they are the most civilised of any in France. Rothschild, Worms de Romilly, Hatzveld, Olivera, Seligman, and some others, might be mentioned for their wealth, and the importance and extent of their commercial concerns.

The greatest part of those, who inhabit the south of France, have been fixed there almost from the first establishment of

* See the Table at the end of this letter.

† In the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Christianity. Benjamin de Tudela states the population, in his time, at Nismes, Narbonne, Montpellier, Beaucaire, &c. * They were rich, well informed, and much engaged in commerce and navigation. In these provinces, their number was considerably increased after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, that is to say, about the middle of the fifteenth century. Some letters patent, of Henry II., authorised them, in 1550, to acquire a property in immovable goods, and he put them, in many other respects, upon the same footing as his other subjects. In the south of France they were emancipated still earlier, which perhaps may be one reason why the Jews of that part of the kingdom are considered to be the most polished and estimable of any in Europe, both for industry, morals, and information. We find among them some men of real merit, such as FURTADO, the GRADES, LOPES DE BEC, &c., all of Spanish or Portuguese origin: Bordeaux is also the country of the celebrated FERREIRA, the instructor of the deaf and dumb, the first person in France who employed himself in this kind of instruction after the Abbé de L'ÉPÉE. By means of a peculiar method, of which he was the inventor, Ferreira made his pupils understand the meaning of words by the motion of the lips, and also by a sort of manual alphabet, which he called Dactylology, and of which he made a very ingenious application. He kept his invention a secret, considering it as a matter of great importance; but had explained it in his manuscript writings, which were unfortunately destroyed during the Revolution. †

I have also seen many Jews at Nancy, at Metz, and in different parts of Lorraine, whose families have been settled there more than four hundred years. In the year 1721, an ordinance of the King limited the number of families to 180. This was again confirmed in 1723; and also renewed by an *arrêt* of the parliament of Nancy in 1762. It appears, however, not to have been very rigorously executed, since in 1789 the population

* In Languedoc and Provence he estimates the number of Jews at about 1250. (*Itineraire de Benj.*)

† He published some observations on the deaf and dumb, (*Recueil des Savants Étrangers*, 5 vols. 1766,) also a Dissertation upon the Articulation of the Inhabitants of Otaheite, in the Voyage of Bougainville. He was the author of a Memoir (not published) upon the Means of supplying the Action of the Wind upon large Ships. This work obtained the Accessit to the Académie Royale des Sciences, in 1779. M. de Sartine ordered the manuscript to be deposited in the Archives of the Marine, where it probably still is. (*Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences année, 1749.*) Ferreira was a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and died at Paris, 15th September, 1780.

amounted to 4000, and according to the last census of the departments of the Meuse, the Vosges, and the Meurthe, made in 1810, it had reached 4039.* The Jews were established at Metz so far back as the year 888. When they were expelled by Charles VI. they took refuge in this ancient imperial town; but being unable to acquire any territorial property, and often oppressed by the fiscal laws and opprobrious customs, they applied themselves entirely to traffic and money-dealing, and at present the business of brokers is almost entirely confined to them. Many have now obtained the rights of naturalisation, which allows them a much greater extent in their commercial speculations. Their number in that part of France has always been very considerable. In Metz and the three bishopricks it amounted in 1789 to 24,000 persons; and you may see by the table, that the remaining part of the department of the Moselle, which is not near so extensive as the three bishopricks, at this time contains 6,500. Metz has also produced many distinguished Jews. It has given birth to BING, so well known (on the Continent) by his literary productions, particularly by his translation of the elegy of Cosry upon the ruins of the Holy City.

Alsace has been inhabited by Jews since the fifteenth century, when this province was under the sway of Albert of Austria. These Jews are of a very different character from their countrymen already noticed, being very little advanced in civilisation, and not at all employed in mechanical labour, or in agriculture. They have no other means of existence than by engaging in low traffic, and by acting as brokers; nevertheless, they have prodigiously increased in this part of the country. In 1689, there were 187 families: in 1716, there were near 2,000 souls; and in 1761, 3045. And even if we admit, that during this period 400 new families had settled there from other parts, the addition to their numbers will still be much beyond the common rules of calculation. In the year 1780, there were supposed to be 2,400 persons, and at the commencement of the year 1810, they amounted to more than 2,600.

Alsace for a long time resounded with the clamours of the inhabitants against the usury of the Jews. A sort of subdued civil war had been carried on from time immemorial, between the latter and the proprietors or cultivators. The government at different periods attempted to make use of severity, but always without any good effect. Whether it be, that agricultural

* See the subjoined Table.

industry has made less progress in this than in other parts of France, or that this country, destined by its geographical position to be the theatre of frequent wars, has been obliged to have recourse to the purse of the Jews, in order to repair its distresses, I have never seen a district, where the established opinions have been less changed by time. Hatred and hostility show themselves here in all their power. And when the famous decree of 17th March 1808, upon the subject of usurious interest was promulgated in Alsace, the personal safety of all the Jews was for the moment compromised.

It cannot be denied, but that the Jews were often guilty of great exactions in their dealings with the unfortunate cultivators, when the intemperance of the seasons, or any other cause forced the latter to have recourse to borrow; but at the same time there was much injustice in the complaints of the cultivators themselves, arising from prejudice and dislike. They say, that they have constantly been for a long time past the victims of the cupidity, fraud, and illegal gains of the Jews; and yet they still continue to fall into the same snares! They continue to borrow of men, whom they style usurers, although these last are by no means the only capitalists in Alsace. When these complaints were laid before the government in 1806, they stated, that the Jews were mortgagees upon their property to the amount of 40,000,000 francs. (1,600,000*l.*) Upon this statement, a great part of the decree of March 1808, of which I have just spoken, was founded; and to this it owed the great severity with which it was executed. Whether the complaints themselves were exaggerated or not, the decree (as is often the case with the sudden caprices of despotism,) was both inconsistent and arbitrary; and it produced some consequences a thousand times more distressing than the evil itself, by the insidious extension which it gave to the spirit of party; it uselessly overwhelmed a crowd of creditors with misery, by rendering the title to their debts uncertain.

If, however, you conclude, that the Alsacian cultivators are the ancient proprietors, whom the Jews menace with the loss of their territorial possessions, you will fall into a great mistake. You must know, that before the revolution, the greater part of these cultivators were only farmers, vassals, or persons attached to the manors, and possessed no landed property whatever. During the troubles of those times, and in the midst of war, they abandoned their farms, their cattle, and all their implements of husbandry; and on their return, having lost all their stock, and possessing no capital, they could find no other means of making their land profitable, but by borrowing money of the Jews. Possibly the latter were the only persons who chose to risk their capitals,

capitals, or perhaps the old habit of having recourse to them upon such occasions still prevailed. However this may be, it was to the Jews that the Alsacians applied: and one thing is certain, that if the Jews had not made these advances, we should at this moment have seen more than a third of all the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine in an uncultivated and barren state.

I have, before me, all the documents relative to the Alsacian reclamation, both those in favour of, and those against the Jews; and as the public opinion is by no means settled in regard to their conduct, even in France; you may find the following statement curious: I can assure you of its perfect fairness and authenticity.

The cultivators have again tilled all their lands, in consequence of the loans from the Jews. They have become easy in their circumstances, and have even bought a great deal of national property. In short, from farmers they have become proprietors; and the amount of their present property is estimated at 60,000,000 francs, (2,500,000*l.*)

The mortgages of the Jews, instead of amounting to 40,000,000 francs, as was originally supposed, are only, according to the legal documents 9,452,982 francs, (352,207*l.*) for the whole of Alsace; of which 3,779,773 francs, (157,490*l.*) are in the department of the Upper Rhine, and 5,673,209 francs, (236,383*l.*) in that of the Lower Rhine.* Thus the inhabitants of this country, of whom the greatest part did not possess an inch of land eighteen or twenty years ago, and who now pretend that they are the victims of usurious transactions, have acquired a territorial property of more than 50,000,000 francs, (2,083,333*l.*) after deducting the amount of the mortgage, of 9,452,982 francs, (352,207*l.*)

In attempting to remedy some particular abuses, and to repress the usurious conduct of some individuals, the decree of the 17th March, directly attacked the sacred right of property. The debtor of the Jew, became in fact his legislator and his judge. The contracts, that had been made between them, lost all certainty. The transactions were rendered difficult, and almost impossible to bring to a close: and the natural consequence of all these dangers, and uncertainties was, that the interest of money increased, and lenders became scarce. The usurer himself, saw in every instance the arbitrator, appointed by the decree, in open hostility against him; calculated at the same time both

* From a statement laid before the minister of the interior, in 1810.

his interest and the danger he ran, and enhanced his premium accordingly. In short, the evil became much greater than it had ever been; and was something similar to that of the Romans, when they enacted the Gabinian law, which prohibited the taking of any interest at all. The result of all this was, that usury rose to the most tremendous pitch, and the anxiety, as well as the various new methods of acquiring enormous profits, increased in proportion to the severity of the law against it.

One reflection naturally arises here; violence and severity have never been able to destroy an abuse, or to conquer a prejudice. The institution of the *Mont de Piété*, (a public establishment for lending money upon goods, &c.) was in most cases a sufficient antidote against usurious transactions. Those established in Italy, (in the Roman states for example,) have produced the greatest benefit, and all usurious engagements of any moment are very rare, in a country where the Jews used to profit so much. When Louis XIV. established the *Mont de Piété* in some of the provinces of France, his object was the same, but these institutions advanced money only upon the most valuable effects; they took as security only such things as were readily converted into money, and never made any contract upon fixed property. Usury, therefore, was not completely suppressed, at least, in as far as it regarded the landed proprietor and cultivator. A territorial bank, which should advance money at legal interest, and take landed property as a security, seems alone capable of counteracting usurious transactions of every sort, whether by Jew or Christian, more especially in those countries where public calamities augment the evil complained of.

The government under Buonaparte, having some doubts as to the sentiments of the Jews in their dealings with all, who were not of their own nation and religion, and at the same time, not being sufficiently acquainted with their general habits and mode of conduct, and particularly how far the Jews regarded the Christians as brethren, or only considered them as foreigners, convoked a Sanhedrim at Paris in the month of February* 1807. This assembly which now met for the first time, after so many ages, put the answers, which were made to a series of questions upon the moral conduct of the Jews in general, into the form of a declaration. To this declaration the Jews of Italy, Holland, and a part of Germany sent their concurrence. The following is the substance of it:

* The Sanhedrim was composed of seventy-one doctors of the law, and Jews of the higher class, (*Notables d'Israel*). There had not been a meeting of the Sanhedrim since the dispersion.

"Security (says the preamble) has now come home to our bosoms, and entered into our dwellings. In future we can build, we can sow, we can gather in our harvest, we can cultivate every branch of human knowledge, we can form a part of the great family of the state. The Lord has permitted that this assembly, so celebrated in our annals, and whose experience and virtue dictate the following declaration, should again be called together after so many ages; and should again meet for the purpose of bestowing favours upon Israel."

Religious doctrines are by their nature absolute and independent of circumstance and time; but political dispositions, viz. those which constitute a government, can no longer be applicable to us, since Israel no longer forms a distinct or separate nation.

"Polygamy, which is permitted by the law of Moses, is only a permissive faculty or power. The Jews, now residing in all parts of Europe, conform themselves to the synod of Worms. The Sanhedrim forbids them, in those states where polygamy is prohibited by the civil laws, to marry a second time during the life of the first wife. It decrees and orders, that no repudiation or divorce shall be made according to the forms of the law of Moses, until the marriage shall have been rendered null and void by the civil laws of the state. It prohibits all Rabbies from assisting in any religious ceremony of marriage, until the act of marriage, according to the civil laws, shall have been completed. Marriages between Jews and Christians do not subject the parties to any anathema.

By virtue of the laws, given by Moses to the children of Israel, they are compelled to consider as brothers those individuals, of every nation, who acknowledge God, AS THE CREATOR OF HEAVEN AND EARTH; and it would be contrary to these maxims not to consider their fellow-citizens as brothers. It is the duty of every Jew, who is not ignorant of the precepts of his religion, to assist, to protect, and to love his fellow-citizens, and to place them, in every respect, both civil and moral, upon an equal footing with those of his own religious persuasion.

Every individual, who professes the religion of Moses, and who does not practise the duties of justice and charity towards all who adore one eternal God, notwithstanding any difference in their respective individual tenets, is guilty of a crime against THE LAW. The Jewish doctors declare, that every man having compassion upon the misfortunes of his fellow-creatures, is, in their eyes, the same as if he were of the seed of Abraham: that

every Jew is obliged to love as brothers, all those who observe the moral laws of Noah, whatever may be their religion, exactly in the same way as if they were Jews; he must visit their sick, help their poor, bury their dead; in short, there is no act of charity, no work of mercy, which the Jew can dispense with towards them.

The doctors of the law, and the celebrated men, (*notables*) have always professed and prescribed to their brethren a regard for the government of the country in which they are born, and directed them to consider it as their own.

In regard to money-transactions the Grand Sanhedrim agreed that the Hebrew word *Nechech* is misinterpreted, when it is rendered by the modern term *Usury*, inasmuch as its real signification is simply Interest of Money, and not Usurious Interest: and in like manner, that the word *Nochri*, in the text, which authorises the lending money at interest to foreigners, is not to be expounded as requiring any thing beyond the just and legal interest. These remarks are of infinite importance, in removing the ridiculous, but too general prejudice, that persons of the Jewish persuasion think themselves bound, by their religion, to act as usurers and extortioners, in their pecuniary concerns with Christians.

In reference to the question of obedience due to the civil authorities, the Grand Sanhedrim declared, that every moral and religious consideration ought to impel a Jew to regard his superiors with respect, attachment, and fidelity.

On the point of military service, (probably the one which alone interested the government of Buonaparte in convoking the meeting,) the Grand Sanhedrim declared, that every Jew, called into employment of that kind, has by the law a dispensation from all religious observances which interfere with his military duty. In fine, the Sanhedrim enjoined all Jews, and particularly those possessing civil and political rights in the countries then subject to the dominion of Buonaparte, to instil a love of industry into the minds of their children, and to direct them to the exercise of the useful arts, or of the liberal professions. It encouraged them to acquire fixed property, as a means of attaching them to the country of their birth; and it exhorted them to abstain from all those employments, which are in their own nature odious and contemptible, and which consequently, if pursued by Jews, must tend to fortify in the minds of the people the prejudices existing against the members of that persuasion.

It is happy for mankind, that all great revolutionary movements, fatal in their first explosions, and in the general course
of

of their events, do nevertheless almost always produce occasional benefits of a permanent and comprehensive nature. Such may the declaration of the Grand Sanhedrim be considered to have been. It served at once to fix the moral character of the Jews, and to shake the prejudices of the Christians. It was more powerful than any law. There was no necessity for a law to operate on the morals of the Jews: they wanted a moral character to reform the laws. The laws had been those of oppression, and they had driven the oppressed party to subterfuge and artifice, to avidity and extortion, as weapons of defence. Hence the prejudices of the people had been strengthened; the feeling of honour in the bosom of the Jew had been stifled; and the conflict of sect with sect, and interest with interest, had been confirmed and inbittered. We see much of the result from this state of things, at the present day, in the petty commercial states of Germany, where political questions are treated on the narrow grounds of mercantile rivalry; but it is to be hoped that great empires will be administered on broader principles. It is to be hoped, that, in the latter, a new direction will be given to the active industry of the Jews, and that they will gradually be induced to embark in manufacturing, and even in agricultural pursuits. In most European countries, it would be easy to grant portions of uncultivated land to Jews of the lower class, who would doubtless be assisted by their more wealthy brethren, in the purchase of stock and implements for its improvement. By degrees we should see colonies, as it were, formed — new *Goshens* for this hitherto neglected people, which would doubtless repay the national generosity, by augmenting the public resources. On these views, the government of the Grand Duchy of Baden has already begun to act; and, in Denmark, its small benefit has been obtained from the same liberal policy. By the Danish ordinance of 1780, the Jews were permitted to become denizens of the kingdom, and to exercise freely every art and trade. At that time, in Copenhagen, the Jews of both sexes amounted to 1170. Among them, there were 250 above fifty years old, and consequently only 920 capable of making use of this permission. At this moment, the population is increased to 1491, among whom are reckoned 34 proprietors of manufactories, 110 artizans, 50 students or artists, among whom are many painters, and also 25 traders or merchants. In the country, there are also many Jewish cultivators or farmers. In Copenhagen, they compel every male, when he leaves the free-school, to follow some fixed and regular profession.

The French Jews, although they have been emancipated near thirty years from every restriction, are still by no means comparable,

parable, in point of comfort and general respectability, with those of Denmark, at least so far as concerns those of the lower class. In Alsace they are strongly tinged with every vice: they are extremely superstitious, and their superstition must be expected to prevail for a long time to come, on account of the total want of elementary instruction for their children. In Germany they are much better off. That country possesses foundations and institutions appropriated to their instruction; but even there, and *a fortiori* in this country, whatever plan may be adopted for improving the state and condition of the Jews, nothing is to be hoped for its success, without the strenuous cooperation of the *Rabbins*, or doctors of the law. Their influence is great. Unfortunately the time of too many of them here in France is more occupied with the Talmudistic Reveries, than with the moral or political regeneration of their brethren. This taste even seems to grow upon them, and I fear it will be found to furnish a new illustration of the old adage "*vires acquirit eundo*."

Notwithstanding what I have already said of the traces of slavery and misery still to be found among this people — of the superstitions nurtured by a profound grief and an uncertain hope; yet we must not forget that these evils are contrasted, in a most striking manner, with the force and grandeur of their primitive institutions. A people among whom equality is a right, and hospitality a duty; a people, who respect old age, honour misfortune, submitting to law, and yet free during ages, under a government at the same time powerful and simple, are not to be despised. The Jews were never cruel, except when they forgot the law, that law, which every moment told them, "Be just, be faithful, and above all things be merciful. Relieve the stranger, for thou also wert a stranger in Egypt." Tacitus, who compared them with the first Christians, attributes the sabbathic year to the effect of indolence. If he had been less prepossessed, or less partial, he would have perceived in this institution that character for universal mercy, which bears witness to its author. It was the year, in which the fruits of the earth belonged to the poor, and to animals; God seemed to take pity on all his creatures. At least in the solemn repose of their annual feasts, the observer of customs, the judge of legislation, the historian of the Cæsars, ought to have recognized a mark of wisdom and of vigour, such as no political constitution had before been powerful enough to display.

I perceive, that this digression has led me on too far: the question is not to justify doctrines, but to make known rights.

Does

Does it not appear to you very singular, that Germany, where the first effort of toleration was made in favour of the Jews, has still retained against them some prejudices, which continue stationary, in the midst of a general movement in civilisation and that concessions are now made to the Jews merely as it were by force, which ought to be granted from the reason and equity of the thing? We can conceive nothing more absurd than proscription becoming a fixed maxim in cities, which call themselves free.

MONTESQUIEU, DOHM, JOHN DE MÜLLER, LESSING, CLERMONT TONNERRE, LACRETELLE, and others, have clearly pointed out the justice and necessity of the emancipation of the Jews; but M. De Dohm is the only man who has looked at this question as a statesman, and who, in his work upon their political reform, published in 1782, has proved, that in order to make useful citizens, it is first necessary to make men, which can only be done by instruction.

Every wise and good man agrees doubtless in this opinion. We cannot indeed combat the thing itself, for wherever this principle has been applied, the success has justified the theory. If the greatest number of Jews are still employed in traffic, if they still give themselves up to their mercantile and usurious inclinations, I repeat it again, it is because time has not been allowed them, and principally because instruction has been withheld. We cannot reform a custom as we change a fashion. It is not however less true, that in this country, where the crimes and outrages against social order have increased in a manner the most dreadful, where the tribunals every day resound with shocking and scandalous trials, we seldom see a Jew brought up to answer for misconduct. Nor do we find them among the numerous beggars, nor have we seen any mixing themselves in political disturbances, or revolutionary excesses.

I have at this moment before me a recent pamphlet, published here upon the question of their emancipation*, in which the author seems to have proved, that egotism and the most unfair competition in commerce, have caused the persecutions, which have been excited against the Jews not only here, but at Frankfort, and in some of the Hanseatic towns. I find in this work also an approximative calculation of all the Jews spread over the face of the earth. This calculation, though of course in some measure hypothetical, seems to me well adapted to do

* *Of the Jews of the 19th century.* Paris.

away some errors, and to settle some uncertain points. For example, the author believes, that there are not as supposed by Michaëlis only 5,000,000; by Basnage only 3,000,000, or by Voltaire only 2,000,000, Jews: he examines and discusses the calculation of Lancelot and of Addison, who reckon many million of Jews, only in the Ottoman empire; of Schadt, who finds also many millions in Asia; of Mallet, who in 1789, reported their number in Europe to be only 1,048,000. He himself estimates them at 6,598,000, of which there were 1,000,000 in Poland, before the division of that country in 1772, 200,000 in Russia,--comprising Wallachia and Moldavia; 500,000, in the states where the German language is spoken; 80,000 in Holland and the Low Countries; 5,000 in Sweden and Denmark; 50,000 in France; 50,000 in England, (of whom 12,000 are in London); 200,000, in states where the Italian language is spoken; 10,000 in Spain and Portugal; 3,000 in the United States of America; 4,000,000, in the Mahomedan States of Asia, Europe, and Africa; 500,000 in Persia, and the rest of Asia, comprising China and India. This would nearly give the computation of writers when the Jews inhabited Judea, Gallilee, and Palestine, in the time of Vespasian.* A Spanish Rabbi before mentioned, Benjamin de Tudela, who undertook the enumeration of his own nation, at the beginning of the 18th century, reckoned at that time only 768,000, but this Rabbi passes in silence over all Germany, England, and many other countries.

I shall conclude these remarks by only one reflection. It is not entirely in the power of any government, to bring the Jews into a state of consideration and respect. This must be their own work. We hope, that the universal principles of toleration, which influence almost all governments in their favour, will be deeply reflected upon, by this portion of mankind, who have lived so many ages in a state of degradation: and that after having acquired a civil existence and political rights, they will in time show themselves worthy of the benefits they have received.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

L. Y.

* See a Memoire by the Abbé Guenci, inserted in the Memoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions, 1811 or 1812.

A TABLE,
Shewing the Population and Distribution of the Jews in France,
in the year 1810.

Departments.	Population in each department.	Population in each consistorial arrondissement.	Principal Towns.	Description of Persons.				
				No profession or trade.	Proprietors of land or houses.	Manufacturers, or in trade.	Soldiers.	Children employed in useful occupations.
Gironde	2131	3713	Bordeaux	25	65	9	76	38
Landes	1198							
Low Pyrenees	127							
High Garonne	107							
Charente Inferieure	70							
Puy de Dome	38							
High Vienne	29							
Charente	8							
Aude	4							
Dordogne	1							
Bouches du Rhone	942	2527	Marseille	25	81	11	65	319
Vaucluse	631							
Gard	425							
Maritime Alps	303							
Herault	141							
Rhone	67							
Var	14							
Isere	4							
Seine	5000							
Isle et Villainq	11							
Albir	5							
Finistere	11							
Loire et Cher	10	8852	Paris	25	15	9	58	146
Loiret	7							
Marne	2							
Nord	166							
Pas de Calais	63							
Seine Inferieure	47							
Seine et Marne	132							
Seine et Oise	95							
Somme	14							
Yonne	27							
Cote d'Or	251	6517	Metz	25	38	13	117	406
Loire Inferieure	11							
Moselle	6506							
Ardennes	11							
Meurthe	3289							
Meuse	405							
Vosges	345		Nancy	25	175	165	294	348
Doubs	86							
High Marne	41							
Low Rhine	16155	16155	Strasbourg	25				
High Rhine	9915	9920	Wintzenheim	25				
High Saone	5							
48850				175	374	207	630	1257

LETTER VII.

On Parliamentary Reform.

To Monsieur de Franchet.

Sir,

IT appears to excite considerable surprise, both in yourself and many other foreigners, that our civil, ecclesiastical, judicial, and political institutions should have undergone so very little change for a long period; that in a country, where every subject is open to investigation — where projectors of every description are indulged with permission to state and defend their various views of improvement — amidst the conflicts of religious sects and political parties, all varying in strength and effect, but all united in the eager desire for some change; none of the fundamental laws, which form the basis of our social system, have suffered any material alteration, but remain as they were established in generations long past, and exist without any symptoms of speedily receiving either great improvement or deterioration.

Foreigners who read our periodical publications, whether the political journals, or the literary reviews, become impressed with the idea, that the violence of party is greater in this than in other countries: that the various factions are more irritated against each other; that political differences create more variance, and that political opinions have greater weight in society here than with themselves. Those who have visited this country, for a short period only, have formed the same conception; and, hence, a general opinion is spread through Europe, that England is torn with factions, eager to destroy each other; that thereby the comfort of social intercourse is lessened, and the peace of society disturbed by politics.

Before you arrive at this conclusion, however, it may be proper to suggest, that free discussion being permitted, both the means and the motive are thereby presented for forming political combatants; that our daily journals, being the property of individuals who subsist by their sale, offer an arena to which all who can write on politics are invited, and where the applause of the spectators of the combat is more frequently obtained by virulent language, or flippant retorts, than by solid and connected reasoning: thus a school for discussion is formed, which, without the high seasoning of controversy, would become insipid, and which by that seasoning principally is recommended to the palates

of the public. In all popular governments, the leading orators have been observed to practise upon the populace precisely the same base arts of flattery, which the courtiers of another description reserve for the ears of kings; but where a free press is established, the writers in the journals are the true popular courtiers, in their adulation towards the public exceeding all bounds of moderation; appealing constantly to the sense of the people, as if it were inspired; and only disputing with each other to which side this sense of the people, rather than the sense of the question, really adheres.

Notwithstanding the practices thus indulged, the obvious tendency of which is to create an interest, a ferment, and an irritation on all public subjects, yet the extent of the influence of politics on the minds of the more steady and solid parts of the community, is much less in England, than either occasional visitors, or the less reflecting part of our countrymen, are induced to calculate. By frequent repetition, invective and abuse become weaker in their effects; bold assertions are received with more caution, and the denunciations of opponents are treated with more coolness: hence the inflammatory displays of our periodical press, which in countries to which they are new would be sufficient to create a convulsion; are received among us with contempt by many, and with indifference by most.

The higher circles, whether distinguished by rank, by wealth, by literature, or by talents, are almost wholly exempt from political disputes; and totally so from political virulence: though when we descend in the scale of society, as we generally find ignorance more prevalent, so we usually find with it a more violent and intemperate tone of discussion.

I am led to these remarks from the temper at present exhibited in the public journals, and from the display which has been made by a few men of no note, who have collected together the lowest of the populace, to hear harangues abusive of their superiors, and to sign petitions for what they have been pleased to call Parliamentary Reform;—a term without meaning in their mouths, and perhaps only adopted as a specious mode of attempting to introduce total anarchy and revolution.

The durability of our whole system, but more especially of the House of Commons, which at present shall occupy my principal consideration, may be the effect both of its original foundation, and of its component parts as at present existing.

The original foundation of civil society, and perhaps the first step to the formation of civil communities, was the acknowledgment of *Property*; the recognition which guarantees to each individual the undisputed enjoyment of that which he has acquired.

Without

Without this principle, mankind would never have emerged from the savage state, or if they had made the first step in the progress of society, and become hunters and fishers, they could not have advanced to the next, or *shepherd-state*, till some rights of property were established, and some safeguard created for the possession of the animals which they had reclaimed from a state of nature.

In proportion to the greater or less *Security* afforded to property, has been the slower or more rapid progress which communities have made in their road to civilization. Indolence and inactivity are the great evils of mankind: whatever tends to counteract these inherent qualities of our nature, whatever induces the idle savage to become an industrious citizen, raises his nature and prepares him for still higher rank in the scale of existence. Having acquired some property, he seeks security for that; and that being secured, he strives for more. His exertions and his example kindle similar feelings in others; and thus the cultivation of the soil, the fabrication of cloathing and utensils, and, in process of time, the production of comforts and luxuries, are introduced and promoted. In this state of things, some members of the community will have acquired so large a portion of property, as to be able to dedicate their time and their talents to the ornamental pursuits of social life, giving birth to the fine arts, to the sciences, to literature, and more especially to jurisprudence, which then becomes an important conservator of those rights, of property which have conducted society thus far in its progress.

As the progress of mankind from the savage to the social state, is accelerated or retarded by the more or less perfect security which property enjoys, so is it influenced by the greater or less degree of *knowledge* which prevails in the community respecting the rights, the limits, and the actual securities of property. Every new question on those rights and limits may be discussed on abstract principles; but in this mode it would become the subject of perpetual uncertainty: and therefore the security of property, and the consequent progress in civilisation, are better attained by deducing our conclusions from former principles, and from the precedents which those principles have established, than from the abstract propositions which on every dispute would be debated anew, and which, being subject to fluctuation, would render the possession and the boundaries of property insecure: hence the system of law founded on *precedent* has been a powerful means of promoting the improvement of civil life; and the professors of that system, being generally men of high estimation in the community, have, by their diffusion of knowledge on all subjects connected with the rights of possession, contributed

contributed to give it stability; and thereby promoted, in a most powerful degree, the progress of civilisation.

Considerably indeed would this progress be retarded, if limits were placed to the acquisition of the larger masses of property, and the stimulus to exertion would be lessened in proportion to the greater or less extent of those limits. As large masses of property, whether in the possession of individuals, or of bodies corporate, are from their extent exposed to jealousy, and consequently subject to more attacks than smaller masses, a perfect security cannot be given to them, unless such a portion of political power be derived from their possession, as shall afford effectual means of resisting such attacks.

With these views of the influence of property in the formation, in the progress, and the perfecting of civil society, we may easily account for all the wild projects, as well as the enormities, that accompanied your revolution. Your metaphysical politicians neglected nature to pursue theory: they overlooked what was before their eyes, and strained their sight to follow an ignis fatuus; they disdained to be taught by the wisdom of past ages, or to derive lessons from the experience of their ancestors; and abandoning every guide, but ardent feelings and indefinite objects, plunged their own country into the most horrid state of anarchy; and at length kindled the vengeance of the civilised world, till it was compelled to inflict the severest retribution.

As the horrors of your revolution were solely owing to the contempt for experience, and the rage for innovation; so the durability of all our institutions, the preservation of our civil liberty, of our ecclesiastical establishments, of our corporate and individual possessions, as well as our system of jurisprudence, is owing to our having proceeded in an opposite course: we followed nature, and resisted theory; we listened to experience, and were deaf to experiment; we learnt from our ancestors, and distrusted our own narrow observation; we contemplated man in the condition of society in which he is placed, and neglected to speculate on what character he would assume, or how he might be governed in new and untried states.

As our institutions have been formed upon the plan which nature points out, so, during the progress of the building, we have never lost sight of its foundations. This reverence for the rights of property, to which we are indebted for every political blessing we enjoy, has always been fostered with most sedulous attention by our leading statesmen; and whenever the least attempt has been made to trench on those rights, the public indignation has been most powerfully roused. When Mr. Fox was
accused

accused (it matters not with what justice) of invading the chartered rights of one of our great trading corporations, the East India Company, the very idea of infringing the holy law of property excited in every other corporation a most serious alarm; the whole kingdom imbibed the emotion, and the bare suspicion drove him from power. In those laws, some of which are formed every session, for improvements in our public streets, or roads, for erecting bridges, for constructing canals, or for inclosing common fields, the most scrupulous regard is paid to the rights of all proprietors; and until the mode of adjusting the value of the property which the public good requires, is settled, to the satisfaction of those compelled to part with their possessions, such laws are never suffered to pass.

The high estimation enjoyed by the professors of the law has had a tendency to strengthen the fences which surround property: it may with truth be affirmed, not only that our Judges are uncorrupt, but that they are even unsuspected of corruption; that no ignorant or venal man is raised to the bench; and that such is the respect which the profession feels for itself, that all who look to its high offices are, anxious to qualify themselves for the discharge of their duties, by profound learning, by sedulous diligence, and by irreproachable conduct. Such a body, mixed with the community seated in both our legislative assemblies, and regarded as the supporters of the rights of all property, has a wonderful influence in perpetuating our ancient institutions: by their legal education, they are habituated more to the study of precedents, and of the principles on which they are grounded, than to the discussion of metaphysical dogmas, or abstract propositions. They may not be the best of experimental philosophers, but they are the ablest and best defenders of the rights which the different members of the community enjoy. The dread of innovation, the most prevailing feeling among our greatest and best statesmen, has been kept alive by this important body, who, on every occasion that requires the smallest alteration in our laws, exercise their acuteness to prevent a deviation from our ancient principles.

Among a people thus attached to their ancient institutions, founded on the basis of property, you cannot be surprised that the elective franchise, whether exercised in appointing members to the House of Commons, or municipal officers to the different corporations, has been and still is most carefully guarded; the right of electing members for the legislature is strictly of the nature of property; it is acquired exactly as other property, either by inheritance, by personal service, or by purchase; and in whichever of these ways it is acquired, it partakes of the nature, has all the attributes, and receives all the protection of any other property.

property; Neither we nor our ancestors, have grounded the elective franchise on the silly foundation of the rights of man; but on the more solid, because more practicable foundation of the rights of property, as established and guarded by civil society. The possessors of this franchise hold their property in as various ways as all other possessions are held: in some cases from enjoying land in perpetuity, in others from a life-interest, in others from occupying and paying taxes, in many, from freedoms of guilds or corporations; but all, however held, or however acquired, equally partake of the nature of property, and are equally guarded by our laws, by our habits, and by our prejudices.

The descent of the Crown is familiarised to our minds by being called an inheritance; the right of our peers to exclusive privileges, as well as to legislative and judicial functions, is strictly an inheritance; and the elective franchise, which gives a right to vote for the members of the House of Commons, is equally an inheritance; is derived from the same principles, is supported by the same laws, and can only be destroyed by the same violations as would rob the King, the peers, or the possessors of land, of their property.

As there is an inequality in the division of all other property, necessarily arising from the progress of society, so the elective franchise, analogous to that, has by the same progress become unequally divided; but, being once established as property, it would be the most flagrant injustice to deprive the possessors of it, on the plea that it has become unequal; it may increase or diminish, in its effective power, by accidents, not contemplated in its origin, or not created by the laws, but the sacred right to its possession ought not to be questioned, still less destroyed, on account of these changes.

In some instances, the election of two members to the House of Commons may be made by twenty, or even a less number of possessors of the elective franchise; in other cases, the elective franchise is divided among as many thousands. This is the same degree of inequality as affects every other species of property; the right of each of the twenty possessors of the elective franchise in the first instance, is as clearly defined, and as firmly established, as that of the twenty thousand in the second; the value being greater, is no more a reason for depriving the one of his more valuable franchise, than for taking from the other his less valuable one.

Instances might be selected, to show the variations in the value of the elective franchise to individuals; many towns, once populous, have gone to decay, the remaining inhabitants have
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thus come into possession of a larger portion of the franchise than their predecessors enjoyed ; other towns have increased in population, the elective franchise has been thereby distributed among a greater number of proprietors, and the value to each individual has been thereby lessened ; but this fluctuation in value, can never be successfully urged as a reason for destroying the right of the possessors ; it is still their right ; and, at the tribunal of the British Constitution, that right always has been, and I trust ever will be, recognised, protected, and preserved.

You will see, then, the foundation on which we have erected the superstructure of our political constitution. It is firmly fixed on the basis of property. The prerogatives of the crown, the privileges of the peers, the franchises of the commons, have the same foundation as that which establishes the holders of lands, houses, or other visible effects, in the enjoyment of their estates.

I am far from judging so harshly of the first movers in your revolution, as to accuse, or even suspect them of any original design to violate all the rights of property, much less to proceed to the confiscation and plunder which were afterwards produced ; but their first proceedings being grounded on the rights of man, as existing before the institution of society, and consequently before the existence of property, the natural, and perhaps necessary effect was to destroy the respect for property, out of deference to supposed rights of prior existence ; and that respect being once destroyed, all the evils which we have avoided by building on a different basis, rushed in, and overwhelmed with ruin, your monarchy, your church, your laws, your corporate bodies, and your landed proprietors. In England, we contend for no rights, but those which society has consecrated, or may hereafter confer ; we look not backward beyond the period when men, after being collected into communities, were ruled by laws, and as we find the very origin of society produced respect for property, we wish for no better ground on which to rest the claims of the King, the Peers, the electors of the Commons, or the ecclesiastical and civil corporations, than that on which the property of private individual rests, namely, that *by the laws of society, as here constituted, they are their undoubted rights.*

As this regard to the rights of property has accompanied our whole progress from the rudest to the most civilised state of society, so the actual exercise of the legislative power, in the House of Commons, may be clearly stated to be now vested in the different classes of proprietors that constitute the nation ; and we may affirm, with confidence, that their weight in that assembly is nearly, though not in exact proportion to that weight which property confers on the different classes. I do not mean to represent this as having been the effect of design, on the part of
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our ancestors, but they, having begun the edifice of the constitution on right principles, the construction of the building has been completed whilst adhering to those principles, in conformity to the original outline.

It is obvious that the influence of property is very various, both in its nature and in its extent, and that property in land, whilst it gives the possessor extensive influence, tempers it by a mildness in its exercise, which renders it more congenial to inferiors than any other species of influence: the man who receives a large revenue from commerce, from the learned professions, or from the public funds, has influence over those with whom he expends his revenue, but none over those from whom he receives it; and in the two first cases, instead of possessing any influence over them, he is not unfrequently subject to their influence; but the possessor of large revenues derived from land has an influence over those from whom he receives, as well as over those with whom he expends his income; his tenants, if he be liberal, or even just, are generally attached to him, and in all public struggles, will join the party which their landlords espouse; this is the fair influence of gratitude and attachment; and hence, in our House of Commons, the proportion of members, who may be considered as the representatives of the landed interest, is greater than the proportion of their incomes would render probable; but as income from land is scarcely more than half as much as is derived from the same capital in any other investment, the number of members representing the landed and agricultural interests, in our House of Commons, is more in the proportion of the amount of their capital, than in that of the amount of their revenues.

In analysing the existing composition of the House of Commons, with as much accuracy as my attention to the subject and its own nature will admit of, it appears to me that of the 558 members for Great Britain*, about 390 are returned by the landed interests, either, as in some towns, by the influence of individual great proprietors, or, as in some others, and in the counties, by the united influence of several large land-owners: it appears by the assessment under the late tax on property, that the land and the houses paid annually about eight millions; the funded property about three millions; the commerce about two millions; the professions about one million; and the offices,

* I have confined my observations on this part of the subject to Great Britain, because I am least acquainted with the state of the Irish representation, and because the late property-tax not having been extended to that kingdom, it would not be so easy to draw a parallel between the classes of property and the classes of representation.

civil, naval and military, about one million. Now taking these sums as the criterion of property, and considering the landed income as worth twenty-five years' purchase, the funded as worth twenty years' purchase, and the income from trade, professions and offices, at ten years' purchase, we shall find the value of the landed interest two thousand millions, the funded six hundred millions, and the commerce, offices, and professions, four hundred millions, and this is nearly the state of the elective franchise; the landed interest possesses about two-thirds of the stock of the whole community, and the representatives of that interest, in the House of Commons, constitute about two-thirds of its members.

The members of the House of Commons returned from Great Britain, concerned in commerce, or connected with our colonies, or with India, are about sixty-five, or a little more than one-tenth of the whole; if they were to be considered as merely the representatives of the commercial interest, the number would rather exceed the proportion of the property; but many of them are large landed proprietors, and some to an extent almost equal to those whose sole property is land; as a body they cannot, therefore, be considered as the mere representatives of commerce, but are, in part, the representatives of the more solid species of property.

The lawyers who belong to the House of Commons are about half as numerous as the commercial men, and with their great talents, exerted as they usually are in protecting the rights of property, it is far from a subject of regret that their number somewhat exceeds the exact proportion of their professional incomes; but like the men of commerce some of them are considerable landed proprietors, and those who are not so may be fairly considered as the representatives of the learning and abilities of the community. The members of the House of Commons who either now fill, or when the opponents of the present ministers were in power have filled, high offices of government do not, exclusive of lawyers, and naval and military officers, amount to more than sixty or seventy; these may generally be considered as the representatives of the landed interest, as they, in most instances, are indebted to that interest for the opportunity afforded them to make the community acquainted with their talents and pretensions.

I do not mean to intimate that the classes of members which I have mentioned have limits of distinction clearly defined, or that they usually act together as a body; on most questions that arise, the individuals of the different classes vote rather, according to the views of the political party they have espoused, than accord-
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ing to any rule derived from the class of property from which they obtain their seats in parliament. My wish was only to show, that the present component parts of the House of Commons comprise a fair and adequate representation of the property of the country; in more true proportions, than even its warmest advocates have supposed; and far more so than could be attained by any of the wild projects, that have been offered under the specious name of reform. As matters now stand, every description of property is represented; and, nearly according to the importance of each: every branch of industry has its supporters; every sect and party has defenders of its rights, civil and religious; every profession has members of its body awake to its interest, and eager to promote them; and even the rabble are not without protectors of their errors, and advocates for their delusions, though happily they are too few to suffer their follies to guide wiser men, or to permit their fancied rights to become real wrongs to the community.

As the larger landed proprietors are peers of the realm, and have voices in the Upper House of Parliament, it has been considered by some persons as an anomaly in our constitution; that they should influence the choice of the members in the House of Commons; and even possess such a degree of weight, as in some cases to render the choice of members a nomination rather than an election. It would not be difficult to show, that the existence of distinct, independent, isolated branches of the legislature, if it were practicable, which it evidently is not, would be a great calamity to the community: If, instead of a common feeling, which now exists between the Lords and Commons, and unites each in defence of the privileges of the whole, there existed dissimilar views, each body striving to extend its own prerogatives by diminishing those of the other, the consequence would be that in the course of the struggle one must yield to the other; and, as the House of Lords is the weakest part of our constitution, the probable event would be that, as formerly, it would first be voted useless, then dangerous, and would soon be abolished; and the abolition of that House would reduce the Monarch to be, not what we now acknowledge him our "Sovereign Lord the King," but the first functionary, or minister, or servant of the House of Commons; which, when uncontrolled by the power of the Lords, would become, as all democracies have been, a most barefaced tyranny, under the name of liberty.

The influence of the House of Lords, in the choice of members to the House of Commons, does not, however, in the least depend

depend on their character of peers, or on their rank in the legislature, but on their other character of great landed proprietors. Peers, with or without large landed possessions, stand exactly in the same situation as commoners; the property of one, as well as of the other, necessarily, creates influence; and when a commoner with large property, and its consequent political influence, is made a peer, he is not required, and would be unable to divest himself of that influence which his former character of land-owner gave him, out of deference to his new character of hereditary legislator and judge. We have few peers without considerable possessions, and, consequently, without considerable weight; but the peers, who are members of the royal family, the sons of our Monarch, having only revenues derived from the civil list, and not from land, possess less influence in the election of members to the House of Commons than any other of the peers, and less than most commoners, whose income from land amounts to the half of theirs; thus, even in what is by some deemed an anomaly in our government, the same principle may be traced, viz. that the Commons House of Parliament is the representative of the property of the community.

It would require a large volume to discuss, to classify, and to discriminate, the various component parts of which, that important member of our constitution, the House of Commons, is composed; but such an analysis would, if completed, prove, only more plainly, what I have endeavoured to shew in this sketch, that by its actual organisation, it is the real and efficient representation of all classes of property, belonging to the various individuals and corporate bodies that compose this nation. Among our representatives, we see the sons, the brothers, and the connections, of men of the highest rank and largest fortune: as well as those who, without much fortune, possess what gives high distinction, great learning and great talents. We see men of commerce conducting affairs of great extent, in manufactures, as well as in our internal exchanges of property, and in our external relations with every country and every climate; we see legal learning in every branch of our municipal law, as well as in the law of nature and nations, as understood and explained by men of the greatest abilities and purest character; we have there a proportion of the most distinguished ornaments of the naval and military profession; the representatives of our seats of learning and sciences; the zealous supporters of our established churches, and the no less zealous defenders of that toleration, which is so liberally enjoyed by all the classes of our Protestant dissidents.

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If, in this combination, the absence of any portion, or of any interests, of the community is to be regretted, I, as an individual, should lament the exclusion of the clerical members of our own church, and the professors of the Catholic religion; against whose admission to seats in parliament I can perceive neither theoretical nor practical objection; I am, however, aware, that to the latter body objections are urged, by men whose judgment and principles I respect, whilst I cannot acquiesce in their opinion; but as I think such objections only temporary, I cannot but hope, that the capability of being elected will be extended to the Catholics, as the elective franchise has been.

Theoretical objections have been made to the present state of the representation, by some, who are willing to admit, that in any practical sense of utility, it is fully adequate to every purpose of legislation, but who, nevertheless, rather inconsistently allege the unequal division of the elective franchise, as a reason for some alteration. Thus, the objectors state, and very truly, that the counties of Cornwall, Wiltshire, and Sussex, return a proportion of the members to the House of Commons very far exceeding the proportion returned from the large counties of York and Lancaster, or from the kingdom of Scotland. Some attention might be due to the objection, if members of parliament either were in fact, or felt as if they were, the mere factors or agents of the corporate bodies by whom they are elected; if they constituted, when collected together, not the representatives of the whole Commons of Great Britain, but an association of the simple agents for each particular county, city, or borough, bound, in the first place, to consult the interests, and obey the orders, of their constituents, and to prefer the local interests of their electors, to those of the great body of the people. The feeling of almost every public man is, that, though chosen by the fewest number of electors possible, he is equally a representative of the whole body of the Commons of the kingdom, with the man who is chosen by twenty thousand voters.

One of our greatest men, Mr. Burke, when addressing the electors of Bristol; by whom he had been elected to parliament, illustrates this principle in such appropriate words, that I cannot forbear to transcribe them.

“Parliament is not a *congress* of ambassadors from different
 “and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain, as
 “an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates;
 “but parliament is a *deliberative* assembly of *one* nation, with
 “*one* interest, that of the whole; where, not local purposes,
 “not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good,
 “resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose

“ a member indeed ; but when you have chosen him, he is not
 “ member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament. If the
 “ local constituent should have an interest, or should form a
 “ hasty opinion, evidently opposite to the real good of the com-
 “ munity, the member for that place ought to be as far as any
 “ other from any endeavour to give it effect.”

The principle, that every member of parliament is really and virtually the representative of all the Commons, is so correct in practice, that no complaint was ever made, that the interests of Scotland or of Yorkshire were sacrificed to those of Cornwall and Wiltshire ; or that the interests of the unrepresented towns, such as Manchester, Birmingham, or Leeds, occupied the attention and the care of parliament less, than those of towns, which choose members. As the interest of those parts of the island, where the elective franchise is confined to a small number of individuals, is not neglected, so also their general share of promotion in the Army, the Navy, or the State, is not diminished ; Cornwall sends as many members to the House of Commons as all Scotland ; but the number of officers high in command in the Army and Navy, the men appointed to elevated stations in the State, in the Colonies, or in our Indian empire, is not in the least regulated by that consideration ; for the number of Scotchmen in each of these departments, conforms more nearly to the respective population and property of the two divisions, than to the numbers of the representatives of the people which they elect.

Before those places, which have the fewer number entitled to the elective franchise, can be deprived of their legal rights, it would require to be shown, to the satisfaction of the legislature, that the exercise of their rights has been productive of worse results than have arisen from the suffrages of more numerous electors ; it would be necessary to show, not that they are biased in their choice by gratitude to their patrons, or landlords, not that they are influenced by affection to some rich and friendly neighbour, not that they are induced to prefer the man who exercises his wealth in promoting their comfort ; for by these considerations large as well as small bodies of men are all more or less guided ; but it would be necessary to show, through a series of years, that the representatives, chosen by few electors, have been more profligate, more indolent, more ignorant, more corrupt, or more dependent, than those chosen by a more numerous body of electors ; until this is clearly demonstrated, it cannot be expected that any serious attention will be given to a subject which requires the depriving of some men of their rights, without
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proof, that they have abused those rights to the injury of the community.

The smallest bodies of electors in the kingdom may look back with satisfaction through a series of years, and, against all demands for their suppression, may proudly urge, that the highest names which adorn the pages of British history have, through their means, been seated in the Commons' House of Parliament; without adverting to distant periods, they may state, that Walpole, the great, because the pacific minister, was returned by less than ten electors; that his powerful opponent, Pulteney, was chosen by less than twenty: that the great war-minister, the first Pitt, was chosen by the smallest of all the boroughs; that Lord North, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, the second Pitt, with an innumerable list of men of high talents and virtues, have been, by their instrumentality, enabled to serve and adorn our common country. Before they are stripped of their inheritance, the smallest boroughs have a right to demand that a comparison be made of the members they have returned, with those returned by those larger bodies, who now wish to rob them of their rights; they may urge, and urge most powerfully, that the members returned by Old Sarum, since the Revolution, should be contrasted with those returned by the county of York, for the same period; and notwithstanding the patriotism of a Saville, or a Wilberforce, they will not shrink from the comparison. They will have a right to ask those who, under pretence of reform, would rob them of their franchise, if Tierney, if Romilly, if Horner, and Brougham, are such venal, ignorant, or indolent men, so deficient in either the assiduity or knowledge, which should fit them for the discharge of parliamentary duties, that the small bodies of electors which have returned them, have for the error of their choice, merited so severe a punishment as to be deprived of their birthright.

I have endeavoured to show that our elective franchises rest on a foundation consentaneous to the course which has gradually formed civilised communities; and that in the lapse of ages, though they have been subject to variations, yet every essential and valuable feature has been retained, and is in full force. I shall now attend to what has been urged by those who most deserve attention, as the strongest reasons for any alteration.

It has been assumed, not proved, 1st, That, from the mode in which the House of Commons is now chosen, it does not collect or speak the sense of the people;

2dly, That, in consequence of not thus expressing the sense of the people, we have been plunged into needless wars, and have incurred

incurred habits of profusion in the expenditure of the public resources;

3dly, That to these causes we must attribute the present distress, so generally felt by all ranks in the community; and therefore,

4thly, That the only remedy is to introduce into the House of Commons a greater number of members, chosen by large masses of people; and to exclude from the right of election all those small bodies which now elect representatives. — In stating this view of the subject, I have endeavoured to put, in the most accurate terms to which they can be reduced, the ideas of men, often confused themselves, and not seldom desirous to confuse others. As each link of this chain requires a short attention, I shall take them in their order, and first examine the assertion, that the sense of the people is not expressed by the House of Commons: if the proper term be used, and, instead of the sense of the people, the voice of the populace ought not rather be substituted, the proposition, though it might be sometimes true, would be as frequently false; the voice of the populace may be heard in tumultuous meetings, it may be excited by their base flatterers, it may be expressed by shouts, or outrages on their more respectable neighbours; but the sense of the people never has been, and never can be so collected; the real people, the quiet, orderly, industrious people, the frugal householders, the affectionate fathers of families, fly the scenes of riot and disorder, and leave to the profligate populace, through the organ of their orators, to express what sense or what nonsense they may think most suitable to their designs. Will it be contended, that the voice of the people is ascertained by noisy meetings, collected in large cities, abounding with idle or profligate inhabitants, when the aggregate of such meetings (if counted by the head, neglecting virtue, talents, and property,) does not contain one-tenth of the inhabitants of even such cities? Can that be the voice of the people, which is only heard from cities and large towns, when the far greater part of the inhabitants of this country live in small towns, villages, and scattered hamlets? Is the voice of these quiet, rural inhabitants, (the majority of the people,) which is felt in the legislature, but unheard in popular meetings, to be borne down by the rude clamours of a profligate minority in the metropolis? I readily allow, that the voice of the people is not easily to be collected; that if it be, as is assumed, the voice of God, it is at best but indistinctly to be heard; but of this I am confident, that the most erroneous mode in which it can be ascertained, is by attending to the yells and shouts of the most profligate of the populace, who most easily collect together in the largest cities.

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As the real voice of the people is of great importance, as its weaknesses are to be treated with tenderness, its errors with indulgence, and even its outrages (where any are committed) with lenity; so the best mode of ascertaining it is a desideratum in politics. If our members for counties be taken as the criterion of public opinion, it will generally be found, in the divisions in the House of Commons, that if each question were determined by them alone, the result would seldom vary from the decisions of the whole House as now constituted; if the members of the largest cities were alone to determine each question, the decision would be the same; and if, rejecting county members, and those chosen by cities and large towns, every question were left to the majority of those who sit for small boroughs, the result of their votes would be similar. I think it fair then to contend, not at every moment, nor in every question, but in general periods, and on questions on which the public have information, that the House of Commons, as now constituted, does express the sense and feeling of the majority of the real people of England, (though not of the populace of the large cities,) in a more clear, plain, intelligible and beneficial manner than ever has been effected before, or than could be effected by any scheme for alteration that has been proposed.

I proceed now to examine the second member of the argument, that for want of a popular feeling in the House of Commons, we have been plunged into wars and their consequent expenditure; now this proceeds on a supposition so contrary to fact, that a very short enumeration of events, almost within our own time, will show that the people have been at least as eager for war as either the ministers or their own representatives. The war of 1740, which the minister Walpole reluctantly began, which the House of Commons was at least not forward to urge on, was forced on the government by the voice of the people, whose indignation was roused against Spain for exercising some cruelties on our contraband traders, and kindled into fury by the loss of a smuggler's ears.

The seven years' war, which Lord Chatham so ably conducted till near its close, was popular with the nation in its commencement, in its progress, and till its termination. The encroachments of the French from Canada, were felt by the natives of Great Britain as an encroachment on their own property, and though a weak and timid ministry at first conducted the war, the people neither wished, nor attempted to stop it by any petitions or remonstrances.

The war with America was at its commencement a popular war, and the first successes were received with rapture; and excited

cited hopes of ultimate success; nor did it become unpopular until by mismanagement it became unsuccessful; but whilst from its ill success against America it disposed the people to relinquish our claims on the colonies, the war against France and Spain was cherished by the people, who to the last period of its duration, had feelings of resentment against those kingdoms for their unjust interference in our contests. The commencement of the war against revolutionary France was attended with the greatest portion of popular feeling; the democratic party, who opposed it, were obliged to hide their heads from the violence of their opponents; an active and artful party could procure no petitions against it; and even the populace, then unsophisticated by theories, and true to the best feelings of nature, held the cruelties practised on your King, your nobles, and your priests, in as much abhorrence as the higher ranks of the community, who might be expected more strongly to sympathise with them; and though during the long and arduous contest the spirits of the public varied with the alternations of success or reverse, the war was never completely unpopular with the great mass of the people.

Not only have the wars which we have waged, but those which we have contemplated, been as popular without, as within the walls of parliament. The silly contest about the miserable Falkland islands would have involved us in a war, if the government had not been cooler than the people; and we should have fallen into the same kind of struggle for a contemptible settlement at Nootka Sound, if the voice of the people had not been repressed by the superior wisdom of their rulers. This is sufficient to show, that any alteration in parliament which should introduce more of popular feeling, would not be the likely mode of preventing wars; and I will not now stop to show, as I might easily do, that the spirit of democracy is in its own nature, and is attested by all history to be, more productive of war, than either monarchy or aristocracy.

If the other part of the second branch of the argument be examined, we shall find it equally destitute of foundation in fact: it assumes, that in consequence of the absence of popular feeling in the House of Commons, a profusion in the expenditure of the public money has been exercised, which would not have existed had a large proportion of its members been chosen by a greater number of voters. If, as I have shown, the present members of the House are chosen principally by those who contribute most largely to the taxes, and are therefore most concerned in lessening the expenditure, it seems a strange method for producing economy to increase the number of those who pay the least, in

the expectation that they will better control the expenditure in which they are less interested, than those now do who are most interested in it. As I cannot reason on the operations in finance, or the improvements in economy, which might be introduced if the Commons were differently elected, until I know how the House would be constituted, I can enter into no comparison of what is done, with what in that case would be produced in our system; but I will state to you some of the improvements which have been of late made, and leave you to judge if they would be greater with a legislature differently constituted.

Before the administration of the late of Mr. Pitt, the supplies of stores for the navy, the ordnance, and other branches of government, were purchased of individuals, at an indefinite credit, and paid for sometimes at a longer, sometimes at a shorter period, according to the abundance or scarcity of money in the treasury. The mode of thus purchasing on indefinite credit, especially as no interest was paid, tended necessarily to enhance the price of each article that was purchased, and to advance it far more than the additional interest; because when the purchase was made, the seller would calculate on the most distant period of payment. By a very simple and unostentatious measure, instead of purchasing at indefinite credit, all sales to government were appointed to be made for bills at ninety days, and interest for those ninety days was paid to the seller.

By the former plan, a trader supplying government must have required a very large profit; as he could scarcely return his capital in less than four or five years: but by Mr. Pitt's plan, the trader who sells to government is contented with a small profit on his capital, which he can return four or five times in each year. During the war which followed the adoption of this plan, and up to the present period, the several administrations have been enabled to purchase their stores of all kinds, and to equip their ships, at a rate much lower than either our great trading corporation, the East-India Company, or than any private merchants can do. By this plain and simple operation, and by having all contracts open to all competitors, the ministers or the parliament, or both, have saved to the country, as I could easily demonstrate, more than one hundred millions sterling; and yet it is less dwelt on by the friends of government, than any trifle of a thousandth part of its amount, which, in the views of those who condemn all public measures, may have been improperly expended.

During the same period, the management of the various branches of our revenue has gradually, without any display or pretension to catch the public, been improving. The public income is collected by the Excise, the Custom-house, the Post-office, and

and the Tax-office, at a less rate per centum now, than at any former period: the rate of expense in managing the public debt is lessened; and in every department the government obtains the service of more talent and industry, at a less expense than can be obtained by private individuals. To show this, it would be necessary to enter into extensive details; but if we begin with the ministers, or the judges, and compare their emoluments with those of the eminent lawyer or merchant, and descend till we arrive at the excisemen, as compared with the journeymen shopkeepers, or any other parallel classes, we shall find, that in all its gradations the services of government are more cheaply executed than those of individuals or corporate bodies.

The emoluments derived from large sinecure offices are very considerably lessened, and their number diminished, and others are to be reduced as their present possessors are removed by death: the number of those in either House of Parliament who enjoy offices or pensions, is less than in any past period, and the amount of the sums they receive less in proportion to their number or their talents than formerly.

With this short statement of facts, relating to our public revenue and expenditure, to elucidate which, I could write you a volume instead of a letter, I must conclude with averring, that no project of alteration, that I am acquainted with, could have made the minister, or the House of Commons, take more effectual steps in our financial affairs, than they have hitherto done; and that whatever steps hereafter may be necessary, and certainly many require to be taken, they are as likely to be done by the present, as by any other legislative body which, by any new projects, could be collected.

Let us now see, what foundation there is for the third step in this curious argument; that the *present* distress is owing to our wars and expenditure, which are owing to an unrepresented people. I am not going to enter into the causes of the great distress, with which we and all Europe are at present visited; the subject is taken up by an abler hand, and one more capable of doing it justice; but until it can be proved that a different mode of choosing our members of Parliament would have restrained the torrents of rain which inundated all Europe, in the months of September and October last, I do not see what answer such a statement merits. I do not think it would be difficult to prove, that, if the influence of popular opinion had not prevented the legislature from giving to the agricultural interest due protection at an earlier period, a great part of the distress now felt, would have been obviated; but, without entering into that subject, I may well ask, what the choice
of

of members of parliament has to do with the distress felt, not only here, but in an equal, or greater degree, in France, Germany, and Holland?

The last topic to be touched on, is the remedy for the evils which have been supposed to exist, and for which such fictitious causes have been assigned: I do not deem the advocates for equal and universal suffrage entitled to a serious answer; the only language I would address to them is that of the poet:

*Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
Aptantur enses conditi?
Parumne campis atque Neptuno super
Fusum est Latini sanguinis?*

If the blood of millions sacrificed in France to their unrighteous principles, if the murder of your King, the plunder of your nobles, the desolation of your churches, and the destruction of your morals, be insufficient to arrest their rash and mischievous projects, I would call upon the vengeance of the present laws, or enact new ones, and devote to the severest punishment the offenders against order, tranquillity, and prosperity.

Some, however, have expressed the strongest abhorrence of the wicked doctrine of equal suffrage, and yet think alterations may be made which would improve, and not injure, the constitution; such men may vary in their plans, as well as in the eagerness with which they would push them into notice; but they may almost all be reduced to one class; those who would annihilate about fifty of the smaller boroughs, and add the same number of representatives to the different counties: this plan was proposed by Mr. Pitt in early life, and though he lived to see, and had candour to confess its folly, it is not now without some supporters of a most respectable class.

Of such men, I would ask, if they are prepared to sacrifice the elective franchise of their countrymen, without reason and without compensation? If they are disposed to make compensation, are they prepared to measure that by money, which the possessor may value more than money; or which, in its own nature, is not susceptible of such a valuation? Are they prepared forcibly to deprive of their inheritance those who are unwilling to relinquish it for a price? Is the consent to depend on, or is the compensation to be made to, the landlord, whose tenant now returns his kindness by supporting his son or his friend at an election; or is the tenant to be allowed to sacrifice for money the future interests of his landlord, by relinquishing a right to

vote,

vote, which he enjoys no longer than he is his tenant? I would not wish an honest and a wise man a severer exercise for his virtue, and talents, than to be obliged to regulate the various interests, and settle the perplexing discussions, to which an attempt at compensation would give rise.

Let us suppose, however, all these difficulties surmounted; that either by purchase, or by robbery, all the fifty smaller towns were deprived of their franchises; we should then add one hundred more to the county members, to that class of representatives which is more peculiarly the offspring of the landed interest, which already has a proportion equal to its property in the state; the number of other classes must be diminished, and thus the commercial men and lawyers be reduced below their due proportion, as referable to their property and talents.

With due deference to the landed interest, with a ready acquiescence in its superiority in influence, as in property; with a cheerful acknowledgement of its virtues, and of its due combination of loyalty with the love of liberty; I would venture to ask whether the addition of one hundred members to the House of Commons from this body, consequent on the exclusion of the same number from the statesmen by profession, from the commercial men and the professors of the law, would increase the knowledge, the talents, or the habits of business in that assembly? I would ask, if the addition to this class would be a benefit equal to the injury the community would suffer, from being deprived of the legislative combination of characters, with varying objects, pursuits, and knowledge, such as now occupy seats in parliament, and such as in some degree would be then excluded?

I rejoice to know, that the great, the landed interest, would be the last body in the state to lend itself to any project, which, whilst it increased the influence of its own class, would shake to the foundation the rights of its own and of all other property; with this conviction I am satisfied that any attempts at alteration will be received in Parliament with neglect and coolness, if not with scorn and abhorrence.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

February 8. 1817.

W. J.

LETTER

LETTER VIII. (Translation.)

To the Editor:

Communicating the Eloge of Ducis, by M. Deseze.

Dear Sir,

Paris, January 1817.

I BEG you to receive my thanks, for the extracts from the letters of my friend W——, which you were kind enough to transmit to me. Your last communication is still more precious. It conveys to me the first number of *THE CORRESPONDENT*, of which, as I well remember, we discussed the plan, when I had the pleasure of seeing you at my house. The idea, at that time, appeared to me to be happy in its conception, and founded on the most laudable principles: and I congratulate you on having put it in execution, under auspices so favourable. The articles, which I have read, are full of interest; and it is with great readiness, that I accede to your request, in adding to them a copy of the speech, which you heard me deliver, on the occasion of my reception, as a member of the French Academy. I leave it to your judgment to insert the speech, in whole or part, according to the limits of your work; being only fearful, that it may not be thought so worthy the attention of your readers, as your partiality leads you to anticipate. But it is your wish, and I obey, anxious, as I am to prove to you, how much I have at heart the strengthening the literary alliance of our two nations, for the maintenance and propagation of sound principles. My son regrets his not having met you in August last. He is still absent from Paris; but as soon as he returns, I will put *THE CORRESPONDENT* into his hands; and if his other occupations permit, I am sure he will be happy to send you an article.

Meanwhile, my dear Sir, suffer me to repeat my acknowledgements for your obliging attentions; and believe, I beseech you, in the sincerity of those sentiments of esteem, with which you have inspired me, and which I shall ever retain.

DE SEZE.

*Eloge of Ducis.**

Gentlemen,

One of the finest epochs of the French Monarchy, was that, when a Minister, ever celebrated for the profoundness of his

* This speech was delivered on the 25th of August, 1816, by M. Deseze, the celebrated Defender of Louis XVI., and now a Peer of France, on his taking his seat as a Member of the French Academy, to which he had been chosen in the place of the late eminent tragic Poet, M. Ducis. On such occasions it is usual for the new Member to pronounce an eulogium on his predecessor.

views, the strength of his character, and his unchangeable attachment to his sovereign, inspired the august son of * Henry IV. with the auspicious and noble idea of creating an asylum and a sort of temple for letters, where they might, in order to acquire greater splendour by becoming more useful, call around them distinguished men from among those who stood highest in renown, and make this distinction an additional reward; thus giving an impulse to all minds, animating the hopes and exciting the ambition of all, fostering the creations of genius, accelerating the march of the sciences, fixing the language destined to record the miracles of knowledge, and becoming in short the dispensers of glory, the lofty aim of mighty exertions, and the immutable standard of opinion.

At that epoch, Gentlemen, France was beginning to recover from the political convulsions by which she had so long been distracted; civil discord had ceased; factions were suppressed; the royal power was restored; the reins of government were confided to hands equally firm and skilful; the genius of one man had every where re-established order, authority, obedience, respect for the throne; and France, pacified and tranquil, was majestically approaching the Augustan age of Louis XIV., when in order to give a still better direction to the minds of men, to withdraw them from all political agitation, to incline them to letters, which, ever, since the reign of that most illustrious monarch, whom public gratitude surnamed their *Father*, had been almost lost in the din of arms, Cardinal RICHELIEU, to whom the nation owed all these prodigies, and who was actuated by the noble pride of perpetuating the remembrance of them; founded the French Academy.

I shall not, Gentlemen, speak to you of the splendor, which adorned this illustrious body, even from its origin; of that uninterrupted succession of celebrated men, who for almost two centuries have added so much to its renown; of the indefatigable and useful constancy of its labours; of those laurels consecrated to the emulation of talents; of those brilliant triumphs awarded to the successful efforts of poetry or of eloquence; of those more modest and rarer triumphs granted to that virtue which does good by stealth, and shuns applause; this would be to relate to you your own history. Neither shall I speak of the events which have since affected the French Academy; of the afflictions which

* Louis XIII., of whom the President Henault records it, as an ample testimony of glory, that "the son and father of two of the greatest Kings of France, he consolidated the still trembling throne of the one, and prepared the wonders of the other's reign."

it has sustained; of the changes which it has undergone; these sad recollections are still before you; but I shall request you, Gentlemen, to join me in tracing the astonishing analogy which appears to exist between the circumstances in which you now find yourselves, and those which attended your origin.

We also, even more than our fathers, have been assailed by horrible tempests, but the agitations occasioned by them have at length subsided. The heavens have again become serene; and France, shaken almost to her foundations, is re-established on her ancient basis. The throne that was her pride, and had formed her glory and her happiness for so many ages, is raised from its ruins; we have at length recovered the descendants of Sr. Louis and of HENRY IV.; above all, we have recovered the best of Kings, our lawful Sovereign; him for whose restoration we implored Providence so ardently; the only one whom the eternal principles of the monarchy could give us. We have recovered him, Gentlemen, after our long discords; it is he, it is that King full of gratitude and love for letters, which his youth cultivated with such distinguished success, and which afforded him in misfortune such great consolation, it is he who at the moment when he sees France at length tranquillised, the nation restored to her original sentiments and to her most grateful duties, the throne again re-established by a most happy and august alliance, he, calling to his aid the worthy heir of the immortal name of Richelieu, whom his high confidence intrusts with the superintendence of our destinies, hastens to restore to the empire of literature its ancient forms in order to revive its ancient glory; re-establishes the academies; takes them under his *direct and especial protection*; replaces yours in the rank which was assigned to it from its origin; associates them all, as he himself observes, with the restoration of the monarchy, and places their constitution and their laws in unison with the existing order of the government.*

What an unexpected re-establishment, Gentlemen, after an interval of nearly two centuries! What brilliant hopes, and, at the same time, what a gratifying surprise!

But how much must this surprise be augmented, on my part, Gentlemen, when, in so memorable a solemnity, on a day so dear to religion†, to the monarchy, to all France, at the very moment, too, when all the recollections of your institution revive, when all its traditions are renewed, when the present con-

* The King's Ordinance of the 26th March, 1816.

† The festival of St. Louis.

nects itself with the past, and when the past seems even to revive in the present, I also find myself seated in the midst of you, and forming part of a body, whose renown has survived so many calamities, and which could see its name extinguished, without losing its glory.

I am far, indeed, from flattering myself, that I had any claim to so honourable a distinction; and be assured, Gentlemen, that this avowal does not proceed from false modesty. I know what is the career that I have run; I may say, without vanity, that, devoted, at an early age, to the study of the laws, and the defence of the oppressed; incessantly occupied in seeking, in the noblest of professions, whatever might tend still more to elevate or aggrandise it in my own estimation; soothing the numberless fatigues, which it imposed on me, by the peaceful cultivation of letters, which fertilise and adorn it; transplanted from the south of France into the capital, by the sole but urgent necessity of listening to those orators, whose triumphs excited my emulation, like the warrior of old, whom the trophies of *Miltiades* suffered not to sleep; I have had, in the different lists that I have entered, great contests to sustain; I have met with some brilliant opportunities; I have even obtained, perhaps by dint of zeal, some momentary successes. But, Gentlemen, what are these fleeting advantages, generally obtained with difficulty, and always so easily forgotten, in comparison with the inestimable honour this day awarded to me by your suffrages, and which places me, along with yourselves, at the bar of public opinion? Gentlemen, I shall not give way to illusion; it was not talent that you sought for or appreciated in me; you had higher thoughts; you gave me credit for the ardour, with which, abandoning the voluntary retirement to which I had doomed myself, I embraced, along with my noble colleagues, in the most disastrous times of our sanguinary revolution, the most sacred of all causes. You have estimated the necessary accomplishment of a great duty, as a signal act of virtue. Sentiments perfectly monarchical, and fidelity ever binding, you have considered as claims in some degree literary. That, Gentlemen, is the real motive of your indulgence. Besides, you were desirous of testifying, for the example, and even for the honour of France, your personal sentiments. You wished to prove to that monarch, whom she reveres, and to whom you now owe your existence as a body, your gratitude for his beneficence; and on the occasion of appointing a successor to the illustrious man, whom he honoured with his affection, and now honours with his regret, you deemed yourselves bound to call on one, who defended your Sovereign's august and ill-fated brother, to receive so noble an inheritance.

inheritance. I, gentlemen, more than any one, can feel all that is delicate and affecting, in a distinction proceeding from such motives; and that delight which is usually experienced in obtaining a merited act of justice, I this day experience in enjoying a spontaneous favour. But the more estimable that favour is, Gentlemen, the greater difficulty I find in attempting its justification. How, indeed, is your immense loss to be repaired! How is it even to be alleviated!

M. DUCIS, Gentlemen, was one of those rare men, whom nature takes, as it were, under her exclusive charge; whom she forms for herself; who owe nothing to art; who have no masters but themselves; who rise by their own energies; and who adorn the age in which they live, not only by their genius, but by their elevation of soul, their strength of character, and their virtues. Sprung from a family, which had not the good fortune to be French, but himself a Frenchman, and born near the nursery of our kings, M. Ducis, belonged, by descent, to that people so renowned for the affecting artlessness of their manners, their goodness, their simplicity, their frankness; who, amidst all the vices of modern Europe, have retained much of the purity of the ancient character; who, neighbours and allies of France, gave us a queen, the more worthy of the crown from not having worn it; and that princess, the consort of the adored prince, to whom we owe the young heroes, now the glory of the French name, the natural supports of the throne, the noblest hope of the country. Perhaps, Gentlemen, it is also to the origin of M. Ducis that we are to ascribe that unalterable character of open-heartedness, candour, simplicity, and ingenuousness, which formed so striking a contrast with his rich fancy, his ardent soul, and his enthusiastic virtues; a contrast that was remarked in him, even from his earliest youth! That period, however, seems to have glided away in a sort of obscurity: some successes in his studies, which excited his emulation, without exalting his self-love; some journeys into the country of his fathers, which gave him to feel the charm, that nature attaches to all family-feelings; some excursions over the summits of the Alps, whose majesty, striking and astounding his contemplative eye, enlarged his thoughts; the view even of some of the scenes of that famous seven years' war, to the field of which he had been attracted by particular circumstances, and where one man so long and so courageously contended against all Europe, without ever despairing of his fate — thus, Gentlemen, were the early years of M. Ducis absorbed. Glory had not as yet engaged his mind; he was in no haste to make a public appearance; he was silently improving himself; he was freely indulging his enthusiasm.

siasm for poetry. The dramatic efforts, which, at this period, escaped from this secret ardour, did not satisfy him; but he was not the less aware of his powers; he essayed them; he, as it were, sought out his talent; all his faculties were in action; his soul glowed; and, in that active, and ardent soul, he at length discovered the power of Tragedy. To him, Gentlemen, it was a discovery: until then, his mind had been engrossed with Corneille, and particularly with Crébillon; he had witnessed, with rapture, the performance of their master-pieces; he had also witnessed those of Racine; even in his old age, he could recollect the deep impression made on him in childhood by the tragedy of Athaliah, performed under some orange-trees, in a village; but it was the perusal of SHAKESPEARE, at that too famous epoch, when all the minds in France were solely occupied with English literature, which, inflaming his imagination, and carrying him beyond himself, at once disclosed to him his dramatic genius, just as Mallebranche became at once a metaphysician at the age of twenty-six, by reading Descartes.

Here, Gentlemen, we might perhaps be astonished, that a foreign poet, in whose works are doubtless to be found some striking beauties, commanding passages, sublime flights, and frequently the most agonizing pathos; but mixed with monstrous irregularities, gross defects, glaring improbabilities; and by whom every style is confounded, all rules despised, all consistency disregarded; that such a writer, I say, should have obtained such sway over the mind and soul of M. Ducis! We might be tempted to ask, what were the causes of this extraordinary ascendancy, instantaneously gained over the faculties of a man, who immediately conceived the project of transferring to our theatre all those passions, which he had just seen developed in succession, by the genius of Shakspeare, on the English stage.

How far, it might also be asked, is it allowable, in matters of art, to import into our own, the manners of a foreign nation? Whether the impressions or the habits of a people, are so hastily to be broken or changed? Whether a polished people, in particular, are capable of receiving the ideas or the inventions of a people that was only half-civilised, at this period, which is attempted to be retraced? Whether, in representing customs, feelings, spectacles to which a civilised age is unaccustomed, we do not run the risk of impairing the national character? Whether it be not evident, at least, that such a proceeding injures the taste, and, far from promoting the progress of art, tends to give it a retrograde movement? These, Gentlemen, are so many delicate questions, which might require a careful examination; and it is perhaps

perhaps only by exercising, in their discussion, a learned spirit, an exquisite tact, and a profound knowledge of the principles of the dramatic art; that we might hope at once to illustrate and to decide them. 'You certainly will not expect, Gentlemen, that I should, in the presence of my masters, enter into this discussion, so foreign, in its nature, to the duties and the labours, in which my life has been employed; I shall not imitate that rhetorician, who spoke on the art of war, before Hannibal. I resign to that more eloquent and highly gifted voice, which you are fortunately to hear after me, the care of stating those observations, which may arise from so extraordinary an affinity between two great poets, one of whom served as a model for the other, though separated by a foreign origin and a lapse of more than two centuries; and who have both, in the presence of their respective nations, although so different in tastes, sentiments, opinions, and character, developed the same subjects, and exhibited the same pictures.'

I shall merely remark, Gentlemen, to the honour of M. Ducis, that if allured by the dramatic, we might almost say the colossal beauties, which he saw abounding in Shakspeare, he sought the models of his tragedies in the amplifications of that gigantic writer, he did not indiscriminately draw from that source; that he selected; that what he selected he adorned; and that even the severest critics allow that he generally simplified Shakspeare; that he removed several of his most revolting faults, and that not unfrequently, he even embellished him. M. Ducis, Gentlemen, was, like Shakspeare, the poet of nature; he obeyed only her inspirations, he knew no emotions but hers. The principal characteristic of his talent was energy. He was formed emphatically to paint strong passions and deep feelings; he moved the soul of his auditors at will. In the pieces which he has imitated from Shakspeare, how many superior beauties, which are exclusively his own! How many powerful strokes of genius, how many unexpected bursts of tragic eloquence, which challenge admiration! Besides, it was not Shakspeare alone, Gentlemen, that M. Ducis sought to revive among us, but Sophocles also. He was equally struck with that fine and simple nature of those ancients, who had fathomed the human heart, and developed all its emotions, and with the stupendous and irregular nature exhibited by a modern hand. His vast mind seemed, in its comprehensiveness, to accommodate itself to styles the most opposite; but while drawing from Sophocles as well as from Shakspeare, he failed not to open a path for himself, in which he moved alone. Who else, in fact, has entered so deeply into those feelings which belong directly to nature? Who else has so truly and profoundly traced

traced all those family-affections, all those cordial attachments, and wants, those sacred ties, all that constitutes the first duties of man, and, by one of the most gracious bounties of Providence, his highest felicity? Who else, especially, has painted filial piety in such charming colours, has exhibited so perfect a model of it, as that ANTIGONE, whose name alone will, from age to age, revive those inexhaustible and tender feelings, of which every emotion is virtue, and every sacrifice is enjoyment? Who has more forcibly avenged the outrage of paternal authority, or has more powerfully asserted the rights of that sacred power? Who has imparted to the sorrows of conjugal fidelity and affection a more penetrating expression, or more touching ejaculations? Lastly, Gentlemen, who has stigmatized and pursued crime with greater energy? Who has painted remorse with more awful truth; and at the same time who has incessantly represented virtue in forms more imposing, more exalted, or more refined? It is in this respect, that the dramas of M. Ducis present something extremely remarkable; those dramas, different from so many others which are far from possessing that characteristic, are in effect a course of morals. Each of the pieces unfolds its peculiar lesson; and all those lessons are striking. The author has evidently felt what he describes, all those virtuous passions, those mild affections, that filial piety, that paternal piety, that conjugal piety, which he has so vividly portrayed, existed in his heart; and if in delineating them he has displayed so rich a talent, it is because he had in fact experienced them all. Hence, Gentlemen, from the very nature of this talent, so extraordinary, but sometimes unequal, careless and incorrect, joined to his vehement impetuosity, the public compared him to that celebrated missionary, whose astonishing voice, profound piety, and lofty and abrupt inspirations, aided by a diction strongly figurative, and an eloquence frequently sublime, though uncultivated, raised him to so high a reputation in the capital, and insured to him such great success; Ducis was called the BRIDAINE of tragedy; and this perhaps is a further justification of the powerful interest which he excited on the stage, even by his first productions. Hence, too, we may account for those profound emotions which he caused, those tears which he drew, and the glory which his Hamlet, and especially his Œdipus obtained for him. You will judge, Gentlemen, of the splendour of that glory, by the recompense which he derived from it. The greatest poet of France, that illustrious man who had filled the universe with his name, whose whole life might have been called one series of triumphs, who had as it were monopolised all successes, all kinds of talent, and every species of glory, and none of whose titles to renown would

now

now be disputed, if religion had not unhappily such heavy cause of reproach against him; M. de VOLTAIRE had just terminated his long and brilliant career. He had left an immense void in literature to be filled up; but that might be called the succession of Alexander. He left a void also, in the French Academy; and this, Gentlemen, M. Ducis was called upon to occupy after him.

Already, and indeed some years previous to this election, so honourable to the Academy, and which would alone serve as the eulogy of M. Ducis, the rising renown of this modest man had obtained for him a reward, which could not fail to cheer and flatter his breast. In his poems, we find an epistle addressed to his mother, in which, complaining of his destiny, he said to her,

“ *————— Ah! si le sort moins ennemi
“ Honorerait mes travaux par d’illustres suffrages,”*

Gentlemen, this secret prayer of his heart had been heard; one of those illustrious suffrages which he so ardently desired, and indeed the most illustrious of all, came to seek him and encourage him in his retirement. That prince, born in the avenue to the throne, which, for the happiness of France, he at length occupies, had deigned, amidst the allurements which surrounded his youth, and from which his reason so well defended him, to attach M. Ducis to him by acts of kindness; and to fix that attachment by a title, which rendered them still more estimable. I need not tell you, Gentlemen, how profound was the gratitude of M. Ducis to his young and august protector, but his heart longed for a brilliant opportunity to testify it. Scarcely was he called to the Academy, and at liberty to express what he owed to that illustrious body, in that fine discourse in which he appears to augment the glory of his predecessor by detailing it, when he hastened to avail himself of this first solemn occasion, to express his acknowledgements to the prince by whose goodness his own glory had been so nobly prepared.

Permit me, Gentlemen, here to cite his very words, which are perhaps unknown to the present generation. Would that I could praise M. Ducis, solely by what he himself has said and written! His memory would then be worthily honoured, and the panegyrist would be equal to his subject.

“ But where can I better consecrate, than in the sanctuary of
“ letters, and in your presence, Gentlemen, my eternal gratitude
“ to the Prince, who has deigned to attach me to him by a title
“ still more dear to me than his favours? It is to this title, that
“ I owe the honour of having more closely contemplated that
“ taste for occupation and study, which is so rare in the next de-
“ gree to a throne, and which so worthily fills up the voids of
“ greatness;

“ greatness; all the acquirements, suitable to a prince, embellished with all the natural ornaments of the mind, and those graces of the disposition, which courts, and especially the French court, delight to see associated with the virtues. It is he, Gentlemen, who in the obscurity of my retirement, deigned to encourage my feeble labours. His suffrage emboldened me to solicit yours. The most pleasing sentiment of my heart, is to be able to unite what I owe to the goodness of the Prince who honours me, with what I owe to the most distinguished literary body in Europe, who have been pleased to adopt me; it shall be the labour of my whole life to render myself worthy of this double honour.”

Thirty-seven years, Gentlemen, have elapsed, since the day when M. Ducis thus expressed himself with regard to a prince, who was himself at that time only four-and-twenty; and who had already given to renown such brilliant presages of his future life! — Since that epoch, what strange things have occurred! what events have taken place! what revolutions have succeeded each other! Yet that taste for occupation, those acquirements suitable to princes, those natural ornaments of the mind, those graces of the disposition, which are the indications also of virtue, all those rare qualities, which M. Ducis so well describes, have remained the same, or rather they have been still further developed; every thing, in this immense interval, has assumed a different form; that fine portrait alone has remained unchanged.

Ah! Gentlemen, it was by the heart of M. Ducis, that heart so inflexibly attached to its august benefactor, that those immutable lineaments could alone be traced. Accordingly, in reverting to his past life, you will ever find him endeavouring to merit the esteem of his prince; making it his sole glory to prove himself worthy of him, and religiously preserving the remembrance of his virtues and of his goodness. I see him, when elected a member of the Academy, and stimulated by that distinction, which raised him in his own opinion, labouring to do justice to their choice in the opinion of the nation, continuing his fine career, maintaining in his dramas, the same genius, the same courage, the same lessons; pursuing crime with even renewed energy, portraying virtue with raptures equally new; and ever producing grand effects, or tender emotions, or profound impressions. I admire, Gentlemen, that brilliant fertility; that sustained vigour, and, above all, that pure morality, which would retrieve the drama from the censure levelled against it, if all those who devote themselves to this noble art were equally scrupulous and equally severe. — But what strikes me still more, Gentlemen, is to perceive that at that deplorable epoch, when
all

all ideas began to be perverted, when all the principles by which we had been governed from the foundation of the monarchy, were attacked; when the most seditious maxims were promulgated even in our theatres; when royalty was insulted there; when the people were there poisoned with the most violent declamations in favour of anarchy; when the Revolution was described as "the legitimate effect of the rights of nature." M. Ducis, on the contrary, inflexible in his principles as in his conduct, never partook of the delirium, with which men's minds were so generally agitated, and was only the more strenuous during those times of error and madness, in defending royalty on the stage; in vindicating its legitimate rights, in combating against usurpation, and in preserving the sacred fire of those monarchical sentiments which are so essential to the welfare of a people, and the sole guarantee against their destruction. *

And know you, Gentlemen, from whence the political principles of M. Ducis derived their strength? It was wholly derived from his religious principles. From his early years M. Ducis was distinguished by the unsullied purity of his moral conduct. The education which he had received, had religion for its basis, as the first and the most secure foundation. M. Ducis never deviated from it. Even at the time when a false philosophy endeavoured to bring religious opinions into discredit, and took a sort of pride in holding them forth to contempt, M. Ducis raised by the dignity of his character above all those ignoble systems which degrade man instead of exalting him, gloried in his fidelity to religion. One of our most eloquent and virtuous writers, with whom he was connected by the warmest friendship, M. Thomas, said of him, "*that he had lived through his own time, but his own time had not left on him any of its stains.*" And this just and honourable testimony, which was borne to him, many years before the Revolution, by a man whose suffrage might be deemed a reward, M. Ducis during the Revolution merited still more. Nothing, indeed, even in the most unhappy times, could shake his inflexible virtue. In vain did the Revolution become sanguinary, in vain did tyranny pile up its victims, in vain did terror hover over all heads, M. Ducis was no less constant and intrepid, and displayed no less courage in professing, cultivating, and exercising his religious sentiments.

I am ashamed, Gentlemen, to speak of courage, and I reproach myself for this timid language, when the most sacred of man's

* See his *Macbeth*, and *King John*.

duties is in question; that duty which places him in immediate relation with God, that to which the immortality of his destiny is attached; as if in fact courage were needed, to show ourselves faithful to principles, without which there would be an end of all social order. But let us not, Gentlemen, deprive poor and feeble human nature of any of the merit, which it may have, in rallying and taking confidence in itself. We must allow, that there are in the history of nations some epochs, when the most necessary and the most honourable virtues are difficult: let us commend M. Ducis for not allowing himself to be dismayed by those difficulties, or for having surmounted them; and let us congratulate ourselves, that it was in the very bosom of this society, that so noble an example was given.

Besides, Gentlemen, observe how the virtues mutually depend on and aid each other; how their exercise grows into usage; how constraint becomes habit! That courage which M. Ducis exercised in support of religion, religion in requital empowered him to exercise in aid of friendship.

I was just now speaking of that which bound him to M. Thomas. They both had agreed, that he who should survive the other should still honour and cherish his memory. This affecting compact, similar to those of the ancients, which imbued friendship with a feeling so religious and so perdurable, was realized.

M. Thomas, soon afterwards, exhausted by his long labours, expired in the arms of M. Ducis, and in those of M. Montazet, Archbishop of Lyons, who had also the warmest affection for him. A marble monument was erected to his memory by that prelate, who, deeply afflicted by the loss of this illustrious man, wished to perpetuate his just regret. The monument remained untouched for some years, but at a period when no respect existed even for sepulchres, the government ordered it to be removed and destroyed. M. Ducis was informed of this; his heart was indignant at such an order; he begged that it might be revoked; he demanded the preservation of the monument; it was refused; he insisted; he was again refused; at length he offered to sacrifice what was a considerable sum, in proportion to his fortune, and the monument was preserved.

It was doubtless gratifying to M. Ducis, Gentlemen, to have succeeded in rescuing the memory of his friend from the outrage that was intended against it; but we may readily conceive that this outrage, this marked contempt for the glory of one of our most renowned writers, these mournful discussions concerning the dead, left on his heart a deep sense of melancholy. He had long ere this lived in seclusion; he now secluded himself still

more; he rendered his retirement inaccessible; he withdrew more closely into the bosom of his family and his friends; yet he did not entirely abandon the tragic canvas; he at times resumed his pencil; he still recurred to Shakspeare and to Sophocles. But in proportion as the oppression of France grew more grievous, as our misfortunes threatened to be eternal, and the usurpation was consummated, his melancholy gradually took a gloomier cast. Indignant at seeing his country subjected to a yoke which he abhorred, there were no longer any bounds to his grief; he almost entombed himself alive; he no longer quitted his asylum at Versailles, where the august shades of our kings seemed still to hover around him; and where he retraced the recollections of his early years, and the first impressions which he had received. In these recollections he was totally absorbed. He wished to withdraw from the sight of public miseries; the weight of them evidently pressed upon his heart; he estranged himself from all that surrounded him. He lived in solitude. He renounced the drama; he threw away the tragic pencil; he no longer attended the performance of his productions; he bade farewell to his glory; still that glory importuned him; he attempted other branches of poetry. He applied his talent to rural subjects; he painted nature; he painted the country; he sung his household gods, his garden, his grove, his hut. He passed, with facility, and with equal success, from tragedy to pastoral.

At the same time, Gentlemen, with these pleasing subjects he mingled others of a graver nature; he frequently discussed moral topics with his friends; in epistles which the great poet whom he succeeded would not have disclaimed. He took particular delight in encouraging his young rivals, the tragic author of *Agamemnon*, and the much regretted author of *The death of Henry IV.* He unbosomed himself to them; he spoke of their art with enthusiasm; he exhorted them to ennoble their talents by the exercise of the active virtues.

* "Les bonnes actions sont de beaux vers de plus." *

And this advice, Gentlemen, he himself followed. He was still more occupied in performing *good actions* than in making *fine verses*. Though without fortune, he found means to comfort the afflicted, to assist childhood, to succour old age. Pity was natural to him; it was the inmost feeling of his noble heart. The good which he did, formed the real happiness of his retirement; it added to his repose; and in this repose he one day wrote to a friend:

* "Good actions are so many fine verses more." *Epistle to Legouvé.*

Nous

" Nous l'avons dit souvent, quand tout est agité,
 " Heureux, sur tant de flots, qui dans l'arche est resté." *

It was there indeed, Gentlemen, that he himself took refuge. He had seen a deluge of evils inundate the earth, an universal tempest, an impending overthrow of the world, and he had sheltered himself in the ark. Yet, even in the ark, his soul was continually oppressed: the hatred which he bore the Usurper was implacable; it increased daily; it was actually a passion. His name was not to be mentioned before him; his temper, naturally mild, revolted at the bare sound. Hence, Gentlemen, it was in vain that allurements were spread to gain over, or to subdue him. His poverty was tempted; his courage was tried: nothing could either seduce or shake him. He resisted every thing. Friendship then took the alarm: it dreaded the perils to which he exposed himself; it sought to snatch him from them. Among other persons, a celebrated writer, with whom he had been formerly connected, endeavoured to induce him to accept at least some gratuity from the government. He answered, that "let what would happen, he would accept nothing that would add one doit to his income; that what he had was sufficient for him; that he desired no more; and that his resolution, which he had long formed, would remain unshaken till death." Recourse was then had to what were considered more potent means. That envied symbol was offered to him, which was the brilliant reward both of military glory and of civil virtues: he modestly declined it; and perhaps even then anticipating, that one day an august and revered hand would itself place that noble token of honour on the heart which beat in secret for its welfare, he begged to be excused. A further step was taken; he was to be raised to a place in one of the great bodies of the state. A decree appointed him to it; he again excused himself. Then all his family, his friends, and those who had any connection with him, hastened in consternation to his retreat. They opposed this sacrifice; they begged him not to decide hastily; they urged the consideration of his interest, his attachment to his family, his future fate; they even represented to him the imminent dangers that would ensue from his refusal. All was useless; his resolution remained unshaken; and, without making any ostentation of his refusal, he persisted in it. But, Gentlemen, there is another instance yet more astonishing, because to a soul like that of Ducis,

* " We have often said, that when all is agitated, happy is he who, in such a flood, remains in the ark." *Epistle to M. Soldani.*

it is much more easy to renounce emoluments or dignities, than what has any relation to glory. You remember that famous institution of the decennial prizes, destined to recompense the authors of the best works published within a period of ten years; you also remember the jury established to decide on those works; you know that a first report of the Institute decreed the prize of Tragedy to the celebrated author of *The Templars*; and that without recalling so just a decision, a second report some years afterwards proposed to grant to M. Ducis, in consideration of the new beauties he had introduced into the tragedy of *Hamlet*, a particular and brilliant reward; but what you perhaps do not know, Gentlemen, and what is incumbent on me to make known, in justice to his memory, is, that M. Ducis, informed of this new resolution, hastened to protest against its execution, and thus expressed himself in a paper now in my possession:

“I did not think any poet in the world could be better secured from the decennial prizes than myself. My tragedy of *Hamlet* was produced long before the Revolution. It has nothing in common with the new epoch of the ten years. It obtained for me the most honourable reward of the time; the Academy raised me to the chair of M. de Voltaire; MONSIEUR, the brother of Louis XVI. placed me in the number of his secretaries; my harvest was then gathered. I could never have imagined, that means could be found of making my *Hamlet* belong to the decennial prizes; it would be converting the past into the present, to give me an involuntary claim on the rewards of the present time, to which I cannot possibly have the smallest right.

“Besides, how should I consent to receive a prize which has been awarded by the Institute itself, and which so justly belongs to the eloquent author of *The Templars*?* No power on earth shall compel me to do so; and if I had no alternative but to accept the prize or perish, my decision is made, — I would perish.”

In this instance, Gentlemen, where, as you perceive, all the aversion of M. Ducis to the favours of the Usurper is expressed without any dissimulation, with freedom, and with force, and where the determination to brave death rather than accept them is so energetically declared, I avow, that I am astonished at so much courage; and, when I reflect that it was displayed in the

*This is a mistake of M. Ducis. It was not the prize already adjudged to the author of *The Templars* that was proposed to be decreed to him; it was, as we have just said, a particular recompense.

face of the most audacious and terrible power that ever appalled the world, I cannot but regard this astonishing man as one of the greatest of modern characters. Indeed, I know not whether, considering all the circumstances of his conduct, the style of his refusals, their constancy, their number, the dangers of every kind to which they might expose him, and the still more formidable dangers arising from the allurements he had to shun, we should find any thing superior to it among the ancients.

Now, Gentlemen, judge from what an immense load a heart like that of M. Ducis must have been relieved, when, in the month of January 1814, he, with all France, saw that this monstrous power, which oppressed the universe, was about to fall to pieces; that all Europe was armed for its destruction; that her deliverance and ours were resolved upon; that our legitimate government was to be restored; that we were soon to see again the inestimable family of the Bourbons, so intimately united to the monarchy which identifies itself with them; that we were at length about to possess that Prince, whose misfortunes, according to the expression of Bossuet, had as it were accomplished him. It were vain for me to attempt, Gentlemen, to represent to you the ineffable satisfaction which then engrossed the soul of M. Ducis; there are sensations which cannot be described. I shall only say that, wholly possessed with these sensations, and burning to express them, he sought for, and recovered his wandering genius; and that in a fragment of poetry, with which the public is as yet unacquainted, a fragment remarkable for the talent, the indignation, and the glowing energy which pervades it, he thus speaks of the Usurper;

“ *Dieu de tous les forfaits avait rendue capable*
 “ *Pour une œuvre sans nom un monstre invraisemblable,*
 “ *Tout ensemble Erostrate, Tartuffe, et Sylla;*
 “ *Avec Art, et génie, et joie, il désola,*
 “ *Il dénatura tout, osa tout, fit tout croire.*
 “ *Fit pour lui le passé, le présent, et l’histoire.**”

In the same fragment, by a most happy antithesis, he exclaims, in speaking of Louis XVIII., whose return was then certain—

* “ Heaven, for an inscrutable purpose, had rendered an anomalous monster capable of every crime; he was at once Erostratus, Tartuffe, and Sylla: he displayed at once art and genius, and even delight in desolation. He de-
 “ praved every thing, dared every thing, confounded falsehood with truth,
 “ appropriated to himself the past, the present, and the future.” “ *Temple*”

“Temple de Saint-Denis, pour régner sur la France
 Si Louis doit bientôt revoir ta plaine immense,
 Aurons nous, pour bénir la fin de nos malheurs
 Assez d’encens, de vœux, de chants, et de pleurs ?” *

And in concluding,

“Qu’entends je ! quels transports ! on sanglote, on s’écrie,
 Roi, peuple, embrassons nous, au nom de la patrie !
 Pour voir ce grand accord, pour en jouir, ô cieux !
 Recommencez ma vie, et rendez-moi les yeux !” †

Ah ! Gentlemen, if the life of M. Ducis, at that time unfortunately so far spent, did not recommence at such a glorious epoch, Providence at least preserved it long enough for him to see and share the happiness of France, to hail the august protector of his youth, to receive from his hand and place upon his heart the revered image of Henry IV., to confide to his sovereign his destiny, to consign to him that of his family; and above all, to hear from his royal lips those flattering words, which addressed to a single man, resounded through a whole empire, and which, the instant they proceeded from the monarch’s heart, were the most precious of all rewards to the heart which received them.

You conceive, Gentlemen, what happiness M. Ducis must have felt when he was honoured with a private audience by his sovereign, when he saw him alone, and conversed some moments with him; but, I hope, you will be still farther gratified in hearing his own account of it, from a sort of journal in which he recorded every evening what had occurred to him during the day, and in which he relates what passed, at two interviews, on the 13th of May, 1814, and the 10th of January, 1816.

“13th May, 1814. Friday. — I had the honour of being presented to the King after mass, by the Duke de Duras, of offering him the homage of a collection of my works, which he very graciously received. On saying to him that I hoped he had not forgotten the traits of one of his oldest servants, he (to prove to me that he remembered them) immediately recited, from memory, and without the smallest hesitation, four lines

* “Temple of Saint Denis, if Louis, coming to reign over France, is again about to behold thy spacious plain, what incense, what prayers, what songs and tears of joy shall suffice us to hail the termination of our woes!”

† “What transports! what bursts and cries of joy do I hear! King! people! Let us embrace in the name of our country! O Heaven! that I may behold and enjoy this grand re-union, recommence my life, and restore my sight!”

“from

“from my tragedy of *Oélide chez Admète*, which I had the honour to dedicate to him before the Revolution:

“ Oni, tu seras un jour chez la race nouvelle
 “ De l’amour filial le plus parfait modèle;
 “ Tant qu’il existera des pères malheureux
 “ Ton nom consolateur sera sacré pour eux.”

“The King pronounced these four lines with exquisite feeling and grace, and regarded me with a look full of benignity.”

I need not, Gentlemen, point out to you all that is delicate and affecting in this kind act of the King, this ingenious quotation, this sudden proof so appositely adduced, that the remembrance of his old servant was not obliterated from his heart, this honourable compliment to the poet’s talent, and at the same time this happy allusion to the *modern Antigone*, the daughter of kings, the model of so many virtues, and especially of that which M. Ducis characterised so well, and which the King wished to retrace; that soul of sublime fortitude whose heroism may be said to equal her misfortunes! These are traits, Gentlemen, by which it is easy to recognise the prince whose mind so promptly and nobly seconds the impulses of his heart.

M. Ducis thus speaks of the favour of the second interview:

“10th January, 1816. Wednesday. — I was introduced to the King at the Tuileries; the King received me with infinite kindness. He first reminded me of some solemn and well known lines; my effort to recall them prevented me from remembering them. He spoke to me of Voltaire, of his immense wit, in which quality he abounded more than in genius. He spoke to me of the attempts of Buonaparte to gain me over. I entreated that he would be pleased to receive under his royal protection my two nieces, Adela Ducis, entering on her seventeenth year, and her younger sister, Amelia, entering on her fourteenth year; both educated with Christian care, and uniting with me and my family, in our prayers, for the welfare of our good and wise King. He answered, that he would take charge of them, and that they should never want. He urged me to the composition of poems in support of Christian morals and of virtue. He spoke to me of religion, in a manner at once simple and august, with a deep feeling of piety. Monsieur Dambray, Chancellor of France, was in waiting to

* d. Yes; among the new race, thou shalt be the most perfect model of filial piety; so long as unhappy fathers are to be found, thy consolatory name shall by them be held sacred.”

“succeed me, and I retired. In this audience, the King addressed me several times, with ‘my dear Ducis,’ in an accent peculiarly kind.

“I stated to him, that what I desired for my nieces was not fortune, but the means of subsisting through the goodness of the King. He assured me, they might depend on his protection.”

“12th January, Friday. — Dined with my family at home. I recollect, this day, that on Wednesday, the 10th of this month, being alone with the King in his cabinet, he reminded me of these lines in Hamlet:—

“*Ah ! Si l me permettait cet horrible entretien,
La pâleur de mon front passerait sur le tien ;
Nos mains se sécheraient en touchant la couronne,
Si nous savions, mon fils, à quel titre il la donne ;
Vivant, du rang suprême on sent mal le fardeau ;
Mais qu’un sceptre est pesant, quand on entre au tombeau.” **

“The King recited these verses, which are mine, in a firm and energetic manner. I was delighted to hear them so well delivered from the mouth of my King; and I shall often dwell on the remembrance.

“So great an honour has been the lot of few poets.”

Oh! pardon me, Prince, if, impelled by the feeling that now actuates me, I venture to disclose to all France what passed in private, between you and one of your most faithful subjects. You yourself knew not that he would record it; you did not foresee this solitary and unknown testimony borne to the virtues with which you adorn the throne; you did not think, that history had already begun with you. Prince, there is no flattery here; the awe of your presence did not here operate; it was not to you that this man of deep sensibility addressed himself. It was to gratify the wish of his own heart; it was the overflowing of his affection, which dictated to him the expression of what he had seen. He recorded it with simplicity; he wrote, at the near approach of death; he designed his notes as a memorial for his family; doubtless also as a memorial for posterity; and you see with what feelings of admiration and gratitude he spoke of your fa-

* “Ah! if that dreadful conference were allowed me, thy countenance would assume the paleness of mine; our hands would wither on receiving the crown, if we knew, my son, on what terms it is given. While we live, the load of greatness is somewhat galling; but how heavy is the sceptre when we descend to the tomb.”

yours, of those noble emotions which he had witnessed. Here, Prince, is an homage which must move you; of all that you will ever receive it is the most worthy of you. These few lines, written in secret, far from your presence, by a man on the brink of the grave, and which you were not to know, say more than all the tongues of fame could have said; but judge also, Prince, by these very lines, what power one recollection of you can command; consider the influence of a word, a movement, a look; see with what enthusiasm you inspired that timid old man; how he must have regretted that his life was so near its close; how he would have devoted it to you; what use he would have made of his own talents for your sake, for that of your glory and of his own, which he attached to yours, if he could have enjoyed a few more years? Prince, this example reveals to you how much it is in your power to effect for letters, arts, and sciences. One word from you to one of those laborious men, who cultivate these pursuits in silence, who are ambitious of your suffrage, who toil for your esteem, one single word may achieve wonders. From your cabinet, Prince, may proceed the finest and most productive lessons of your reign.

I just now observed to you, Gentlemen, that M. Ducis, at the moment, when he was thus crowned with the favours of the King, had reason to regret, that his life was so near its close; and this regret, in itself so natural, he expresses very feelingly, in a letter which he wrote, three days before his death, to one of his dearest friends, the author of the affecting poem of the *Prodigal Son*, in which he says that “he had never desired any thing so ardently, “as to have time to publish and offer to His Majesty a fourth “volume of poems, that might be worthy of a reader so “august, endowed with so much taste, and of whose suffrage he “was so ambitious.” In this letter, adverting to the audience granted him by the Monarch on the 10th of January, and with which he congratulated himself on having begun the year, he added, “that the Prince, in this private audience, when none “else were present, had crowned him with marks of kindness “so glorious to him, and so honourable to the virtues of the “King himself, that were he but to repeat the immortal words, “which flowed from his lips with so much simplicity, there is “not a single Frenchman; who on hearing them would not fall “down on his knees, in tears, with eyes uplifted to heaven.”

It is not possible, I think, Gentlemen, to add to the affecting warmth of these sentiments, and especially to the admirable energy with which they are expressed.

Alas! How is it, that the few moments necessary for M. Ducis to realise the wishes of his heart, were denied him; and that the free homage which he rendered to the virtues of the King, in
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the bosom of a friend, was the last movement of that faithful heart? His hand was still writing, as it were, when life might be said to have left him. Scarcely had he finished, when he expired; death struck him on his egress from that holy place, where his pure and spotless soul had already soared towards the immortality which awaited him; on his tomb might have been engraved, as an epitaph, one of his thoughts, which he did not apply to himself.

*"Le ciel de ses penchans a fait sa récompense."**

It is not him, therefore, that we are to lament; he has his reward; he has closed a long and brilliant career; he died full of days and of virtues; he died in the place where he was born, near the nursery of our kings, in the midst of his family; and Versailles has raised to him a monument of her grief and her regret. Ere he died, he saw France delivered from the dreadful tyranny, under which she had so long groaned; he saw her happy; he beheld her legitimate sovereign; he was crowned with favours by that monarch; he enjoyed his beneficence; he left to his family an immense heritage of glory; he left them, especially, under the promised protection of that Prince, *who never promised any thing in vain*; he left to his own age the highest examples of courage, dignity, and virtue; it is not, therefore, on his account, Gentlemen, that we are to regret, that he closed, at the age of eighty-three, a life so honourable and unsullied. But you cannot too much deplore the loss, that you have sustained. Those times even, whose traces are marked by such dreadful ravages, can only serve to render it more grievous. The Revolution, unhappily, has reaped but too large a harvest around us. Almost all that was illustrious is extinct: fine talents have disappeared; great virtues have been snatched from us; brilliant hopes have been defeated, and youth has been blasted in its bloom; we no longer live, except on some remains of that too long forgotten frame of polity, which we owed to the wisdom and goodness of our kings. Yet a few years, and these very remains will be no more; time will have destroyed them. Nevertheless, Gentlemen, if any thing can restore our courage and revive our hope, it is that paternal government, under which we have the happiness to live; its benefits; its virtues; its examples; the influence that you are called upon to exercise over public opinion; your labours, your exertions, your solemnities; the public rewards which you decree; those laurels which you

* "Heaven rendered his affections his reward."

offer to eloquence. This is the lever by which you may move the whole nation. You know that nation, Gentlemen; she is lively, ardent, impassioned; she yields to the impetuosity of her emotions; she rushes precipitately into evil, or into good; but she is great, she is generous; she is full of honour; she must be directed by precepts; she must be led on by examples. For nearly two centuries your very statutes have called your politics and your morals to the aid of "*the authority of the prince, and of the state of the government.*" This is the time, Gentlemen, for the strict discharge of so noble a duty. In all your writings, restore to politics their true principles; restore to morals their just support; restore to sound opinions all their efficiency; reform all those false, extravagant, or perfidious notions, which have deceived the people, and plunged them into an abyss of evils. Re-establish the empire of reason; re-establish that of wholesome doctrines; infuse again into letters the spirit of the monarchy; make the people sensible that there is no government for nations but legitimate government; teach them to love their own. Rekindle that ancient devotion to our kings, which, down to our own time, was the true glory of the French nation; let fidelity again be honoured; let want of faith be branded with all your anathemas; demolish all those base systems, in which the shame of a culpable defection seeks a specious disguise, and which, by depraving the character of authority, corrupt that of obedience. Lastly, Gentlemen, defend with all your zeal, let us all defend, that throne, which we have so happily reconquered, and which forms at once our safeguard and our welfare, let us range ourselves closely beneath the monarch, let us form but one band before him; let us unite ourselves to the august family which surrounds him, which encloses him with its love, which affords him such genial consolation, and at the same time extends to us so many fair expectations; let us congratulate him, let us also congratulate ourselves; that this family, so good, so loyal, so truly French, is about to augment itself for his happiness, as well as for our own, and that at present it may be said, "there are no Alps, as formerly it was said, if there were no Pyrennees;" let us, in short, unite in heart, mind, and soul, for a Prince so long and ardently desired; and let it be shewn, that if a part of the French nation, subjugated by tyranny, has had the misfortune of giving to the world an example of disorders the most deplorable, and of errors the most fatal, all France has now the glory of giving it an example of the courage which retracts them, the sorrow which expiates them, and the repentance which veils them in oblivion.

LETTER IX.

On the political Societies formed in Germany during the Period of Buonaparte's Despotism, and especially on the Association commonly denominated the LEAGUE OF VIRTUE.

To M. de L.—

My good Friend,

London, Jan. 12. 1817.

ACCORDING to my engagement,* I resume the subject of the German Societies; and mean to finish it in this letter. To save time, I will, without any farther remark, proceed with Mr. Krug's statement.

It is necessary to attend to some questions, which have frequently been put in reference to the association of the *Tugendbund*:

First, then: What extent was the Society intended to have? Was it calculated for the whole of Germany? The whole plan and character of the Society negative this question; according to that plan, it was evidently designed as an association for Prussia alone. It was for this reason, that the approbation and sanction of the Prussian government were applied for and granted. Consequently, such persons only as were Prussian subjects could be received into the Society, and those members, who ceased to belong to Prussia, were also released by the Society from their engagements. It thence followed, that the inhabitants of those provinces, which had been separated from the Prussian state, could not be received, unless they chose to emigrate from those countries, and settle in others, which remained under the Prussian dominion. An empire may be torn asunder, but the stroke of the sword, or the pen, which severs it, is not at the same time able to destroy the ancient affections and attachments in the minds of the people. These will still continue, and long for a re-union; as friends that have been separated by a cruel fate. Hence it may have been the case, that individual members of the Society may here and there have formed connections with inhabitants of the lost provinces which aimed at a re-union. But the Society itself, and its supreme council, whose correspondence M. Krug managed, to the day of his departure, neither recognised such connections, nor formed them. It would, indeed, have been cruel to draw men, whom neither the Society, nor the Prussian government itself, could protect, into relations, that might be attended with peril to their lives. The recovery of those pro-

* Vide supra, p. 56.

vinces could be better planned and prepared by the Society, in Prussia itself, than out of its limits. Some individual members, perhaps, might entertain the idea, that in other countries of Germany, under the rule of German princes, societies similar to that in Prussia might be formed, with the consent of the respective governments. M. Krug himself once took up that idea, but was soon convinced of its impracticability. The Society and its supreme council never cherished such thoughts, though in themselves they might not be improper; nor co-operated in realizing them, at least, not during the time that M. Krug was a member, nor probably afterwards. Such an association was not in the same manner suited to other states, as it was to Prussia. In the latter country, the public distress, which was no where else so great, and the deep mortification of national pride, which no where had been wounded to the same degree, rendered men's minds much more susceptible of such measures. Besides, the other German States, with the exception of Austria, where different impediments were in the way, had all acceded to the Confederacy of the Rhine. The obligations towards France, which thereby were imposed upon the governments of those States, however they arose, existed, and could not but be respected till the sword, which had imposed them, should again have removed them. How, then, could those governments have given their consent to the formation of a Society that had a hostile disposition towards France? It must, in such countries, have assumed the character of a secret association; and that it was, according to its nature, not intended for. The Prussian government, on the other hand, was in this respect unshackled, since Prussia did not belong to the Rhenish Confederacy; and those obligations towards France, which perhaps might have sprung from the peace of Tilsit, were, by a continued violation of that very contract, on the part of France, in fact, annihilated. Therefore, as such a Society could only arise in Prussia, it could there only exist; nor even there could it properly be supported under circumstances different from those of its origin. It consequently is a very imperfect view of the matter, to consider the Society merely as something fortuitous or optional, which might or might not exist; and it is equally incorrect, not to take into the account those peculiar circumstances, by which its existence was defined.

I come to a SECOND QUESTION; Was not this Society a dangerous combination? Was it not fraught with dangerous elements? To this I answer, in the first place, by another question: What is it you call dangerous? What is meant by dangerous elements? Fire and water are indubitably very dangerous

gerous elements; but has any man ever blamed nature, or its author, because those elements exist. Or, where is there any thing in this world, however good, whether the production of nature, or the work of man, which by abuse may not be rendered noxious, and so far dangerous? Nay, is not that which has most power and energy, commonly most capable, at the same time, of becoming dangerous? And does not the same cause that may produce danger, also create activity and strength? This general objection, therefore, of being dangerous, in truth means nothing. It is a vulgar and idle clamour, by which that which is most innocent and meritorious is often attacked. Thus, says M. Krug, I remember, upon some occasion, when the Bible-Society was spoken of, a cautious wisacre asked me whether there might not be some danger in it? The least thing to be expected would be, that it should be stated, in what respect such an association as that of the Tugendbund could be regarded as dangerous. Was it dangerous to Buonaparte? It was, and for that reason he would not tolerate it, fancying, that he saw vestiges of it in every part of Germany. But it is difficult to conceive, by what means this Society should have been dangerous to Prussia, since it acted under the eyes of the government, and might at any time be dissolved, which was afterwards done, when its existence was no longer suited to existing circumstances. For this reason, it was quite out of the power of the Society to effect any measure, in opposition to government. Such an attempt would have been directly contrary to the spirit of the Society, which was exclusively founded upon obedience to the lawful government, and was ready, if necessary, to support that government in its own measures. Much less did the Society impose upon its members duties at variance with those they owed to the state. On the contrary, the individuals, thus united, were pledged to one another to fulfil conscientiously their civil duties, to exclude those who did not do so, or were guilty of any gross violation of them, and even, if the case seemed to require it, to inform against such offenders. This open information, proved by facts, and very different from secret denunciation, is consonant to the laws of every state, and did not disable any honest man, in the discharge of his duties, from following both the will of his sovereign, and the dictates of his conscience. It might, however, especially in the provinces occupied by the enemy, take from bad men, in the administration of different offices, the means of complying with the desires of the enemy. — The statutes had their faults, and were, in particular, encumbered with formalities: of this the supreme council was sensible, and it was determined that they should, from

time to time, be subjected to a revision, for the purpose of removing what was superfluous or useless, and bringing them by gradual improvement, to that degree of perfection, which can not be expected at once from the work of man, especially when begun in haste, and by inexperienced hands. But it must be observed, that those forms had no dangerous tendency, if that they did not aim at the concealment of secret designs, but were contrived chiefly to guard against the intrusion of false brethren, and to facilitate the selection of those best qualified for the management of affairs. If it be futile and trifling to set a great value upon mere forms, it is not less so to confound with them the spirit and principle of an institution, to which those forms are merely subservient. — Lastly, to the objection that the supreme council of the Society, and particularly the upper tier, possessed too much power, which easily might be perverted, the answer has been anticipated, when it was shown how such an abuse was obviated, as far as it was possible, by the constitution of the Society, and by the responsibility of the supreme council to the government, which had an accurate knowledge of all their members of that council. I say, such an abuse was obviated *as far as it was possible*, for that species of wisdom, by which all abuse is to be prevented, has never been found since the world has existed. It must be something like that boasted art of omniscience and omnipresence attributed to Fouché's police, and which is calculated to destroy all mutual confidence, and free action among men, and is, therefore, more dangerous than any other danger.

Now follows ANOTHER QUESTION, which is not so easy to be answered, namely, what has the Society done? An association, whose principal aim is, to reanimate the mental, that is to say, both the intellectual and the moral powers of a people, weighed down by political misfortunes, is certainly something very different from a commercial association, wherein by a comparison of debtor and creditor in the ledgers, every moment the balance may be struck, and gain and loss be estimated, with mathematical precision. God alone can know, in how many individuals, and in what degree, those powers have been excited, and how much this excitement may have contributed, when the time of action arrived, to the general enthusiasm of the Prussian people. Thus much is certain, that the Society fed many who were hungering, and relieved many who were distressed; that many of its members hazarded not only their wealth and fortune, but their blood, and lives; that they willingly and cheerfully renounced the enjoyment of domestic comfort, submitted to hardships, and despised dangers. If the Society have not accomplished more, its opponents

nents may ask themselves, what share of the blame belongs to them, on account of their opposition, and of that distrust, which they endeavoured to raise. Should it be said, that what has been done is to be attributed to individuals, who would have done the same without the Society, I do not take upon myself to contradict this assertion. The surviving members of the Society, which has now ceased to exist, will do well not to say more of their efforts than becomes them; nor falsely to claim what belongs to others; and least of all the glory of the nation. Modesty and veracity are likewise virtues which deserve cultivation; and if we would be candid, we must own, that the deed has fallen short of the will, as almost always reality falls short of the idea. At the same time, it should be recollected, that, if the world repays with ingratitude, and forgets, or even condemns in prosperity, what in misfortune it eagerly embraced as a means of salvation, this is the usual course of things, by which we ought neither to be incensed, nor to be wearied in doing good. But, it is said, the Society not only has done no good, but it has done harm. Did it not, say these accusers, send out SCHILL, to take the field, at his own risk, and to bring the state into the greatest danger? How unfair, and unjust is man, in his accusations, when he is once determined to find fault! If every society were to be answerable for the misconduct of its members, it would be better, to migrate into a desert, and lead there a solitary life, in order that one might not be accounted an offender for the sake of others. But where is the wonder, that a bold, ardent, enterprising young man, who was buoyed up by the success he had met with in other instances, should enter upon a rash venture, hoping the world and his sovereign would pardon him, in the event of success? Was it necessary, for this purpose, that he should have been instigated by this or any other society? But let us suppose the case (and we may well be permitted to put it, considering how frequently, as we know from history, great events have arisen from small causes,) supposing, therefore, that SCHILL had succeeded in rousing the energies of the German nation; a general insurrection in Westphalia, and the whole north western part of Germany, would have relieved Austria, which was hard pressed; would have decided Russia, which was but loosely connected with France; would have encouraged Prussia, which still was disheartened. With strength thus united, even then might have been effected that, which was not brought about till after four years of additional misery; SCHILL like YORK would then not only have been pardoned, but would have been adorned with orders, raised to the rank of Count or Prince, extolled by the nation, and sung by the poets, as a second ARMINIUS.

nus : then, then, SCHILL would have been your man; but then, certainly SCHILL *only* would have done it, but *not* THE SOCIETY. O ye impartial and upright judges ! who decide upon merit and blame by the event, you may sit in judgment, in the circle of your gossips and tatlers, but not where the sentiments and deeds of men are appreciated according to their real worth. That unfortunate man has paid with his blood for his rashness, and has appeared before a higher judge, who knows how to estimate his actions.

I LASTLY arrive at the fourth and concluding question : Whether, from the ruins of the Society alluded to, which now is dissolved, or from other elements, other associations have not sprung up, which really are mysterious, and neither moral nor literary, but vicious and criminal, in as much as they preach up murder, rapine, and God knows what other crimes, or, which is, in fact, the same thing, remotely aim at such purposes ? It is here, that M. Krug is obliged to quit the open and luminous field of knowledge, and enter upon the dark and awful precincts of belief. May others, who know more than he, clear up this fearful obscurity. May those members of the Society, who survived its existence, and were attentive observers of what subsequently passed, inform the world of what they have seen, remarked, and learnt. May they speak as men, that have a good conscience and pure intention, clearly, distinctly, and with truth ; not skulking behind words and phrases, not confounding one thing with another, nor mixing facts, suppositions, and fictions, in such a manner, as to render the whole mass so turbid and muddy, that it is impossible to look to the bottom. Krug himself simply declares, that, since Easter, 1809, he has had no other information on this subject, but what he has heard from others, partly members of his former Society, and partly such as were not members, but either possessed, or pretended to, information. “ From all these persons, without exception,” says he, “ I have always understood, that the Society in question was totally and entirely dissolved ; but never, that any other Society had proceeded from it. I have myself never been invited to participate in any such Society, which, had it existed, might perhaps have happened. For, although I do not hate the adherents of Napoleon, as men ; on the contrary, I wish them every good they may deserve ; still I have never concealed it from the world, that I most heartily detest the whole Napoleonic system, its principles, and actions. I cared so little to suppress these sentiments, that my friends have often in vain cautioned me. I was on the list of Buonaparte’s spies, as *la mauvais sujet*, and the great Napoleon has personally done me the honour most lustily to abuse me.

me, The *leaguists* (or secret associates), therefore, if any such there had been, might probably have thought they should find in me a man after their own heart, since the hatred of Napoleonism is said to be their characteristic qualification. The well-known ARNDT, who is represented as an *arch-leagunist*, was repeatedly with me, after the battle of Leipsig; ate and drank with me, played with my children, talked to me in entire privacy, upon the great events, which, at that time, set the whole world in motion; but never did he utter a syllable of his *leaguism*, though he is not apt to practise reserve. Nor did he, as those are in the habit of doing, who sneak about in the dark, and grope and listen, try to pump out of me any thing relating to such a subject. I was, moreover, after the battle of Leipsig, near the Rhine, where sundry other *leaguists* are said to have their quarters, and have sat at table, with military and other men, where the cheerful glass frequently opened the heart and loosened the tongue; but never did any one say a word about those leagues: they only exulted that the enemy was driven from the hills and plains of the Rhine, and rejoiced in the return of justice, concord, and truth, and in the expectation of those good things, of which many are still to come. I, indeed, willingly confess, that all this does not prove the non-existence of any such leagues or Societies, which, indeed, being a pure negative, it would be impossible to prove: but if it be required of a man to believe in the existence of any thing as real, which he does not see with his eyes, it is not sufficient merely to intimate or hint at it; it must be demonstrated by facts. In the present case, there are only certain symptoms, and indications mentioned, which are so vague and undefined, that they may be applied to any thing in the world; and if they should be applicable to some individuals more than to others, yet no one could, according to sound logic, thence conclude, that such or such a person is a *leagunist*. Statutes are quoted, which are pretended to have been found, I do not know where; but for the authenticity of them, no one answers. Half a dozen men are named, who have stood forth as violent brators, or writers, but who, in their political views, do not even agree, and are scattered in different parts of the country; so that, an unanimous and energetic co-operation, which is the only subject of rational alarm, cannot, in any way, be apprehended. When the Koenigsberg Society was formed, its institution was immediately known throughout the whole city; the members, officers, and place of meeting, were equally known. Thus, in great towns, where there are freemasons' lodges, the members of these, their officers, and their places of meeting are generally known; though such societies are considered

as secret ones. In the same manner, at Paris, and in other towns of France, were known the members, officers, and meetings of the political clubs, which were formed during the French Revolution. Something similar must, likewise, undoubtedly occur, if there were associations in Germany, which had planned a revolution of affairs, or any secret, political design: and thus they would soon become known to the government; but as no such discovery has yet been made by the officers of the state, the existence of such associations is, to my mind, at least, *highly improbable*. If, nevertheless, they should exist, in some hidden corner of Germany, the local magistrates must either be stupid, or negligent, in a degree not to be conceived, if they could not discover those associations, (particularly after the public attention has been directed to them, and when every good subject would willingly assist in the search,) and, having discovered them, put an end to them. The battle of Leipsig is, generally, alleged as the period, from which their origin is to be dated. Now, if it were but proved, that, since that period, attempts, at least, had been made, by busy and restless persons, toward establishing such societies, it would be something; though the attempt would not prove the success. Yet, even that *minimum* of proof has hitherto not been furnished by any of the writings, that have issued from the press. If those, who assert the existence of danger, *can* prove it, why *will* they not? or, if they *will*, why *can* they not? The public, which they have made uneasy by their clamour, has a right to expect from them some satisfactory argument, if not some full and decisive proof."

Whatever may be thought, said, or done, in reference to this subject, it would be but decent, to abstain from profaning the sacred name of *virtue*, by marking with it, as with a term of reproach, any supposed preachers of sedition, in calling them *Tugendbunders*, or *virtue-associates*. For, if the word be taken in its true and only signification, should we not wish, that every family, village, town, and country, might be united in such a league? "In this sense," says M. Krug, and I should have no objection to be called a leaguist; in any other, I positively decline the distinction."

Such are the comments of this author, which throw great light upon the subject. In my opinion, what he says is convincing, and fully calculated to refute those obscure reports which have been in circulation. It will be seen, whether any one will come forward to answer the challenge he has given; if no one enter the list, we may consider his arguments as victorious, and set our minds at ease upon this question. At all events, what he has done is meritorious: it will bring out all that is known of this matter,

matter, if any thing be known; and thus likewise we shall be benefitted. But let me not add to the length of this letter, which has already grown to such an extent.

I remain, ever your's,

G. H. N.

LETTERS X. XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. (Translations.)

On the Proceedings of the present Chamber of Deputies.

To ———.

Paris, December 11. 1816.

YOU tell me that my former notes * have excited an interest on topics, before considered as unsusceptible of being rendered important in the eyes of statesmen, — I mean, the topics touched upon in our "Parliamentary Debates," if I may avail myself of such a title to express the proceedings in the Chamber of Deputies. The meagre accounts, which appear in our journals, had made you all think, in England, that our Legislative Bodies had only changed their names, and the embroidery on their coats, but that they remained substantially the same puppets, under a Bourbon Prince, as they were under Buonaparte. You see, that that idea is erroneous; but you cannot learn how far a truly national and loyal spirit is yet capable of being infused into the heterogeneous mass of our new Chambers, without regularly following the labyrinth of their discussions: and to that labyrinth my notes will, from time to time, yield you the clue.

I take up the subject from the point, where I last week quitted it. The ministry have nearly completed the plan of the session, by the laws which have been presented within these few days. It does not seem, as if there remained others, of much importance, to be proposed. The modifications of *personal liberty*, and the restrictions imposed on the *press*, would not appear too strong for our present situation, if entire confidence could be reposed in those individuals, on whom their execution will devolve. But their disposition is so well known, and their bias towards revolutionary men is so strong, that one is obliged to found one's self on principles the most undeniable, as a defence against the violent attacks that are to be apprehended from them. Shall we be assisted in this struggle, in favour of constitutional principles, by those who affirm them-

* Vide *supra*, p. 136. to p. 146.

'selves to be the only persons of fixed principles,' who have accused us, and still persist in accusing us; of desiring nothing but the *ancien regime*, and a pure despotism; or will they now show to France and to Europe, that the principles they maintain are as nothing with them, and that they take them up, or lay them down, as arms against individuals, in pursuit of their own interests? This is the question, which must decide the fate of the present session, of the ministry, and perhaps ultimately of France. When we are addressed by those who call themselves the liberal party, they avow the very same principles that are adopted by us; they appear to have the same sincerity in private and preparatory deliberation; but the moment a public discussion brings the orators of our party to the tribune, the moment that any constitutional question receives a colour of royalism, an excessive hatred against persons shakes all their opinions; and the decisions are no longer distinguished by any thing, but that spirit of party, which causes all real opinion to disappear. Individual names, and the mere persons who speak at the tribunes, are the only things considered. If this should be the case during the whole course of the session, if men of the same opinions should remain separate from each other, because their previous conduct in the Revolution has been different, it is impossible any longer to determine, at what period, or by what means, public order will be restored. Whatever may be our future lot, be assured that the present minority will continue to act an honourable part, and in the end must triumph. They will firmly maintain the principles which alone can complete the government that has been formed, and render its action possible.

It had been hoped, that the separation of Monsieur de TALLEYRAND from the ministry would be of assistance to this union of the Royalists, and pretended Constitutionalists, but it seems that hitherto, its influence has not shaken any one, even among those, who were thought to have been the most devoted to him. Some of them are kept back by the advantages they hope to obtain by supporting the ministry. They do not choose to run the risk of an opposition, in order to gain, through a new administration, of which they cannot be certain, benefits, which are equally to be found by supporting the present. Others, still filled with the passions which produced the Revolution of 1789, and with an excessive desire of equality, shrink from the idea of associating themselves with men, who would put an end to revolution, and who are desirous of setting up institutions, which may class men and things in a rational order. Finally, all are united, by the hatred, which they feel towards those, who have not shared in the mistakes, the faults, or the crimes

crimes of that inemorable and terrible period of 25 years! Reason has but little strength to combat so many passions.

Monsieur de CHATEAUBRIAND, after a great deal of trouble, found at last a printer, who had the courage to send to press his motion in the Chamber of Peers, with some of the documents which he presented in it's support. This work must produce a powerful effect in the provinces, amongst all those who understand our real situation, and who feel, that the safety of France depends entirely on the carrying into effect freely, honestly, fully, and entirely, the government which has been adopted; — who feel, that if we do not maintain that government, *with all its consequences*, we shall endure all the miseries which must fall on a country possessing no government at all. No doubt, this little work will produce a great effect in foreign countries, where this opinion is every day better understood, by such as are best able to form a correct judgment.

The government does not appear to have altogether abandoned the idea of removing from situations of high authority all those individuals who, in the course of a long devotion to the cause of the King, have imbibed settled opinions — opinions independent of the situations they occupy. Nevertheless, this step seems to be delayed by the just fear, that a triumph so complete for the *revolutionary* party may be accompanied with trouble and danger.

It appears, not only from the reports in circulation, but from several articles in foreign journals, that the government has announced to the foreign ministers the impossibility of paying, on the 5th of January next, the stipulated subsidies; and that in future they would be paid, according to the terms of the treaty, *every six months*. It should seem, that this proposal, concerted with the Russian envoy, has had his support; that the English and Austrian ministers are waiting for instructions from their courts upon this subject; and that the Prussian court has been the most violent, the most exacting, and the most menacing. I am, nevertheless, of opinion, that this matter will terminate in some amicable arrangement.

The discussion of the *Budget*, in the Committee, still goes on. The three chief articles for the creation of extraordinary means, that is to say, the means required to satisfy the *Arrear*, a *Credit* of ten millions, of annual dividends, and the formation of a *Sinking Fund*, have passed agreeably to the request of the minister. The resistance made to the sale of 150,000 hectares of wood, belonging to the state, or rather to the clergy, will be obstinate on the part of the five members of the committee, who entertain the principles of the minority in the Chamber. The discussions respecting the *Extraordinary Imposts* have not yet been entered

entered upon, any more than those on the *budgets of the different ministers*, for the years 1814 and 1815. The complaisance that has been shown to them, on the three first points, forms a presumption that the rest will encounter little difficulty.

19th December, 1816.

OUR eyes are continually fixed on the separation of the different parties, which divide the majority in the two Chambers, for the purpose of catching the first shades of distinction which are about to be formed, and of knowing whether, in the course of this session, sound and rational principles can be expected to be adopted in common, by men whose previous conduct has been absolutely at variance. Up to the present time no considerable mass has been shaken. Not more than three or four individuals in the Chamber of Deputies, and five or six in the Chamber of Peers, are in the least ashamed of a blind submission to the Ministry, and an entire dereliction of the principles, which they have maintained, and which they have represented as their bond of union, for more than two years past. The law of *Elections* is the first, from the discussion of which some more positive information may be derived. The project before the Chambers is generally looked upon as detestable. But every one seems to have a different plan for modifying it. The general principle adopted by those, who are desirous of supporting the throne upon a constitutional basis, is to give great power to *property*, as the only classification that can possibly be found in the midst of our ruins, the only aristocratic power that can now be constituted: but, at the same time, in order that the power might not be confined to one class; nor the influence of government concentrated in too small a number of persons, which would render it inefficient, they are desirous of establishing an inferior and indirect stage of election, which should embrace a great mass of the population; this would be the sole concession made to the democratic part of the government. In this manner, *Assemblies of Districts*, composed of those, who give a security to the State, by the amount of the taxes which they pay, would nominate the *Electoral Colleges* of the Departments, out of a list of those who pay the greatest amount of taxes, which list should contain twice as many names as there are to be Members of the College. It is conceived, that in this manner, a sort of relationship would be established between the patron and dependant, which would combine a physical and a moral force, and would leave less influence to the intermediate class, a class which must always

always be considered as having the greatest tendency to subvert the order of things, because it possesses the inclination and the means of attack on the upper class, with a view to its own predominance. This is, in few words, the history of the Revolution. On the other hand, those who would perpetuate the Revolution, who admit of no distinction of classes in the state, and who look only to anarchy and despotism, wish to crush the influence of the great proprietors, by that of the intermediate class. It is evidently in this spirit, that the project of the Ministry has been planned. The class which contributes from 300 to 500 francs, composed of tradesmen, country notaries, and attorneys, would necessarily predominate, almost every where, in the elections, such as they are planned by the ministers; and this is so well understood, that it is not on this question, that any remarkable division in the majority of the Chamber can be much hoped for. The minority, founding themselves on principles, by which the social fabric may be reconstructed, will have done the only good which remains to be done, and will have placed itself in a situation the most honourable, preparing perhaps better things for the time to come. Thus does the minority courageously defend the real interests of the country (and this was particularly apparent in the late discussion of the doubling of the tax on licences,*) without ever mingling with it that spirit of faction, which, in so many other instances, degrades and renders it dangerous.

The ministry still flatters itself with the possibility of a loan from private bankers in England, in order to supply the enormous deficit in the possible receipts compared with the certain expenditure. I fear that this resource (which I must acknowledge appears to be the only one) cannot be reckoned on, to the extent that is absolutely necessary; but what are we to do? Much was expected from the *sale of the woods*! This matter has been discussed in the Committee, but as yet with no very promising result. The majority of the Committee are for the sale, but they cannot agree among themselves as to the quantity; some of them propose to sell 400,000 hectares, some 300,000, and some are content to take only 150,000, as originally proposed by the Ministers. Again, there is great talk of *retrenchments*, but the question is where they are to be made. Some of the Ministerialists, nay, some of the Ministers, themselves, tell you, that the expenses of the *War department* are shamefully large: and that it is here that economy may find full scope.

* In France the exercise of almost every kind of industry is subjected to a licence, or patent as it is called, different in amount for different trades.

Other persons point to the *Pension-list*, and have even called for a detailed statement on that head. It would be extremely desirable not only to get official returns of this branch of the national expenses, but to have them printed and published, for they would show that the pensions are almost all of the creation of Buonaparte, and bestowed on his favourites and the agents of his government, who still retain them; whilst the faithful servants of the King, who have lost their fortunes in his noble cause, have received no such recompense.

The news from the departments produces some uneasiness for the public tranquillity, which has been disturbed in several quarters; bands of twenty-five or thirty men infest the country, pillaging the country-seats, and stopping passengers on the high roads, in various places, particularly in the Jura, in the neighbourhood of Dijon, and near to Bourges. The Minister of Police endeavours to confound with the mere spirit of pillage, the slight inquietude, which it has been said, has appeared in *La Vendee*, where the inhabitants of the *Marais* have established, as is pretended, a guard round their country, to prevent the export of grain. It has been endeavoured to give quite another colour to this measure. Monsieur de MENARS, an old Vendeean chief, who commands the national guard of Luçon, has been summoned to Paris, and a resolution was taken to send *eight legions* to occupy the principal towns of *La Vendee*. It seems that so dangerous a project has been given up, and that it has been thought sufficient to strengthen a little the ordinary garrisons of that country.

There are likewise circulated at Paris reports so false, that it would seem useless to contradict them, if they did not acquire more weight at a distance from the capital. It has been reported that M. CAZE, with a view of conciliating MONSIEUR, demanded of the King to admit His Royal Highness into his council. This seems to me to be wholly false. It is highly improbable that Monsieur would lend his name to the designs of the Ministers, or to the system which they have adopted. With still less foundation, a pretended negotiation between M. TALLEYRAND and M. CAZE has been talked of, by which the former was to become a member of administration.

The King has sent a snuff-box, adorned with his portrait, to M. de SEZE. A few days afterwards he appointed M. FERRANT Secretary of the Order of the Holy Ghost, which is an office in this order that confers the right of wearing the *cordons*. Persons have endeavoured to find, in these two acts of favour, a disposition in the King's mind to recede from a system which appeared to carry too far the persecution of the Royalists.

Our

Our situation, with respect to foreign powers, is still the same. The influence of the Russian Ambassador is still omnipotent, and serves principally to guide the Minister. Prussia thinks that a ministry, which has paid her regularly during the year, is that which suits her best, and which must be supported. England, showing in some degree this feeling, is not without fear respecting the consequences which might ensue to France and to herself, from a system which might put France once more into the hands of the Revolutionists. Austria, who is least of all desirous of meddling with our internal affairs, will always allow herself to be guided by the opinions and interests of England; whom she regards as her natural ally, and as more interested, from a nearer neighbourhood to us, in watching us, and in forming a correct judgement on our conduct. X.

26th December, 1816.

IT cannot be said, that in the course of the last week public affairs have taken a better, or more definite direction. Nevertheless, one perceives symptoms of approaching changes in the majority of the two Chambers. The question on the law of divorce in the Chamber of Peers, and in that of the Deputies, and the law which authorises the clergy to receive benefactions, exhibit in the voters some divisions different from those of the old majority and minority of the two Chambers. Whatever may be the result in future, they prove what I formerly stated as my opinion, namely, that the ministry is not so constituted as to govern the parties which form these two majorities, and consequently there only needs a single circumstance, easily to be foreseen, to make them lose, in the two Chambers, the factitious power, which they have possessed since the commencement of the session, and which alone has permitted them to retain the direction of affairs. It is easy to perceive, that these majorities, which are not sincerely attached to the Ministry, will demand continual concessions, as the price of their support, both with respect to persons and things. The speech of M. LALLY TOLENDAL in the Chamber of Peers, on bringing forward his motion respecting the *responsibility of Ministers*, is very remarkable. This peer, distinguished for his talents, had voted uniformly during the last, and also during the present session, on the side of the Ministry, and that in the most unqualified manner. It was the Ministry itself which engaged him to propose his law on responsibility. People expected a written discourse, of vague and uncertain principles, in opposition to the spirit of the constitution, such as the Ministry have professed for the last fifteen months. So

far from this, to the astonishment of everyone, it was filled with the soundest doctrine on the essential principles of representative government, and their necessary consequences.¹⁷ He settled all the questions, which have been discussed, on the right of originating the laws in the two Chambers, on that of amendments, in short, on all that has been so ridiculously opposed by the GARNIERS, the MONTESQUIEUS, the ROYER COLLARDS, the PASQUIERS, &c. whose false doctrines he exploded. He admitted the responsibility of Ministers, in all its extent, in the same manner as it is explained in a little work published in Nov. 1815, entitled, "Of the Ministry in a Representative Government;" and as M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND has laid it down in his work, "On the Monarchy according to the Charter." So true is it, that the force of events is able to resist all the passions, and all the interests of the moment, and necessarily draws after it just conclusions, when the principle is once adopted; in the same manner as a tree can bear only that fruit which nature has assigned to it. Such a profession of faith on the part of a *strong* Ministerialist cannot fail to produce an effect, even in this session, and in the discussion of those laws of primary principle, which are already submitted to the deliberation of the Chambers. It is asserted that in retiring from this sitting M. DE CHATEAUBRIAND said to M. DE SEMONVILLE, "I think M. Lally Tollendal will to-morrow be struck out of the list of Ministers of State; for I have said nothing in my work, but what he has delivered in his speech." "True, Sir," replied M. de Semonville," but you said it first."

It should seem, that the loan attempted in England presents less hope of success than Ministers imagined. This question is of the highest importance, for it appears to me to be impossible, without this foreign aid, to meet the expenses of France. The state of the treasury becomes daily more difficult. It is only by the assistance of the first commercial houses, who afford it their credit, that they can effect their payments. But this resource is only temporary, and, unless the loan can be patched up, we shall have reason to apprehend a suspension of the payments agreed upon with foreign powers by the treaty of Paris. The greatest political questions will arise: and foreign nations will again be called in, to decide on the measures to be formed respecting France, after she shall have declared herself unable to comply with her engagements. The difficulty of agreeing on a common plan, in this respect, may be easily foreseen. Russia, who desires only to exercise over us a powerful and direct influence, will be more pliant than the rest, with regard to the pecuniary conditions, but perhaps more difficult with regard to the number of troops to be kept in France. Prussia, as being more in want of money

money than the other powers, will be more severe in her pecuniary conditions, and more violent in her decisions against us. The English government, will perhaps desire no better than to enter into a competition of generosity with Russia, for the purpose of diminishing her preponderance with us, but it will not be the entire master of its own determinations, because the Parliament, the Opposition, and the English People will loudly demand a full and complete execution of the treaties. Austria will follow blindly the dispositions and interests of England. If, in the midst of this conflict, France possessed a government capable of rousing her, and of uniting all parties in a common hostility to foreigners, and a noble sentiment of independence, one might hope for such success, as the cold calculations of policy can never foresee, but which vigorous minds and elevated souls know how to bring about; but we have nothing of this sort to expect. We shall be ruined by impotent efforts. The Government will lose its weight, by being too long the agent and instrument of foreign exaction; and we shall necessarily arrive, wholly unprepared, and without concert, at a point of time, in which it will be equally impossible for us to complete the payments, and to make any effectual resistance to them. Such is the mournful prospect of the future; the present is not wholly without its agitations. A plot at Bordeaux, and a number of arrests there, are spoken of. It is said also that, at St. Etienne, a quantity of muskets has been seized, which were intended for no very doubtful purpose.

The health of the King improves; the fear of danger, which troubles the imagination of his most faithful subjects, does not seem to have reached him. Would, that I could find, in his tranquillity, a sufficient reason for tranquillising my own apprehensions!

M. de TALLEYRAND still continues in opposition to the Ministry. The number of persons who attend his evening-parties sensibly increases: almost all the members of the diplomatic corps attend them regularly. Some one told me, that this celebrated statesman said, a day or two ago, "If the King is so very fond of M. de CAZE, why does he not make him his valet de chambre?" At another time, he said of Messrs. PASQUIER, MOLÉ, BARENTE, &c., "I made every exertion to introduce them into the drawing room, but they are resolved to wait in the anti-chamber."

X.

January 2. 1817.

THE public papers will have enabled you to form a pretty correct judgment of the debates on the *Law of Election*, as far as they

they have hitherto gone. Not only have the minority taken their ground, most firmly and most honourably; not only have they seized those great leading points, and those magic words, which furnish the most formidable weapons against all those, who neither knew how to get possession of, nor to use them; but they have also shown a degree of talent, which has overwhelmed those who endeavoured to defend the ill-digested plan of the Ministry. The law, as first proposed, was supported, without confidence, and without good faith, by men neither guided by steady principle, nor by strong conviction; who would with equal readiness have supported a law directly the reverse, if it had been proposed by the Ministry; and who have offered nothing but vague and uncertain arguments, derived from the most opposite sources. Many members who were of the majority, (and whom we suppose to have been actuated by the purest intentions,) have spoken and written against the law. The speech of Monsieur de MONTCALM is distinguished by a noble and truly French feeling. The opinion which Monsieur de CORRON has caused to be printed against the law, is a very able argument. Nevertheless, in spite of the great numbers who differed from the majority upon this question, I dare not flatter myself that the law will be entirely rejected; on the contrary, I believe, it will pass, but by a very small majority, of perhaps ten or twelve voices. Some persons think, that the Chamber of Peers will do what is right on this occasion; but so many revolutionary interests are comprehended in this fundamental law, that it cannot be hoped, that it will be rejected, in that Chamber, by the numerous partisans of those interests. It appears to me, quite certain, that the effect of this violent discussion, and the shock which it will give to the majority, will have a great influence on the discussion of the laws which are immediately to follow.

The public mind has been agitated by the unexpected arrival of Lord Wellington at Paris, where he had previously announced, he should no longer maintain any establishment. It was believed, that he would stay only a day or two, to pay his compliments to the King, on the commencement of the new year. He had departed suddenly from his head-quarters, and had gone to pass a couple of days in England. He returned hither on the 31st of December, with the greatest speed, and brought with him all his staff: and, it was observed, that quarters were engaged for 300 officers, who composed it. Some troops were also announced, which, it was said, were to insure the safety of the Commander-in-chief. All these circumstances, which

which might perhaps, in other times, have been considered as indifferent, derive importance from the inquietude and difficulty of our situation.

Every sort of alarming rumour circulates with extreme rapidity. It was said yesterday, but without any certain foundation, that those who supplied provisions had obtained the annulment of their contracts, which they could no longer adhere to at the present enormous prices of corn, &c. It was added, that a corps of four or five thousand Russians, not having received their supplies in time, had extended their cantonments beyond the line of demarcation settled by the treaty, and had demanded requisitions in the *arrondissement* of Vervins.

In proportion as the difficulties of fulfilling the conditions of the treaty of Paris become more palpable, two opinions seem universally diffused. 1st, It is thought, that another *Ministry*, which might inspire a real confidence into the reasonable part of the nation, and awaken the sentiments of honour which still exist in France, would find ample means of acquitting themselves of their engagements with the Allies, which would be denied to Ministers without talents, without views, and without plan, who by an entire incapacity have been unable to put themselves at the head of that real power which might defend the King and save France; who having placed themselves in opposition to the most faithful part of the nation, have endeavoured to crush them by the aid of the enemies to the throne; and who have exhausted all their strength in this intestine contest, which has alone occupied their thoughts, because it was the direct object of their trivial passions. 2dly, It is believed, that if we had a more able government, one better acquainted with the springs by which the French nation may be so energetically moved, powerful *Allies* could not but be found, who, by a well-understood interest, would lend their assistance to the nation, for the purpose of disengaging it from whatever stipulations in the treaty of Paris might be considered as too severe, and too humiliating. People are convinced, that if the execution of the treaty is now difficult, it will soon be impossible; that it is very disadvantageous to exhaust ourselves in every respect, for the purpose of delaying, perhaps but for a few months, a crisis, which we shall better be able to encounter now, than at a more distant period; that we must rely on the first power which will aid us in raising the cry of national independence, which the sooner it is done the better; that there is great danger in receiving an impulse so noble and so truly French, from those who are the natural enemies of the King's government; that he, his family, and the Royalists in general, would become the objects of the public hatred, if they presented them-

themselves in the light of the tax-gatherers of foreign powers in France, or as the defenders of a foreign cause, not connected with the national feelings; finally, that it is of the utmost importance, that at a time when events, easily to be foreseen, shall take place, the Royal family, and the highest classes of the nation, should be found ready to put themselves at the head of a national movement; because such a movement would have the most terrible effect if it were directed against them, or if they did not know how to regulate and guide it. If, on the contrary, they know how to seize and manage this political engine, the rest of the nation, even that part of it which is hostile to the name of Bourbons, will no longer find any safe and honourable station, but under their standard.

Heaven protect us against a situation of such difficulty! for it is impossible to deny, that, if we endeavour to calculate all the chances of it, innumerable embarrassments, and even impossibilities present themselves. General reasoners suppose, that party-hatreds will yield to a common hatred against foreigners; that a source of strength will be found, where there has been hitherto only weakness; and it is assuredly upon this idea, that all who are hostile to the government of the King, have been, for some days past, in a state of extacy, from the view of the difficulties that surround us, and which, they think, can never be surmounted. They flatter themselves with the hope, that decisive events are not distant, and never meet without observing, that "things go well." The most calumnious reports are successively spread. Sometimes MONSIEUR is said to have prevented the Cross of the Legion of Honour from being given away on the 1st of January, by having himself demanded no less than 4900 for the National Guard, and the Vendéans. It is endeavoured to put the Swiss Guard, which has just arrived, at variance with the rest of the Royal Guard, to irritate the French soldiers, by telling them, that the Swiss are better paid than they are; that the 1600 Swiss, whom the King has in his pay, receive as much as 3000 French; and that foreign troops are sought for, instead of the native soldiers, who are rejected, together with the half-pay officers, who languish in poverty at their homes. These rumours take a consistency, among that numerous class of persons, who are too ignorant to be able to calculate great interests. For example, in the case we have just cited, the greater number know not, that our military treaty with the Swiss greatly contributes to maintain our influence in a country, which protects, in the most efficient manner, 60 leagues of our frontier; a service, which scarce 60,000 men could otherwise accomplish, in time of war. The proof of this lies near at hand; it is to be fully found in the campaign of 1814. X.

Jan. 17. 1817.

THE discussion of the law respecting the *suspension of individual liberty* has presented some particulars, which it is interesting to make known. The minority has, for the first time, been put to a test, which has long been looked for. The most marked members of the revolutionary party, such as M. M. SAULNIER, PONSARD, and VOYER D'ARGENSON, ranged themselves in the list of those, who were to speak against the Ministry. Great alarm was at first spread in our camp, from the idea, that the speakers on our side were about to be drawn in to vote with the Revolutionists. The opinions of private circles were divided: some wished, that the question should be entirely abandoned; others, that no member of our party should speak at all; but that we should agree to vote uniformly against the law. Finally, after much reasoning, the most rational opinion prevailed, namely, that we should maintain constitutional *doctrine*; that we should not lose a position, which was important to our general system, of defence, nor embarrass ourselves respecting those who, under the influence of other interests, might desire to protect themselves behind us. It is essential, not to yield to them a question, which attaches to it a great popular interest. A very few of our party, whose intentions are perfectly pure, but whose understandings are perhaps not sufficiently enlightened, on the true spirit of that government which is constitutionally established, on the necessity of adopting the constitutional system in all its parts, and on the prudence of not giving great importance to particular questions, have separated themselves from this our common design, for the most part, by refusing to vote on either side. We remark among these M. de MARCELLUS, the integrity of whose character cannot be doubted. We had then reason to hope, that the union of the revolutionary party, which reckoned its strength at not less than 30 votes, and the body of our own minority, which might be reckoned at 80 more, in spite of the slight difference which appeared to exist, would afford us the means of shaking the party of the Ministers. It is accordingly what Ministers fear; and they have guarded against it by the speeches of M. COURVOISIER and M. CAZE. In both these speeches they have very frankly declared, that it was not against the revolutionary party, that they demanded the law of suspension, but only against the Royalists. They have thus detached and taken away the interest of the revolutionary party in the Chamber, which, with the exception of five or six, who had strongly pledged themselves by their public declarations, has voted for the law. There arises, however, this advantage from it, that the minority

minority supported their own principles with energy, even at a moment, when those principles were also adopted by their opponents.

Some persons are in hopes, that the Law of Elections will meet with opposition in the Chamber of Peers: the party who oppose it have obtained the slight advantage, of excluding from the committee M. MOLÉ, who is one of its warmest partisans, and who believed himself so certain, not only of being a member of this committee, but of being chosen to draw up its report, that he had already composed that document. One may conceive, that the argument which may have weight in this Chamber, will be, that the law is not of such urgent necessity, as to require immediate dispatch.

In case this law should pass the House of Peers, you may easily conceive the situation in which it will place the Royalists at the next elections, which I apprehend will soon take place for the renewal of the fifth, as well as for the departments which at present have no representatives. I entertain not much greater hopes of success on the law respecting the Liberty of the Press, than has been obtained on that of Elections and Personal Liberty.

The termination of the discussion of the Budget in the committee, presented a remarkable feature. The contest concerning the quantity of the public woods to be carried to the account of the Sinking Fund was revived. A member of the committee, who had defended in it the principles of the minority, (M. de la BOURDONNAYE,) was led, in the course of his argument, to a sort of general avowal, but which he did not directly bring forward as a proposition, that the Budget would be opposed *in tota* by the minority, if a part of the woods which belonged to the clergy were not restored to them; but that if, on the other hand, this restitution, demanded by the Pope in the negotiations carrying on at Rome, and wished for by the King, should be consented to, the rest of those funds might be applied in any other way whatsoever. The committee instantly seized upon this idea, as a *proposition formally made*. They proceeded to place four millions of the annual produce at the disposal of the King, for the endowment of religious establishments, and to apply all the rest to the Sinking Fund, determining at the same time the quantity that was to be sold in the current year. M. de la Bourdonnaye has been universally blamed, for having been the cause of such a determination; for having acted thus, without a previous understanding with his party; and for having destroyed that union of the party, which constitutes its whole strength; finally, for having given up one of the principles most strongly maintained by the Chamber of 1815, that of restoring to the legitimate

gitimate proprietors such property as was not sold in the course of the Revolution. The circumstances which I have alluded to, however, appear to be almost a sufficient excuse for so strong and vehement a speaker of our minority.

The visit of Lord Wellington to Paris has not been productive of any modification or change, in the spirit which directs our affairs. He is so surrounded, as to know nothing of France, but through the representations of interested persons, and can only judge of men and of things, through the médium of party-prejudice. It is pretty much the same, with all the foreign ministers. They always look on the Royalists, as a very considerable part of the nation, and as having an insolent desire to take an excessive advantage of the return of the King. You, my dear Sir, are too well informed, not to be able to judge of these statements, without any reflections of mine on their absurdity.

It appears certain, that on Tuesday last, at ten o'clock in the morning, the Princes of the Royal Family, addressed the King by a letter, in the hand-writing of the Duke of ANGOULEME, signed by him, by MONSIEUR, and by the Duke of BERRY, in which they represented to His Majesty, with the most profound respect, and the greatest submission, the danger of the system adopted by the government, and particularly that produced by the Law of Elections, in the form in which it was sent up to the Chamber of Peers. These ideas were developed with all the force of truth and feeling. The letter must have made a deep impression on the mind of the King; and it created a momentary alarm in the Ministry. I do not, however, think, that it will produce any remarkable effect, either upon the system in general, or upon the fate of the Law of Elections in particular. But I am very glad to perceive, that the presumptive Heir to the Crown, and the Princes, his sons, understand the real interests of the Monarchy, and have made this solemn declaration concerning them.

January 23. 1817.

THE new *Law of Elections* is supported in the Chamber of Peers with all the violence of party-spirit. Two members of the committee (which consists of five persons) are against the law, and three in favour of it. M. LALLY TOLLENDAL, one of these three, has been chosen to make the report. The King has just granted him an addition of 10,000 *francs* to his allowance as a peer, which thus amounts to 20,000 *francs*. The Ministers personally canvass the members of the House of Peers, in order to obtain a greater number of votes. I have no doubt, but that the law will pass; though I cannot pretend to say, that it will be by a very great

great majority. Even impartial men begin to feel some anxiety about the execution of this law.

The series marked C. in the list of the Chamber of Deputies, which is the one that goes out by lot first, includes forty-six members, and five deputies who have not been elected. Of these forty-six, seventeen vote with the minority, and twenty-nine with the majority. It is generally said, that the meeting of the Chamber, *with the part renewed*, will take place in the month of June next.

Many of the most distinguished members of the minority are weary of the useless struggle they have maintained, and sigh after the moment when they may return to their homes. They endeavour to find political reasons for this feeling, in which I cannot participate. They think, indeed, with reason, that their presence, their number, and, above all, the combination they have formed in defence of their opinions, were of themselves sufficient to keep united a majority, of heterogeneous materials, which does not adhere to the ministry, and which only places a temporary reliance on its promises, as it accompanies its promises by concessions. But it is not the less true, that if the minority retired, the majority would be immediately divided, and the most interesting questions would be thrown out of their course. The dispute is now, on the one side, to maintain the charter in its spirit and necessary consequences, and to establish such moral and political institutions as are capable of supporting the legitimate monarchy; whilst another party, and amongst them persons of great integrity, are of opinion that, under the pretence of the charter, a more arbitrary government must be introduced, and that the remains of the legislation of Buonaparte's reign afford the best means of naturally fixing the legitimate throne.

Supposing the present majority divided, it would form two parties; one of which would support this last opinion, in itself the most feeble, because it does not rest upon any principle; the other would boldly raise the standard of illegitimate succession, as the necessary consequence of the Revolution. Thus it was, that in 1789, the desertion of a part of the nobility changed the state of the question; and that, instead of disputes between the ancient institutions of the monarchy, and the application of a government of the three constituted powers, the struggle was between an attempt at this sort of government and a more republican constitution, such as left to the King no power of maintaining himself, or of effecting any good. When, a little while afterwards, the partisans of the English constitution gave up their project, the question was agitated between the constitutionalists of 1792, and the republicans. It would be easy to trace still further,

further, in the course of the Revolution, this necessary destruction of a party, which loses all influence in debate, instead of maintaining its opinions, and raising continually its own standard.

It seems that the King did not take amiss the letter which the Princes addressed to him: on the contrary, His Majesty has given a testimony of his good will to Monsieur, on the occasion of the death of M. de VAUDREUIL, an old friend of the Prince, by the arrangements made in favour of his widow and son. X.

February 1. 1817.

THE nomination of M. PASQUIER, as Minister of Justice, is a consequence of the negotiation between some of the ministers and the most distinguished members of the old majority. The first condition was the dissolution of the Chamber, the second was that of placing in situations of chief power, the distinguished men of the party. Time will reveal to us what were the other conditions. It appears, that at the time of this nomination, some of the Ministers had proposed to the King a change of the Ministers of War and of the Marine; that His Majesty refused this; and that the Ministers have compromised the matter with each other, by affording mutual facilities with respect to the amount of their respective budgets.

The debates on the laws respecting Personal Liberty, and the Press, have produced nearly the same results. Ten or twelve members, of the opposite extreme in their opinions, have voted with us, and eight or ten of our own party have, upon a nice scruple, separated from us, either voting against us, or not voting at all. The discussion of these last laws in the Chamber of Peers will produce the same effect. The law of Elections has passed, in that Chamber, by a majority of eighteen votes. It cost the Ministers no small effort to obtain even that majority. They were forced to bring up "the halt, the lame, and the blind," to vote; nay even the Envoy at Amsterdam received orders to come hither post, for the last sitting. The King kept about his person several of the great officers, who were suspected of an intention to vote against the law, such as his Captain of the Guards, his first Gentleman of the Chamber, the Grand Almoner of France, and finally the four Princes of the blood, whose opinions against the law were certainly known. And it is remarkable, that, in the list of those who voted against the law, are to be found the oldest and most faithful servants of the King, those who owe their very existence to him, and who have no future hopes but through him; whilst those who voted in favour of the plan are all of them either the children of the Revolution, or the favourites of Buonaparte. One must suppose that

that if the servants of the King are deceived, it is a most gross deception, since all their hopes and interests manifestly lie the other way.

The discussion of the Budget is about to be opened in the Chamber of Deputies. The Royalists see, with regret, that they cannot support the measures of the Ministry, because they are essentially opposed to the good of the country. The entire sum, 1088 millions of francs, appears to them impossible to be raised. The extraordinary means devised by the budget, do not appear to them to supply the great difference, which exists between the probable receipts, and the proposed expenditure. The sale of the woods does not present a very considerable immediate resource; for the important question is not to know what quantity will be offered to sale, but what will be actually sold and paid for in the course of the year. Ministers themselves do not reckon this resource at more than 12 or 13 millions. The adding to the national debt a capital of 600 millions of francs, might afford a more direct resource, if the sale had been made beforehand, at a price agreed upon and payable in the course of the year. This is what I had hoped was the case; but it turns out, that the proposals, which I had believed to be those of the lenders, were merely those devised by M. Ouvrard, whom ministers had employed, as the agent between them and the English bankers.

The arrival of the Duke of ORLEANS at Paris has been announced for the beginning of this month. It seems, that Ministers have consented to the return of this personage, in order to oppose his influence to that of the Princes, who do not proceed in the way that Ministers could wish.

I am, my dear Sir,
Yours, &c.

X.

LETTER XVII. (Extract.)

On the Duchess of Angouleme.

To Madame De D——.

“YOU ask me, Madam, what I think of the Diary*, which accident has thrown into my hands; and you still more pressinglly enquire, what is generally thought, in England, of its illustrious authoress; for I repeat, that I can have no doubt, but

* Since translated and published under the title of “Private Memoirs,” by Mr. Murray.

that

that this document actually proceeded from the pen of the Duchess of ANGOULEME. For my own part, you are well aware, that I needed not its perusal, to form an estimate of Her Royal Highness's character. I look upon her as the being most to be pitied in all Europe. In some ages, she would have been almost deified : now she is treated with a brutality by her enemies, and a neglect by those who should be her best friends, which are enough to break the firmest spirit, that ever animated a human breast. I know, that with the Royalists of the South and West, and generally with the females, of any degree of rank or condition, throughout France, she is an object not merely of the utmost interest, but of the tenderest respect ; and it is obvious, that a policy really enlightened, might have drawn from such a source the most inestimable advantages to the Royal cause. The daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie-Antoinette, the only surviving victim of the Temple, the Antigone of the exiled Monarch, the saintly attendant on the dying Edgeworth, the heroine of Bordeaux — spotless in virtue, purified by affliction, a Queen in dignity — that such a being should be abandoned by indifference, or worse motives, to the attacks of vulgar ridicule, instead of holding her up to the admiration of a whole people ! And what accusations, good heaven ! are those with which she is charged ! She is a devotee. Persecuted through life, they would deprive her of her hopes in eternity. At least, she is sincere ; at least, she has some basis for her moral principles ; at least, she will not countenance the corruption of the times, nor favour that contempt of things sacred, which has broken the bonds of allegiance, and rendered oaths of fidelity something less than the formalities of compliment. Her enemies find it culpable, that she avoids the spot where her parents were murdered ; and think it ridiculous, that she should attend the sad ceremony of depositing their remains in the vault of their ancestors. Her reserve toward certain *Ladies of the Revolution* is called *hauteur* ; although it is certain, that where personal misconduct does not render a female of that class unworthy of notice, Madame makes no invidious distinctions. In fine, she is “gloomy, and cold, and austere ;” as if joy could be supposed to take up its habitual residence in a mind so tortured as her's has been ; or as if she would gain any thing in true respectability, or even in public estimation, by a light and frivolous, and one might add, all circumstances considered, an indecorous gaiety. It is but too true, that the features of this unhappy Princess bear evident traces of grief, from all that she has suffered, and all that she has to dread ; but one ought rather to wonder at the fortitude, which sustains so much, than to blame the sensibility, which sometimes yields to the severity of its trials. After all, perhaps Madame possesses the most energetic soul of any

any woman now existing; and fully justifies, as far as she is concerned, the saying of Buonaparte, that she is the only man of her family.

But though such must be the sentiments of all who have paid a close attention to the history of this truly great Princess, I must frankly own to you, that the English public, deceived by the host of *liberal* writers, who can see no virtue near a throne, has of late years received a strong taint of prejudice from the false and frivolous, but persevering and unvaried attacks on her character. I sincerely hope, and I firmly believe, that when the little volume, of which you speak, comes to be publicly known, it will produce a striking change in the opinion of this country; for we are not, Madam, an unfeeling nation, we are capable of being touched, perhaps more deeply, in consequence of the coldness of our exterior, by those excellences, which best bear reflection, and approve themselves most to the most dispassionate judgments. It is impossible for us to read with indifference the records of suffering, which flow unostentatiously, and in secret, from the wounded spirit, in the moments of its agony: nor are we so destitute of *imagination*, (using that term in its moral sense,) as to be unable to sympathise with the daughter, the sister, the insulted female, the hopeless and heart-sick captive, solely because she is a Princess. But then, the picture, the faithful portrait must be brought before us, as it is in this exquisitely touching journal. We are not much to be wrought upon by declamation; but we cannot look upon the real “*ture of the mind*” unmoved. We have heard something vaguely of the separation of Louis from his family; but we have not hitherto been enabled to follow the long succession of woe upon woe, which tried the virtue of that youthful heroine who saw father, mother, aunt, brother, one after the other, torn from her, and consigned to misery and the grave. We have not hitherto seen her standing before those brutal wretches, Hebert, and Chaumette, to be interrogated, as a witness, against her own mother and aunt, on accusations which outraged decency, as much as truth,—undergoing, at an age just ripening into womanhood, “*questions, which she did not comprehend, but of which she understood enough, to make her cry with indignation and horror!*”—This, as you know, Madam, is but one of the early trials of your great Princess. I trust, that the whole detail, painful as it is, will come before the English public; and if it does, I am sure it will be powerful enough to blow away, like chaff before the wind, all the little trifling prejudices, which little trifling writers have been, for years past, heaping together, against this august and admirable female.”

J. S.

CONTENTS

OF

No. III.

LETTER I.

To Mons. de M——. (R. R. D.)

On the Political Events at the Close of the Reign of George II.
Page 31

LETTER II. (Translation.)

To H. R. Esq. (S. P.)

On the Cadastre, or general Land-Survey of France 334

LETTER III.

To Mons. de B. (J.)

*On the Parochial Schools of Scotland, and on the Education of the
lower Orders of Society in general.* 345

LETTER IV. (Translation.)

To J. P. B. Esq. (De S——.)

*Communicating the Author's Second Memoir on the Revision of the
French Code* 366

LETTER V.

To the Baron de —— (W. J.)

On Spanish America..... 376

LETTER VI. (Translation.)

To the Editor. (F.)

*On the Correspondence of M. J. F. with Buonaparte, from the
year 1802 to the year 1813* 398

CONTENTS.

LETTER VII.

To M. De St. M——. (A. J. K.)

On the Hamlet of Ducis, compared with that of Shakspeare Page 409

LETTER VIII. (Translation.)

To Sir S. R. (K. L.)

On the Juries in France 427

LETTER IX. (Translation.)

To J. S. Esq. (De F——.)

On the Religious Missions in France 439

LETTER X. (Translation.)

To E. J——, Esq. (T.)

On Louis De La Roche Jaquelin, and on French Parties 445

LETTER XI.

To Monsieur de —— (J. J.)

On the Corporation of London, its Antiquity, and political Importance 449

LETTER XII. (Translation.)

To C. M. Esq. (W.)

On the French Armies 461

INDEX 486

THE
CORRESPONDENT.

No. III.

LETTER I.

On the Political Events at the Close of the Reign of George II.

To Mons. de M——.

Dear Sir,

Lincoln's-Inn, Jan. 1. 1817.

FROM authentic documents of past times, we, who live in the present, are instructed : I shall, therefore, not apologise for introducing to your notice a fragment of a Memoir, which has never been published, written by RICHARD GLOVER, commonly known in England by the distinction of *Leonidas Glover*. He was born in 1712, and at nineteen years of age was introduced to the late Prince of Wales, by whom he was esteemed as a man of genius, and valued as a political friend.

Immediately after the accession of His present Majesty, he sat in the House of Commons for Weymouth, and lived in habits of intimacy with Lord Cobham, Mr. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, George Grenville, father to the late Marquis of Buckingham, Lyttleton, Dodington, Waller, and other eminent political characters ; but he never held any place or official appointment in the Government. He died in 1785, and is now only known, in the annals of English literature, by his poem, entitled *LEONIDAS*, which, at the time of its publication, was read by his political friends with enthusiastic delight, and rapidly went through several editions. Lord Lyttleton praised it in the highest terms, as well for its poetical beauties, as for its political tendency : — “ the whole plan and purpose of it being to shew the superiority of freedom over slavery ; and how much virtue, public spirit, and the love of liberty, are preferable,

able, both in name and effects, to riches, luxury, and the insolence of power."*

I am, dear Sir,

Yours, &c.

R. R. D.

MEMOIR.

TILL the 19th of April (1758) the time of the House of Commons, and the attention of the public, were engaged by the continuance of popular harangues against the Duke of Cumberland, and the officers who miscarried at Rochefort, both confessedly objects of rhetorical sarcasm; but to amuse the people completely, and infuse into their minds the minister's regard for civil liberty, a proposition was adopted of Sir John Cust's, for Mr. Hussey, and Mr. Moreton, two eminent lawyers of Mr. Pitt's party, to amend the *Habeas Corpus* act, which furnished him with matter for many violent and indiscreet declamations, not only against Lord Mansfield, who was charged with a breach of that sacred act, but against the whole body of lawyers, friends and foes indiscriminately. Mr. Wilbraham, the most venerable and respectable of the profession, will never forgive the treatment he received from him in the House, for presuming to differ from him in opinion. A Bill passed the Commons; the arguments of Lord Mansfield, and the influence of the Duke of Newcastle, threw it out in the House of Lords, who admitted that some amendments were necessary to the *Habeas Corpus* act, that those proposed by the Commons were inadequate and absurd, and ordered the Judges to prepare a new Bill against next Sessions. The design of imposing on the nation, for that period of time, having been answered, Mr. Pitt† and Newcastle soon made a

* GLOVER has been also suspected to be the concealed author of the letters of JUNES, and some of his claims to that title have been discussed in a late *Inquiry*, on that subject. The Memoir here given to the public may be thought curious, with reference to that discussion, particularly in the part which draws the character of BECKFORD, so often and so conspicuously noticed in the letters in question. It is, besides, important, as embracing "the renowned fifty-eight, and the great fifty-nine," the most splendid period in the career of the celebrated William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham; and, above all, it is interesting, as describing that memorable Canadian campaign, in which the victorious and unsuccessful Generals, WOLFE and MONTCALEM, fell with equal heroism; if not with equal glory. Brigadier-General Townsend, who succeeded Wolfe in the command, was the intimate friend of Glover, and furnished him with most authentic information of all the military transactions, in the course of which nothing is more remarkable than the despondency with which both those Generals set out on an expedition, destined to terminate with such brilliant success. Ed.

† William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham.

compromise never to think of the *Habeas Corpus* Bill more; nor was it less forgotten by all mankind without doors. To conclude this scandalous history of the *Habeas Corpus* Bill at once; I will observe here, that in the subsequent Sessions, 1759, Lord Denbigh threatened to take up that affair in the House of Peers; that very year he was made a Privy Counsellor, with a pension, I think, of 1200*l.* a-year; this favour shown to so insignificant a person, carries its own explanation; his mouth was to be stopped. Lord Temple told Mr. Waller, who told me, that a compromise was made not to pursue the *Habeas Corpus* Bill.

On the 18th of April (1758) the Prussian treaty was laid before the House of Commons; on the 14th before the Lords, and by them approved, with the concurrence of the Tory peers; on the 19th, it was taken into consideration by the Commons: that day I heard Mr. Pitt deliver himself with more art, method, and seeming modesty, with less parade of words and metaphors, than was usual with his loose and desultory manner. His performance was well calculated for his auditory. I do him this justice, though I totally disapproved both of his assertions and arguments.

He began with confessing his former disinclination to Continental theasures; that he never should have altered his sentiments while any service, purely British, had remained unprovided for; but now, that the power of Great Britain was exerted to such an extent, that it was in a condition to act offensively, in the East Indies, on the Coast of Africa, in the Leeward Islands, at Jamaica, and more particularly in North America, the primary object, he saw no reason why the superfluity of our force might not act in Germany; allies, who were now victorious, driving the shattered remnant of the French from the Weser to the Rhine. That he hoped to see the Army of Observation lose that name, and under Duke Ferdinand become an army of execution; that it would now carry the war forwards, and act offensively; nor was he sure, at the time he then spoke, but that that great commander had already passed the Rhine.

On the head of sending British troops to the army, he declared himself with some reserve. "Indeed," said he, "a few invalids have been transported to Embden,* as the enemy had been compelled to evacuate that town, it was necessary that a small garrison should be there, merely to open and shut the gates; or if a battalion or two of infantry should be added, he should deem such a trifle as a step not at all inconsistent with any

* Sent to Embden on the 25th of April.

professions, or resolutions, against sending British troops to Germany; that, for his part, he should not think it unadvisable to increase the number, in time, to 5 or 6, or 7000, merely by way of putting them to school, that some part of our army might see service, and learn their trade." He then magnified the abilities of Great Britain, and depreciated those of France; he entered into a magnificent eulogium of the King of Prussia; represented him as almost master of Moravia already; nay, appeared so certain of his success, that he gave the House expectations that, in a few months, this triumphant monarch would be enabled to spare 30,000 men, to co-operate with the Duke Ferdinand. He allowed, that in Germany the expense to this nation would be very great, in consequence of these new arrangements, but submitted to the House, whether the money would not be well bestowed, as the shortening the war, and establishing a safe, permanent, and honourable peace, would be the probable result of such vigorous and timely efforts.

Some objections were made by Sir Francis *. Dashwood, Sir C. Firebrace, and Mr. Vyner the elder. Little regard was paid to their opinion; and the country-gentlemen seemed as forward in Continental measures, as those in office. Lord Strange, in particular, declared his confidence in Mr. Pitt to be such, that if the marching a body of British troops into the very heart of Germany were proposed, he would give his consent. As a further proof of the enthusiasm, which universally prevailed at this juncture, I remember to have asked Colonel Townshend †, after the House was up, what he thought of carrying the war forwards, across the Rhine, against such a power as France, and with an army not exceeding 40,000 men; he, in reply, swore that if assurances had not been given that Duke Ferdinand would pass that river, he would not have voted for the Prussian treaty. This was enough to convince me, that he was entirely satisfied with the proceedings of that day in the House. On the 14th of April, the treaty was laid before the Lords, and passed with the unanimous concurrence of Whigs and Tories.

On the 21st, Mr. Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer, opened the Ways and Means. ‡ The sum voted for the current

* Afterwards, Lord Le Despencer.

† Colonel Townshend was afterwards Marquis Townshend, grandfather to the present Marquis Townshend.

‡ The National Debt, at this time, amounted to 85,099,563*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* the value of 93,669—5 on lives inclusive. The annual payment was 2,770,483*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.*

service of this year (1758) was 10,797,221*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* of which 5,000,000 was borrowed. Mr. Legge made several mistakes in his statement of the English and French finances, magnifying the first and depreciating the last; diametrically contrary to fact, and much to the satisfaction of his ignorant auditors. In this, however, he gave encouragement to the new and expensive undertakings in Germany, and merited much better treatment, than he met with that day, from Mr. Pitt. After Legge had spoke, Beckford stood up, and opposed the scheme offered for the Ways and Means. He insisted, that other methods should be tried for raising all, or at least great part of the sums wanted, without having recourse to funding, and proposed to tax bodies of men, such as the Clergy, Physicians, and Lawyers. Pitt countenanced these visions, asserting that a million and a half at least might be levied by new taxes within the year, and mentioned a tax on Privateers as one. Nugent treated this proposition as ideal and ridiculous; it was most truly so, for privateering upon the whole is ever attended with loss to those who are concerned. The debate proceeded to no small altercation between the Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Nothing was ever so wild and absurd, in a minister, as to dispute publicly with the Treasury about the means of raising money, especially when the means proposed were certain, and adequate to the services voted. It is always understood, that matters of this nature are settled by the administration, before they are introduced to Parliament; this public difference of opinion, not without a tincture of acrimony, carried with it conviction; that no harmony subsisted between Pitt and Legge: there was none in fact; but why their dissensions should be made notorious, and why the day of opening the Ways and Means should be singled out for that purpose, can only be imputed to Pitt's vehemence and indiscretion. From this day nothing material passed till the close of the Sessions, which was on the 20th of June.

On the 14th of July, six regiments of cavalry and six of infantry were ordered for Germany, making, in the whole, 8,600 men. Mr. Samuel Martin assured me, that three regiments of foot were ordered by the council while the Duke of Newcastle was absent at Cambridge, the proposition having been made by Mr. Pitt.

To give a just conception of our military transactions in Germany, this year, I must return as far back as the 20th of November 1757, on which day the army of observation renewed hostilities upon the French. Very soon after that event, Duke Ferdinand, brother of the reigning Duke of Brunswick Wolfen-

battle, arrived at Stade, and took the command of that army, consisting of Hanoverians, Hessians, and Wolfenbuttlers. He was a General in the King of Prussia's service, who never shewed more policy, than by lending an officer of his own to us, furnishing besides a train of artillery and a body of cavalry, both which the Hanoverians wanted, and by those seeming favours making England a voluntary instrument to secure him as well as Hanover, against the future attempts of France. From this time, we heard of nothing, in Hanover and Westphalia, but the disastrous state of the French army. Count Clermont, a Prince of the Blood, superseded Richelieu, on the 15th of February. Zell was abandoned on the 26th, and Hanover on the 28th. The humane and generous behaviour of the Duc de Randon, the French governor of that city, while it continued in his power, and at the instant of his departure, deserves to be recorded in the annals of these times. His benevolence and charity drew from the regency of that Electorate a letter of acknowledgment, with praise and blessings from the clergy, which they blended with their solemn thanksgivings for the country's deliverance from its enemies.

The French continued their precipitate retreat from the Weser to the Rhine, and among their pursuers no one equalled the vigour and conduct of Charles William Ferdinand, Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, a most accomplished youth, at that period just twenty-two years of age.

On the 30th of May, the allied army passed the Rhine. On the 23d of June, they defeated the French at Crevelt, and lost by their own accounts 4000 men, and upwards of seven, by ours. This success gave no small reputation to Duke Ferdinand, uncle to the Hereditary Prince, and commander-in-chief, who notwithstanding was so little able to *carry the war* forward with his considerable force, that he repassed the Rhine, on the 10th of August. Our English were landed some time before this, and would probably have been cut off by the Duc de Chevert, had not General Tonhoff been detached by Duke Ferdinand, and totally beat Chevert with a much inferior force. No troops ever behaved worse than the French on that occasion. Soon after, the enemy repassed the Rhine likewise, under a new commander, the Marechal de Contades. Duke Ferdinand then found himself under the necessity of retiring in his turn. The war was transferred to the country of our ally, the Landgrave of Hesse.

The subsequent events were rather in favour of the enemy. The body of their forces, under Soubise, had acted in Hesse, during the continuance of Duke Ferdinand on the French side of the Rhine: Prince Isenburg, with a corps of Hessians, regulars

gulars and militia, was worsted by the Duc de Broglie, on the 23d of July; and after Contades had advanced, with the main army, into that country, another General of the allies, named Oberg, received a check from Soubise, on the 10th of October. However, the campaign finished without any decision; the enemy seized the free city of Frankfort, where they established their head winter-quarters; and the allies returned into theirs.

I must once more admire the art of the Prussian monarch, availing himself so seasonably of Great Britain, in the moment of its enthusiasm and delusion; that by the sudden supply of a few cannon, about 2000 of his worst cavalry, and a General at his own devotion, he converted half the power of this nation, contrary to its own original intention and interest, into a bulwark against France, to shelter him, not less than Hanover, from so formidable an enemy, and gave full scope to his vast designs upon the House of Austria.

On the 21st of March, he began the campaign with the siege of Schweidnitz, which surrendered on the 16th of April. On the 3d of May, his main army appeared on the plains of Olmutz, and on the 27th his trenches were opened before that city, the capital of Moravia. The reduction of that place, and another called Brunn, would have brought him within a hundred miles of Vienna. Whatever were his own conceptions, those of his friends in England soon conveyed him to the gates of that metropolis, and erected his standard on the walls.

In the midst of these high expectations, the Austrian troops were assembling under Marshal Daun: they were reputed to consist of little more than 20,000 veterans, escaped from the battle of Lissa; and, with the addition of 40,000 new recruits, were not considered as an obstacle to the King of Prussia's designs, till on the 23d of May they decamped from Leutomischel, a town in Bohemia, about fifty miles north-west from Olmutz. On the 9th of June, the Austrian General took post at Gewiez, about twenty miles west of that city, after reinforcing the garrison on the 8th, with a detachment which penetrated the Prussian lines in the night. Not many days passed, before the Marshal Daun was heard of, at Predlitz, about fifteen miles south-south-west of Olmutz, and at length he extended himself within the distance of six miles only, almost due south, without meeting, in his whole course, with the least impediment from the enemy.

In this situation, he received intelligence that a large convoy was coming from Silesia, to the Prussian camp, and immediately detached General Jahnus, who had been left behind Muglitz, no more than seventeen miles to the north-north-west of Olmutz, and another body which had been posted at Pretau, thirty miles

to the north-east of that capital, that the convoy might be attacked on two sides: this was effected on the 28th of June, but without success. On the 29th, a further reinforcement, to the bodies already described, renewed the attack with considerable loss to the Prussian escort; part of the convoy reached the camp, part was taken, the remainder returned to Silesia. This unhappy event, says the Berlin account, published by authority, obliged the King to raise the siege of Olmutz. This might have been the immediate occasion of raising the siege, at that time; but the proximity of Daun's army, protecting the city against an assault, and the approach of the Russians towards the Oder, not giving the King leisure to proceed in the slow and regular form, would probably have defeated his attempt, though the whole convoy had arrived at his camp, and must be allowed to have been concurring incidents in the preservation of Olmutz.

Under this severe disappointment, which rendered half the campaign fruitless, the King of Prussia's subsequent conduct is entitled to the brightest encomiums. On the 1st of July, he turned towards Bohemia, instead of Silesia. Passing through the enemy's country, he subsists on their magazines, which he seizes in his way; he reaches his own country of Glatz, on the 1st of August, always preserving his retreat impenetrable to the vigorous pursuit of the Austrians. On the 9th he encamps at Landshut in Silesia; from thence he proceeds with a detachment to join General Dohna, who commanded a body to observe the Russians. On the 22d the King accomplishes the junction, and beats the Russians at Zorndorf, on the 25th, after an obstinate and bloody resistance. On the King's departure from Silesia to encounter the Russians, Marshal Daun poured his whole force upon Saxony, already invaded by the army of the empire. Prince Henry, and his corps of less than 20,000 men, were within twenty-four hours of destruction, when his brother, with a rapidity beyond conception, rushed from the field of victory, entered Saxony on the 5th of September, and disconcerted the well-contrived designs of Daun. On this success he instantly marches to Bautzen in Lusatia, to intercept that General's supply of provisions from Bohemia, and be in readiness to relieve Neiss, the strongest fortress in Silesia, then threatened with a siege by a body of Austrians, under Baron Harsch. Marshal Daun hastens after him, and on the 14th of September, at four in the morning, surprises and defeats his right wing at Hockkirchen, takes their tents, baggage, and cannon, with many prisoners, and puts a considerable number to the sword; among the rest the celebrated Marshal Keith, the most experienced of the Prussian Generals and Counsellors, after the death of old Count Schwerin.

The King, with his wonted resolution and activity, soon formed the rest of his army, and checked the Austrians, who, content with their advantage, returned to their camp. He continued in their neighbourhood till the 24th of October, without molestation, when he advanced to the relief of Neiss, before which Baron Harsch had actually opened his trenches on the 20th. Marshal Daun did not follow him, but directed his course to Dresden; gave it an ineffectual assault; at the same time General Haddick attempted Torgaw. The Prince de Deux Ponts attacked Leipsic, and the Russians besieged Colberg in Pomerania. The sieges of Neiss, and of another place in Silesia, named Cosel, were abandoned at the King's approach. He marches back to Saxony: Torgaw, Leipsic, and Dresden are instantly freed from their danger. By the end of November, he remains once more master of all the Electorate; the Russians relinquish their enterprise at Colberg; Marshal Daun and the Prince de Deux Ponts make a safe retreat into Bohemia. Thus was this memorable campaign brought to a conclusion.

The errors of the King of Prussia were compensated by his intrepidity, celerity, and vigour; nor is the conduct of Marshal Daun less conspicuous, who with a raw and untried army, which he dared not hazard in a general engagement, preserved Moravia, and during the last five months of the year transferred the war from his master's dominions to those of his enemy. It was now well understood, that the battle of Lissa was fought contrary to his opinion; and had the Russians this year been governed by his counsels to avoid an engagement, and keep the Prussians at bay on the Oder, the campaign would not probably have finished on such equal terms. His two invasions of Saxony, this year, were founded in wisdom, nor would have miscarried by any impediment less than the King of Prussia.

While the war was prosecuting in Germany, the fleets and armies of Great Britain were employed with vigour in every quarter of the globe. The vigour and spirit of our commanders were distinguished; the merit of their success was ascribed to Pitt; and had he confined our operations within the limits of prudence, and the nation's ability, he would have obtained from the discreet and impartial more lasting praises than those so profusely bestowed by the infatuated multitude. Three descents were made on the coast of France; those of St. Malo's and Cherbourg were attended with some success; at St. Cos we met with some loss. In Africa, Senegal and Goree were taken, and Pocock in the East Indies, with an inferior squadron, worsted the French Admiral d'Aché in two engagements. Capt. Forrest acquired no small reputation in a sea-fight off Cape François in Hispaniola,

Hispaniola, against a superior force. The Foudroyant and Orphel, the one 84 guns, the other 64, were made our prize in the Mediterranean, by two much smaller ships, part of Admiral Osborne's squadron, who irreparably sacrificed his health to perseverance and assiduity in his country's service. The Reasonable, a new 64 gun ship, struck to Capt. Dennis, in the Bay of Biscay. The French trade was annihilated.

In North America, Fort Frontenac, at the end of Lake Ontario, where it joins with the river St. Laurence, was demolished by a provincial officer. Capt. Broadstreet, at Fort du Quesne on the Ohio, fell before Col. Forbes. Louisbourg was the most important of our conquests. Against 121 fortresses, 23 ships of the line and 18 frigates were sent under Admiral Boscawen, and 12,000 troops under Amherst, with Wolfe for his second. The union and intrepidity, both by land and sea, were adequate to the well-conducted attempt. War terminated in victory, with the loss of nearly 6000 men killed, and wounded, and taken prisoners; to the French, two 74 and two 64 gun ships were burnt in the harbour, and 12 captured, one of 64, besides frigates. The repulse of one General, Abercrombie, and the loss of Ticonderoga, where Montcalm destroyed almost 2000 of our people, made but little impression on the public, in the midst of so many advantages, nor abated the ardour of Mr. Pitt, who at the close of the year projected two more expeditions, one against Martinique, the other against Quebec, the capital of Canada: the command of the squadron and of 4000 troops destined to the first was given to Commodore Moore and General Hopson: the fleet was to act against the latter, to be commanded by Saunders, with two more Admirals, Durell and Holmes; the army of 12,000 men, by Wolfe, with Monckton and Townshend.

Mr. Townshend was this year possessed with a *furor militaris*: despairing of the militia, which was his own offspring, he took a resolution to return to the army, and talked of quitting the House of Commons. He consulted me on these subjects; I objected vehemently to his plan, but without effect. In fine he was restored to his rank in the army, and the first use that was made of his new situation, was to send him out of the way into Canada. At the same time, to his undying praise it must be remembered, that, in despite of all opposition and prejudices, he established, long before his departure, the militia in his own country, and was nobly seconded by Lord Shaftsbury and Lord Romney in Kent. All three met with approbation but from few, with coldness from the multitude, and with aversion from the court. However, a beginning was made, which I include in the many successful events of this year; and had not the ambition
of

of Mr. Pitt, (eager to purchase the King's favour,) extended his plan to the Continent, this year might have been called salutary, as well as glorious to Great Britain. Possibly the unforeseen calamities, consequential to his wild German measures, may prove salutary at last; and the violent hand of necessity apply an effectual remedy, though too desperate to be hinted so early in these Memorials.

On Nov. 23. the Parliament assembled: Mr. Pitt opened with an oration, fairly apprising the House, that the expense next year in Germany would be enormous: he congratulated the whole kingdom on its various successes; but principally on the wisdom and unanimity of its representatives, so qualified to give counsel, and so unanimous in supporting their resolutions: from them he desired to receive instructions; — none could be such adequate judges of the present situation — none else must direct and determine.

Thus far his discourse was artful, and carried an appearance of moderation; but when he invited the members to declare their sentiments, while measures were under deliberation, and not wait to pass censure on events; and at the same time used the expression, "Is there any Austrian among you? let him rise and reveal himself now!" he assumed a character not unlike the champion at a coronation, who throws down his gauntlet, with a certainty that no one will dare to accept the challenge.

In truth no man was hardy enough to enter into the debate. Throughout the sessions every German proposition was approved, and every sum voted that was demanded. He was supposed to have directed his sarcasm at Egmont, Fox, and Dodington. A pamphlet, in the summer, had been produced, severely reproaching his ministerial conduct, labouring to demonstrate the absurdity of his siding with the King of Prussia. This he ascribed to some one or two of the three, with what foundation, I could never learn; but of one thing he was well assured, that each of them had too many blots in his character, to endure the lash of his personal declamation. The well-meaning and upright, that very small party, in the House of Commons, were equally deterred from delivering their opinions in contradiction to Mr. Pitt; so much was his ascendancy in speaking established there; though the power continued in the Duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Pitt was no more than a brilliant tool of the minister.

Notwithstanding the seeming concurrence in the administration, no cordial harmony ever subsisted among them. I have given some instances already, unknown to the deluded public. I shall now produce more. On the 9th of December, Mr. Legge, in conversation with me on the subject of a new loan, entreated me

me to interpose my good offices with Mr. Pitt, not to thwart him in the method he should propose, in raising the supplies: 'If he does,' added Legge, with warmth, 'I must resign.' I embarked no farther than to visit Lord Temple next day, and imparting my own unreserved sentiments, as usual, to him on various topics; among others on the form of a future supply, I freely censured Mr. Pitt's well-known adherence to impracticable plans of raising any part of the sum wanted, by occasional and extraordinary taxations within the year. His Lordship consented: but, in the course of the conversation, took occasion to complain of the Duke of Newcastle for running into an expense, which might gratify the King, and force the nation into a peace; he then concluded with some very just reflections on Mr. Legge, as one altogether compliant to the Duke. I afterwards saw Mr. George Grenville, who, in a dark and prolix harangue upon the same subject, rather took Mr. Legge's part, and convinced me of what had been hinted to me before by Mr. Waller, that he was not himself on the easiest terms with Mr. Pitt. The King, at this period, was not much better satisfied with some of his servants than they were with each other. Mr. Legge he hated; and was deaf to Newcastle's solicitations for a peerage to Legge's family, in the person of his wife, daughter to Lord Stawell, the most amiable and deserving of her sex.* Lord Temple informed me, that the King was as averse to himself and Pitt as ever. I asked, why to the latter; he answered, the King wanted to load this nation with the expense of 5000 Hanoverians, which he had engaged to furnish at his own cost, and had authorised Pitt to declare as much in the House of Commons, and that Pitt had peremptorily refused. I learnt from Mr. Martin, that on the night preceding the Duke of Newcastle's departure for Lewes races, in Sussex, that he had proposed in council, without the privity of Mr. Pitt, that the forces at that time destined for one of the expeditions against the coast of France, should be sent to garrison Stade; and that the whole fleet, then under Lord Anson, should be ordered thither likewise, to receive 9000 French prisoners; which propositions Pitt opposed, and quashed. Such was the state of public affairs, and of the administration at the end of the year 1758.

Nothing material passed in the House of Commons till the 26th of January 1759, when the Hessian treaty was proposed.

* This favour was afterwards granted, May 20. 1760, when she was created Baroness Stawell; with remainder limited to her issue by Mr Legge. She died August 6. 1780, and the title descended to the present Lord Stawell.

Pitt, on this occasion, was very indiscreet in his assuming behaviour to Lord Strange, who, in his mild way, had professed unwarrantable confidence in him the last sessions; yet, being at the bottom upright and independent, presumed to differ from him on that day: the altercation produced some rough expressions between them.

On the 29th, was voted to His Majesty 670,000*l.* for making good his engagements with the King of Prussia, pursuant to the treaty, renewed with that monarch the 7th of last December. It was not till the 9th of March that Mr. Legge proposed the new loan of 6,600,000*l.* with 19 per cent. advance, at three per cent., which made an addition of 7,590,000*l.* to the National Debt.* The fund was five per cent. on the old subsidy, payable at the Custom-house, on tobacco, sugar, groceries, East India goods, paper, linen, and all foreign spirits, according to the old book of rates. That part of the proposition, which affected sugar, was warmly opposed by Mr. William Beckford, alderman of London, one of its representatives in parliament, and the most considerable planter in Jamaica. This gentleman's intimate connection with Mr. Pitt renders it necessary to give some idea of his character and qualifications.

He was the richest planter of Jamaica, magnificent, yet covetous; vain of his wealth; blunt, but conversible; of ready parts; devoid of judgment; fluent, but uncouth in his style and utterance; full of indigested knowledge, acquired by unwearied industry. His spirit was undaunted, his demeanour unembarrassed by opposition or ridicule. He was copious in matter and argument; and had he possessed Mr. Pitt's language and manner, he would have been his equal: though his ungovernable rage of haranguing, with that utter want of judgment, constantly overthrew, in the last half of his speeches, all the conviction that was conveyed by the first. Mr. Beckford's attachment to Pitt was fortunate for the latter, whose pride and sufficiency would have been galled every day, beyond patience, by the other's ferocity and roughness, returning for ever to the charge, unabashed, unyielding, sometimes with humour, often with knowledge and sound reason, but always with volubility. He was of the country-party, upon the principles of an old Whig, and, with the Prussian enthusiasm superadded to his native impetuosity, was continually rousing the House in the Continental cause; and on this and every other subject was sure of Mr. Pitt's countenance and

* The National Debt, at this time, amounted to 92,689,556*l.* 13*s.* 2½*d.* The annual payment 2,998,183*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.*

support; which, in time, had procured him a degree of influence far beyond his pretensions.

On the above question, Mr. Beckford made a vehement attack on Legge in behalf of sugar, in which his property chiefly consisted, and which he wanted to exempt from the additional duty. Mr. Pitt espoused him with equal warmth, and celebrated his wisdom, knowledge, abilities, independence, disinterestedness, and compared him to Sir Josiah Child, whom he called a man fit to govern the greatest kingdom, or to make a small one great. He added, that few were the glories of his life, but among them he esteemed Mr. Beckford's friendship as one of the first, who had done as much for the cause and support of Government as any man in office. He chid, with insufferable arrogance, the whole House for laughing at some truly ridiculous passages in Beckford's tedious speech; fell severely on Legge for his delay in settling the Ways and Means; declared he had not been consulted, nor had interfered in the Treasury-department, at the same time avowing that he had checked their original design of levying their whole fund on sugar, and had proposed a plan of his own, which with unnecessary imprudence he revealed, i. e. to propose a tax upon all shopkeepers, for a license to trade. This scheme, to my knowledge, had been refuted by Mr. George Grenville, in a conference with the Duke of Newcastle, who was disposed to adopt it, as coming from Pitt, had it not been proved insufficient, as well as oppressive. Pitt proceeded to let the House know his entire disapprobation of the Ways and Means proposed, and went round a wide circle of tautology to express his dissatisfaction. He took up a hint of Beckford's for inland duties, and boldly named an excise, with a restriction to juries: then, with his unguarded impetuosity of following every idea starting in his mind, wandered through a profusion of self-reproaches for his opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, and of eulogiums on so great a minister, for his laudable and honest intentions in proposing a general excise; and finished with the incense of veneration to his ashes, and to the memory of Pelham.

Mr. Legge made a very tame reply, but delivered his opinion likewise in favour of duties levied by excise. The strange proceedings of this day remind me of another as strange. On the 7th of June 1758, when Beckford, having thrown out an unparliamentary reflection on the House of Lords, was called to order, Pitt stepped in to his assistance, and concluded with a declaration, that he preferred Beckford's situation, as representative and alderman of London, to the first peerage.

On the 12th of March, a motion to open the exportation of grain, which had been suspended during the two preceding years of scarcity, was very regularly debated, till Mr. Pitt got up, and, in his desultory manner, diverted the subject on Legge, referring to the dispute on the 9th, contrary to the forms of parliament. He charged Legge with procrastination in the loan, and in the fund, and of being the occasion of the wound given to the public credit. Legge took notice of this imputation with great meekness; Pitt replied, that he had thrown out no imputation, only facts; that months had elapsed between the time the Treasury had the money in their pockets, and their making the bargain; and afterwards moving the fund in the House, which was not till the 9th of March.

Legge might have vindicated himself, but he had no spirit to tell the truth. The case was really this. Towards the end of November, I saw Legge at Newcastle-house, and advised him to receive subscriptions to the loan by letters, and lose no time. He went in to the Duke, and returned to me without any decisive answer. On the 6th of December he wrote to me a letter, authorising the method I had proposed. The eagerness to subscribe was so great, that by the 13th the Treasury were offered more than they wanted, by a million. I immediately recommended the closing the subscription. Legge actually closed his own list two or three days after. The Duke of Newcastle kept his open till the middle of January. Thus, in two periods above-mentioned, more than five weeks were lost. The procrastination of the fund was imputable to Pitt himself, who was wrangling with the Treasury about his own plan of licensing shops, and theirs of taxing sugar.

After all, this whole transaction was of little consequence in itself, either to the public, or public credit, nor should I have related it so circumstantially, with any other view than to produce it as an instance of disunion among the principal officers of state.

During this year (1759) the British arms in the East and West Indies, and upon the ocean, shone with lustre far exceeding the indecisive efforts of every nation at war. Expeditions ill concerted, with a force often inadequate to the undertakings, were accomplished with glory, by the union, spirit, and conduct, of the land and sea commanders, marking the full advantage of that superiority which our common people were at all times allowed to possess over the French.

In North America, Canada would have been subdued this year, had Amherst, instead of attempting a passage over the Lake Champlain, been ordered from New York to join Wolfe, who was sent up the River St. Lawrence, with 8000 troops, to attack

attack Quebec, defended by more than double that number. Montcalm, the French general, lay along the river, on this side of the town, with 17,000 men, in a camp admirably well secured by art and situation. On 31st of July our troops were landed, at a place called Beauport, to face the enemy's entrenchments, but were beaten back to their boats, with a loss of more than 800 killed and wounded.* From this time to the 2d of September, it appeared, by Mr. Wolfe's letter of that date to Mr. Pitt, that his mind was employed in the contemplation of obstacles, which he despaired of surmounting: but this was no more than a continuation of the melancholy, under which he departed from England, after many fruitless applications for an additional force; nor can it be more strongly observed than by his own words, in the conclusion of his letter: *—"By the nature of the river," he says, "the most formidable part of this armament are deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures, but then, the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event."

From hence it is evident, how slight were his expectations of the enterprise then in agitation, as the last resource. He had been disabled by a fever soon after the miscarriage at Beauport; and had, in writing, recommended to the brigadiers, Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, a plan of attacking the enemy a second time in their camp; this plan had been considered and refuted by them in writing likewise, and another of their own proposed, which is sufficiently explained in the following paragraph of his letter to Mr. Pitt:—"I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. They are all of opinion, that as ships and provisions have now got above the town, they should try, by conveying up a corps of four or five thousand men, which is nearly the whole strength of the army, after the points of Levi and Orleans are left in a proper state of defence, to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them to an action. I have acquiesced in their proposal, and we are preparing to put it in execution."

* This whole correspondence was communicated to me by Mr. Townshend, who also told me often, before his departure from London, that Wolfe and he went out with little hopes of success; they looked upon their junction with Amherst as impracticable, and without him they thought themselves too weak.

The undertaking was desperate, honourable to the officers who proposed it, and to the general who adopted it, as the only means left to men, who considered their own lives of little value, weighed against the smallest chance of reducing the capital of Canada, and preserving the British name from dishonour. Success depended upon stratagem and surprise. The place to be attacked was deemed inaccessible, therefore neglected by the enemy. Our troops were landed where they were least expected, on the 12th of September: perseverance, and valour, carried them up a high woody precipice; they formed on a plain, in sight of the town, gave instant battle to the French, drawn from the other side in consternation: the two generals, Wolfe and Montcalm, fell at the first onset. Monckton, our second in command, was wounded; the enemy fled in a few minutes; and Quebec, in a few days, capitulated to General Townshend.*

During the course of these transactions, Sir William Johnson, on the 24th of July, defeated 1200 French, beside Indians, near the lake Ontario, who were endeavouring to reinforce the garrison of Niagara; the fort surrendered to him the next day. In the same month, and in the beginning of August, General Amhurst took possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point: so much time was necessarily employed in preparation, that he did not embark with his army on the lake Champlain till the 11th of October, but, as he expresses himself in his letter on the 22d, "the wind being northerly and contrary, and an appearance of winter being set in, he determined not to lose time on the lake by striving to get to the isle Au Noix, where he might arrive too late in the season, to force the enemy from their fixed post. That island commands the lower end of the lake, and was defended by 3500 men, and 100 pieces of cannon. For these reasons, he returned to Crown Point on the 21st, and prosecuted his works there and at Ticonderoga; two places so signalised in these American wars, were now subjected to the dominion of Great Britain.

To those who reflect calmly on these successes, a question may arise whether they were not more owing to national spirit, than ministerial wisdom. That our councils were vigorous, and revived the old British valour, is beyond contradiction; but when so much was left to chance, and mere intrepidity, in the execution, the event seems to have confirmed the old adage,

* It must not be supposed that Montcalm had in this action 17,000 men, of which number his army consisted. When our fleet first appeared, the greatest part of the Canadians had left him, to get in their harvest. The French in the action were short of 4000 men. See Mr. Townshend's letter.

“ that daring men are the favourites of fortune:” and the principal merit of our minister consists in placing our courage in fortune’s way. Our victories on the ocean were not the offspring of chance. Squadrons sufficient in force, and properly stationed; seamanship, activity, courage, and conduct, were causes proportioned to the events.

LETTER II. (Translation.)

On the Cadastre, or general Land-Survey of France.

To H. R. Esq.

Sir,

Paris, Feb. 20. 1817.

YOU do me the honour to request some account of the progress of the Land-registry (*Cadastre*) in France, and the present state of that great and important undertaking.

I shall endeavour to satisfy you; and, in order that my details may be the more exact and accurate, I shall deduce them from the acts of government, or from such official documents as are open to reference.

A subject of this kind, in itself dry, is not very susceptible of the graces of style; but this disadvantage will be counterbalanced by the utility of the matter in question. I may add, that in addressing myself to Englishmen, I appeal to the judgment of men, who are better qualified than any other persons to appreciate the substance, without scrutinizing too curiously the language in which it is conveyed; the value which they put on information of this kind, depends upon the advantages that may be derived from it for the good of society, and the prosperity of their nation; this character, which is peculiar to them, serves to account for the great things they have been performing for so many years, and for the high rank which they hold among nations.—I proceed to the subject.

In order to understand the motives, which have induced the French government to form a Land-register (*Cadastre*), that is to say, a record of all landed possessions, with a valuation and determination of the revenue of each, it is necessary to say a word on the manner in which the land-tax is here imposed; because it is for the purpose of establishing a more just and equitable application of it to each contributor, that the government is desirous of ascertaining the territorial revenue, which the proprietors severally enjoy.

The direct taxes, particularly that on land, called *contribution foncière*, considered with relation to the assessment, are by the French

French administration distinguished into *quotal-taxes* (*impôt de quotité*), and *taxes of repartition* (*impôt de repartition*.)

The taxes of repartition are those of which the sum total, being previously fixed, is subdivided gradatim among the departments, the arrondissements, the communes, and individual contributors.

The quotal taxes are those in which, each individual being assessed by a fixed rate, the aggregate of the quotas forms the total amount of the contribution.

In the former mode, the quotas of individuals are determined by the amount imposed; in the latter, the amount imposed is determined by the quotas contributed. In the one, the taxes of repartition, the product is certain, and the proportion uncertain; in the other, the quotal taxes, the proportion is fixed, and the product is contingent.

In the taxes of repartition, the contributors must furnish, from among themselves, the sum required of the whole commune, and assess themselves, or be assessed, to make up that sum; this kind of taxation establishes a joint obligation (*solidarité*) among them.

In the quotal taxes, there is no joint obligation among the contributors; each quota is independent; each contributor acquits himself by paying the portion of his revenue, required from him by the law.

The land-tax (*contribution foncière*) in France, at the present day, is still almost entirely a tax of repartition; the personal tax is wholly so; the tax on patents is a quotal tax; that on doors and windows was, in the outset, a quotal tax, because each paid so much per window, or per door; it has since become a tax of repartition.

The law regulates yearly the amount of the three primary contributions; the land-tax, the personal tax, and that on doors and windows; it then apportions that amount among the departments, and fixes the contingent of each.

The contingent of a department is subdivided, by the general council of that department, among the arrondissements; the contingent, thus assigned to each arrondissement, is again subdivided among the communes, by the council of the arrondissement; and lastly, the contingent, assigned to each commune, is distributed, by its assessors*, among the individuals.

It follows, that if the assessors, through mistake, or from any motive whatever, overcharge an individual, and he appeals and

* The assessors are the mayor, the adjunct, and five proprietors belonging to the commune. (Law of the 3d Primaire, year 7. 23d Nov. 1798.)

obtains a remission, the sum, by which his tax is diminished, must be re-imposed, the year following, on the whole commune.

It also follows, that if the legislator does not know, and without a register, from actual survey, he cannot know, the respective strength of the departments, he is liable to overcharge some, at the expense of others.

Hence have arisen the complaints against the repartition of the land-tax in its four degrees, and of the inequality which has ever subsisted among the departments, the arrondissements, the communes, and individual proprietors.

These reasons determined the Constituent Assembly * to prepare means for making the land-tax a quotal tax, instead of a tax of repartition.

It was obvious, that such a hope could not be realised, when the impossible aggregate was unknown; for, the principal † of the contribution, fixed by that assembly at 240 millions, at the same time that the *maximum* of each individual's quota was limited to a fifth of his income, assumed, as a certainty, that the aggregate revenue of all was five times greater than the amount of the tax; that is to say, that it was neither more nor less than 1200 millions; therefore, if the aggregate of revenue yielded definitively no more than 1100 millions, it was necessary either to remit a part of the 240 millions in adhering to the proportion of one fifth, or to exceed that proportion, in order to obtain the total amount of revenue promised to the treasury.

These difficulties could be obviated only by a land-register: in fact, after verifying and determining the revenues of all proprietors, and, consequently, the aggregate revenue of all France, the government will be able at once to determine the quota of that revenue, payable by each individual, and ascertain, beforehand, the product that will result from it.

If, for example, the landed revenue of France be estimated at 1800 millions, the law may, without contradiction, say, that in a certain year the land-tax shall be 200 millions, and that all land-holders shall pay a ninth of their landed revenue; and in another year, that the contribution shall be 180 millions, and, consequently, each land-holder shall pay the tenth of his income.

* The Constituent Assembly is the first of the assemblies that existed in France since 1789, in which year it was opened.

† The principal of the contribution is the amount, originally determined upon as the capital of the contribution; some centimes per franc are then added for particular objects, and these centimes are called *additional centimes* (centimes additionnels).

The result of the cadastre, or register, is therefore to ascertain, and define, the taxable revenue of all landed property; this revenue so fixed, is called the cadastral *allivrement*.*

By *allivrement*, therefore, is understood the sum, at which the net taxable revenue is fixed by the cadastre, so that, when its operation or execution is completed, each proprietor, commune, arrondissement, and department, will have their respective *allivremens*, and France its general *allivrement*.

The utility of a measure of this kind, has long been acknowledged; and history informs us of several attempts, that were made to establish it. Even before it engaged the attention of the government, several ancient provinces of France had cadastres, more or less perfect, the use of which tended to prevent any irregularity in the assessment of the land-tax.

We find, in fact, that the province of Dauphiné, (now the departments of Drome and Isère,) had a sort of cadastre, under its ancient dauphins. Charles V. instituted a revision of it, in 1359.

In 1491, Charles VII. determined to undertake a cadastre of the kingdom, at that time divided into only four generalities, Languedoc, Languedoyl, Ultra Seine, and Normandy. This project was executed only in Languedoc, where the use of the cadastre has ever since been continued, for the *allivrement* of the communes.

In 1604, a verification of the survey of L'Agenois, (now the department of the Lot,) was executed, preparatory to the formation of a cadastre, which was left unfinished.

Guienne (the department of Gironde) had a cadastre, the revision of which was ordained in 1664.

In 1668, that of the Condomois (department of Gers) was likewise ordained.

Colbert, in 1679, undertook the formation of a general rule for the *real taille*† and gave it in charge to M^d. Aguesseau, the then intendant of Languedoc; on the death of Colbert, which happened four years afterward, the project was abandoned.

M^d. de Chamillard, minister of finance, who succeeded Colbert, resumed it; but the misfortunes that attended the close of Louis XIV.'s reign, occasioned it to be again abandoned.

* The word *allivrement* means a valuation in livres; this valuation of the revenue in livres, is made by a sort of average, or mean value, of one year's harvest out of fifteen.

† The term *taille réelle*, was applied to that which was levied upon, and in proportion to, the rent of land; it has been superseded by the land-tax of repartition.

Several ministers of finance subsequently engaged in it, but without taking measures for its execution. But M. de Laverdy, being appointed to the general control of the finances, (administration of the finances,) procured an ordinance, in 1763, for the formation of a general cadastre for all France, which was to comprehend all kinds of estates, either of the nobles or the clergy, as well as the crown lands. This plan gave some uneasiness to the privileged proprietors, as being hostile to their interests; and it was laid aside.

At the epoch, when the provincial assemblies were* established, the system of taxation, according to the cadastre, was adopted by each of them; in Upper Guienne, in the Isle of France, in the Limousin, these administrations were actively occupied with this object.

When the contribution was established in 1791, the *Committee of Imposition* (*comité d'imposition*), appointed by the Constituent Assembly, took considerable pains to effect an equitable repartition of that contribution; several projects were presented and discussed; that which appeared the most simple, was adopted; and yet, in the course of a few months, remonstrances were made from all parts against it; the assembly, in order to put a stop to them, announced that a cadastre would be instituted, which would remove every difficulty, and obviate every cause of complaint, as we have before stated.

The matter, however, remained in the same state until 1801.

The minister of finance, at that period, M. Gaudin, better known by the title of Duke of Gaeta†, attempted, by a preparatory measure, to remedy the primary defects in the mode of levying the contribution.

He caused a precept to be drawn up for the general reconstruction of the blank lists (*matrices de rôles*)‡; it was a cadastre without a previous survey of the lands (Precept of the 21st

* The first were established during M. Necker's first administration, from 1777 to 1781; the second in 1788; but, the revolution taking place, they were superseded by the departmental administration, on a principle entirely different.

† M. Gaudin is not a man of genius, but he is laborious, methodical, and persevering; he has some experience, and administered the finances tolerably well, during the 13 years that he exercised that office. He is now member of the Chamber of Deputies for the department of L'Aisne.

‡ A blank list (*matrice de rôles*) is a statement in which is entered, for each commune, the name, the place of abode, the value of the dwelling, the nature and description of property, of each inhabitant; from all these statements is formed a general statement of the distribution of the direct taxes.

January, 1801); he prescribed, with the exception of maps or plans, all the operations that have since been executed.

This proceeding was evidently founded on the system, so often proposed, and always acknowledged to be impracticable, of obtaining from proprietors an exact account of their revenues. This semblance of a cadastre, destitute of its primitive basis, was merely a fruitless experiment, but it became the germ of ideas, which were soon to be developed and extended.

As remonstrances still continued to be made against the unequal repartition of the land-tax, the government, in 1802, appointed a special commission, to devise, and propose, means for removing the occasion of them. This commission, composed of members assembled from different parts of France, alleged that the only means for attaining that end, consisted in the formation of a general cadastre.

But alarmed at the expense and duration of such an undertaking, they confined themselves to the proposal of a survey of eighteen hundred communes, situated in different parts of France, to afford data for defining, by analogy, the revenues of all the other communes in the kingdom.

This measure the government adopted, and prescribed the execution of it, by a decree, dated the 3d of November, 1802.

This survey of eighteen hundred communes was to be confined to the aggregate of different kinds of cultivation, without extending to the several estates in detail; thus an arable property of thirty acres, though divided among ten owners, formed only one figure, or one point, in the plan of the commune surveyed.

The *expertise*, that is, the examination and valuation of the different productions, was also to be effected by the aggregates of cultivation.

This survey proceeded very slowly: at the expiration of two years, the eighteen hundred communes were not yet all surveyed; the minister, in stating this to the government, pointed out the little probability there appeared to him of ever arriving at a perfect repartition, by calculating the landed revenue of all the communes from the data, furnished by the 1800 that were surveyed.

The government, in consequence, ordained, by a decree of the 30th October, 1803, that the survey should be extended to all France, in the manner at first projected, by aggregates of cultivation.

When the survey of the eighteen hundred communes was completed, the minister of finance, by a circular dated the 24th February, 1804, prescribed to the prefects the line of proceeding, which they were to observe, in order to apply the results to the

other communes of the department. All hastened to the execution of this labour, but all, in making their returns, accompanied them with strong representations of the danger of making use of them. They all affirmed, that far from remedying, it would aggravate the evils; this measure must be, and was, abandoned.

It will be seen, by a reference to the speeches delivered to the legislative body, on presenting the budget for 1805 (year XIII.), that, at the commencement of that year, there were four thousand and twenty-nine surveys undertaken; that nine thousand nine hundred were finished, and that there was every reason to hope, that five thousand communes would be surveyed before the close of that year: yet only one centime and a half per franc of the land-tax was allowed, for the expenses of the cadastral survey. The principal of the land-tax for 1805 was stated at 206,908,000 francs; so that the allowance for the expenses of the cadastre was 3,103,620 francs, or one centime and a half per franc of the principal of the land-tax.

This survey and valuation of the communes, by aggregates of cultivation, might, doubtless, afford an estimate of the respective resources of the communes, and consequently of the departments, and furnish the means of perfecting the general repartition: but still nothing was done toward the individual repartition; no remedy was provided against the unequal assessment of contributors, and it was precisely these inequalities that rendered the impost more burthensome, and excited the most frequent remonstrances.

The rents of each commune, in aggregates of cultivation, being once ascertained, it would then be necessary for the proprietors to come to an understanding for the establishment of a proportional repartition, among themselves; but how was it to be expected that they should accomplish an end, which had for centuries been unattainable? Hence, even after a general repartition had been completed, the complaints of individuals would continue to be heard, without any possible means for government to obviate the grounds of them, except that of a **parcellary cadastre*. The minister began by ordering parcellary valuations to be executed on some plans, by aggregates of cultivation.

The difficulty consisted in ascertaining, in each aggregate or figure on the plan, the portion that belonged to each proprietor, however small it might be; to divide, for instance, an arable

**To explain the term parcellary, it may be stated that in a cadastre, individual properties are surveyed, and their revenues subjected to a valuation, in order that the quota of contribution may be determined.*

tract of thirty acres among ten proprietors, and assign to each of them the space of land which he possessed.

To effect this, all the proprietors were called upon to give in a statement, not of their revenues, but merely of the superficial contents of their lands; this second return seemed more easy to obtain than the first. (*Precept of the Minister*, dated 29th October, 1805.)

The partial contents, being thus stated, were to form an aggregate equal to that described in the plan.

The execution of this proceeding had scarcely been attempted, when new obstacles arose to prevent it; very few returns were made; they were almost all of them inaccurate; and when united, they proved of much inferior extent to the general contents, given in the plans, by aggregates of cultivation.

By dint, however, of care and labour, the agents employed on the cadastre, succeeded in obtaining several cadastral lists in each department.

These cadastral lists, though still imperfect, because they did not assign to each landholder the just extent of his possessions, produced some useful results; they remedied a part of the inequalities complained of; the returns were expedited and rendered available; they excited no remonstrances, because they obviated, at least, some of the most palpable inconveniences, that existed in the former state of things.

In fact, the minister having obtained, from each commune, returns of the names and quotas of the ten contributors, who, through the effect of this new repartition, sustained the greatest augmentations, and of the ten who sustained the greatest diminutions, these returns being certified and signed by the mayors, proved that in one and the same commune some proprietors formerly paid a third, a fourth, a half of their revenues, while others paid only a twentieth, a fiftieth, a hundredth, and that by the operation of the cadastre they were all subjected to the uniform proportion of an eighth, a ninth, or a tenth.

Yet the difficulty of obtaining statements from proprietors, and the still greater difficulty of making the partial contents, that were stated, agree with the total contents, indicated on the plan by aggregates of cultivation, subsisted in all their force; they were every where experienced*; and on all hands, the councils of departments, arrondissements, and municipalities, recommended the execution of parcellary surveys, as the only means of doing

* The minister's letter of the 10th December, 1807.

justice to all; several communes, indeed, carried on this operation at their own expense.

The unanimity of this wish determined the minister, at the latter end of the year 1807, to call a meeting of directors of the contributions, and of eminent geometers, under the presidency of M. Delambre, member of the class of sciences of the Institut, for the purpose of deliberating on the mode of executing this parcellary survey.

From these conferences resulted a project of regulation, which was sanctioned by the decision of the government, on the 27th January, 1808.

The operation now carrying on in France, for the assessment and collection of the land-tax, is therefore composed of a parcellary survey and parcellary valuation of all the communes; this great labour must, when terminated, form collectively the most complete and correct cadastre, that can possibly be made.

At the same epoch of 1808, a grant was made of three centimes and one third per franc, for the execution of this project; which is a thirtieth of the land-tax.

From that period down to the present, 9886 communes, out of thirty-nine thousand two hundred and twenty-nine, included in the territorial limits of France, in her present extent, have undergone a parcellary survey and valuation; this, at the rate of twelve hundred *hectares* per mayoralty, gives 11,863,200 *hectares*, and on the average calculation of fifty-one millions of *hectares* for the general extent of all France, forms more than a fifth, and a little less than a fourth of the labour to be performed.

Though this has been the result of the seven years, from January 1808 to 1815, yet, according to some persons, we are scarcely to reckon on more than four of these, as years of actual labour. In fact, the first year was consumed in hesitation and experiments; in 1813 and 1814, such were the troubles of the war, that the cadastre made no progress.

This remark, as will be perceived, is made as an answer to the objections against the cadastre, on account of the time which that operation will require.

It may be added, that now, when experience has foreseen or obviated all the difficulties attending the execution, when the proceedings of the agents are guided by complete and easy instructions, when each department has an adequate number of practised co-operators engaged, it would be possible to accomplish in eight years, at only double the expense, three times as much as has been done since 1808; that is, to finish, within that space, the important operation of the cadastre.

The minister of finance is not aware, that the thing is so easily,

easily, or at least so readily, to be executed. In the debates, which have latterly taken place on this subject, in the chamber of deputies, the king's commissioner, M. Dudon, speaking in the name of the absent minister, confessed that it would be impossible for him to present any positive estimate of the expense and time, requisite for the completion of the cadastre. He, however, thinks that the time necessary for accomplishing the object of the operation, will be shortened in proportion to the amount of the sum allowed for its execution; and that the more actively it can be carried on, the less it will cost, because the expenses of management, which remain the same, will the sooner cease to be paid. Of the 1,900,000 francs, (an inadequate sum,) granted to the cadastre, for the service of the year 1816, 400,000 have been absolutely lost: for it has been necessary, at all events, to pay the salaries of the agents for the management; whereas, if a greater sum had been allowed, the expences would not have been heavier, and the work might have been carried on with greater expedition. Whence the king's commissioner concluded, that it would be more advantageous, in calculating the duration and expense, to admit of present sacrifices, for the diminution of both.

The commissioner then corrected an error in the discussion of the present state of the operation. The following are the data, which he presents, and from whence it results, that the labours already performed, may be considered as a fourth of the whole, their expense amounting to about 50 millions, according to some persons, and to 40 millions, according to others.

The present state of the cadastre gives 9886 communes surveyed, and 6121 valued: France, without including Corsica, contains 39,269 communes; the 6121 communes, that have been registered, form between a sixth and a seventh of the whole.

The 9886 communes, surveyed only, form rather more than a fourth; taking together the labours required and performed for those two classes, the operation may be estimated at one-fourth.

Before 1813, 2000 communes were surveyed in the course of a year; at that rate, in fifteen years, (the time which the minister deems necessary,) 30,000 would be surveyed; there remain only 29,382 in arrear.

But in order to proceed so rapidly, it would be necessary to assign again to the cadastre the yearly sum of 5,700,000 francs, which was allowed before 1813; now 5,700,000 per annum, for fifteen years, would make the total expense amount to 85,500,000 francs.

The expense of surveying and valuing a commune amounts,
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on the average, to 3200 francs, namely, 2400 for the skill and labour of the civil engineers, surveyors, and draughtsmen, and 800 francs for the surplus; now 29,382 communes, at 3200 francs each, would cost 94,022,400 francs; but as a reduction is made, this year, in some articles of expense, it is to be presumed, that 85 millions would suffice.

This expense, moreover, is not to be considered in the aggregate; the fact is, that the cadastre costs the proprietors annually, no more than 3 centimes and $\frac{1}{3}$ per franc, or a thirtieth of their land-tax.

From all, that has been here stated respecting the cadastre, it follows:

1. That as early as 1790, the Constituent Assembly acknowledged the necessity of that measure, and that a law, at that period, ordained the execution of it in all France;

2. That notwithstanding the many remonstrances of landed proprietors, who complained of the unequal distribution of the tax, it was not until 1802, that the operation was commenced;

3. That after attempting to execute it by *aggregates of cultivation*, and perceiving the inadequacy of that method for assessing each contributor, in proportion to his real income, they were obliged to have recourse to a parcellary cadastre, comprehending a survey and valuation of particular properties;

4. That the execution of this measure was begun only in 1808, and that an allowance of 5,700,000 francs per annum was then appropriated to the cadastre;

5. That from the above period until 1816, 9886 communes were surveyed, and 6121 valued, forming a total of 16,007 communes;

6. That, considering the number of all the communes in France, exclusive of Corsica, to be 39,269, nearly one-fourth of the operation has been executed;

7. That, in order to accomplish it in 5 years, allowing that the survey and valuation of a commune cost 3200 francs, and that 29,282 remain to be registered, it would require a provision of 5,700,000 francs, from the budget, for the cadastre; which in fifteen years would amount to 85,500,000 francs.

If the chambers persist in allowing only a sum below that which the minister demands, the operation will be necessarily retarded, and the good effects that may result from it, will be proportionably delayed.

S. P.

LETTER III.

On the Parochial Schools of Scotland, and on the Education of the lower Orders of Society in general.

To Mons. De B.

Sir,

Edinburgh, January 1817.

IN contemplating the present circumstances of Europe, it is impossible not to perceive that more depends now, than at any former period, upon the education of the mass of the people. The state of society, in respect of civil government, is fluctuating; in some countries great changes have taken place; in others they seem to be projected; and, in order to their proving salutary, it is essential that the character of the people be accommodated to them. Political institutions ought, no doubt, to be themselves accommodated, in the first instance, to the capacities, the dispositions, and the habits of the people; but if what is new in such institutions has not very slowly and gradually arisen out of what is peculiar to the national character, it is not less necessary that the people be trained and educated for the government, under which they are to live.

It is natural to suppose that, in France, your minds must be occupied, at present, with interesting speculations respecting a constitution of government so recently established. But men at a distance, who look to your concerns with cool and deliberate minds, are well convinced that the prosperity and happiness of France depend more upon the stability and permanence of its new institutions, than upon any theoretical perfection to which they might be immediately advanced. And it is upon the character of the people, and their education, as the mean of forming their character, that both the permanence of your new institutions, and their influence on your national prosperity will be ultimately found to depend. Men without education have no just consideration of what is future; immediate enjoyment, however it be purchased, is too apt to be their only object. Education imparts to the mind a disposition to both reflection and forethought, and it thereby gives that stability to our opinions and purposes, which alone can impart stability to those institutions, which we have it in our power to preserve or destroy. A constitution of government may be formed in a day; it may be established, also, with equal promptitude; if not gladly accepted by the people, for whom it is designed, it may be imposed on them by the hand of violence. But the character, which is necessary

sary to qualify them for deriving any real advantage from institutions the most wise and liberal, is to be formed by slow and progressive steps; for the work is to be accomplished only by such gentle means as are accommodated to the intellectual and moral frame.

The opinion, at one time ostentatiously proclaimed, that, for a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it, has received such practical contradiction, as may supersede the necessity of any reasoning for its refutation. But it will be some compensation for the dismal consequences, which have resulted from acting upon this absurd opinion, if we be now led to recognise duly the great political and moral truth, directly opposed to it,—that freedom or liberty, as actually enjoyed by any people, is the natural result of their intellectual and moral character. I do not merely say, that the character of a nation is what qualifies it to maintain, and preserve inviolate, institutions which are favourable to liberty;—it is not less important to remember that the character of a nation is what enables it actually to derive, from such institutions, that *personal* freedom, that liberty as realised to the individual, which has been sometimes very sparingly enjoyed under constitutions of government theoretically the most free. The character of a nation may even enable it to enjoy a very considerable portion of such personal liberty, under a government in its constitution tyrannical; for it is according to the capacities and dispositions of a people, that lenity in the exercise of the powers of government becomes practicable and expedient, if not also requisite and indispensable. If we compare the condition of the French people, in respect of personal liberty, during the times which preceded the Revolution, with that of their neighbours in some other countries under a similar form of government, we perceive such a striking difference, as can be ascribed to no other cause than a corresponding difference in point of national character. Perhaps there was more true liberty in France under an absolute monarchy, than in Holland under a Republican government.—Such a people must have been prepared for a gradual improvement of their political institutions. But the vain opinion that, in order to a nation being free, she has only to will it, was sufficient to blast the fairest hopes. The best political institutions that human wisdom can devise, will never be without some tendencies to evil; the more they are calculated to promote the cause of liberty, the more are they liable, in some respects, to be so abused, as to become subservient to the most injurious purposes; their practical utility, therefore, must depend upon the degree in which the people are qualified by education, and consequent habits, to derive from them what-
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ever good they are calculated to yield, with the least portion that may be of accompanying evil.

It may, perhaps, be thought, for it has been sometimes said, that the mass of the people are most likely to conduct themselves well, when they are under the influence and guidance of others, and that, in this view, education, so far from being necessary to them, is calculated, more than any thing else, to make them resist the most salutary guidance. But, putting out of question the illiberal spirit which this argument seems to breathe, the only ground on which it could have been maintained, has been altogether taken away by a change of circumstances. There was a time when the advantages of education, and, of course, that influence which it gives to one man over the mind of others, were almost entirely confined to the few who had a strong personal interest in the peace and quiet of the community, and, for that reason, were not likely to abuse their influence, by engaging the multitude in any factious and turbulent measures. But, whether it be regarded as fortunate or otherwise, the power or influence with which education invests men, is now possessed and exercised by many, who do not feel that they have any such personal interest in maintaining the government or the peace of their country, and who are, therefore, in more hazard of being tempted to deceive the people for their own private or sinister purposes. The practical evidence of what I now state has been so decisive, as well as recent, that the impression of its truth cannot require to be strengthened. Experience has taught us too effectually, that such a diffusion of knowledge as has already taken place, to the exclusion, in a great measure, of the mass of the people, only tends to weaken the security which we might otherwise have, for the permanence of every existing government. The only way, therefore, in which the danger may now be averted, — for it is the only way in which the minds of the people at large can be fortified against the seductions of those who would mislead them — is by imparting to them such an education as may qualify them to perceive and understand the important interest which they all have in the maintenance of good order, and in the permanent prosperity of their country.

Were it more doubtful than it is, whether this purpose can be accomplished by such an education as it is in our power to communicate to the great body of the people, it could scarcely be questioned that it would still be our duty, for other and higher reasons, to impart the advantage of education, as far as it should be found practicable, to fellow-creatures who have the same native capacity of improvement which is bestowed upon other men, and to whom, in common with other men, this world is intended to

to prove a school of discipline, in which they may be trained for immortality. But that early education, which is requisite to qualify men for a just understanding of their own interest as members of society, and for the detection of the arts by which others would seduce them, will, perhaps, be found to comprehend less than may, at first view, be imagined, and most certainly does not comprise more than what may be effectually communicated to all ranks of society. To teach the young, even in the lowest classes of the community, to read their native language with such correctness and facility, as may open to them the sources of instruction contained in books of general utility, even to write and to cipher as well as is necessary to the ordinary business of life, and to communicate to them, along with these elements of education, some knowledge of the first principles of religion, cannot be regarded as impracticable in any country. And when this foundation is laid, — when this elementary education is actually imparted to the people at large, in their early years, their progress, throughout life, in respect of intellectual improvement, is not less certain (though upon a more limited scale) than that of the few, who have enjoyed all the advantages which the most extensive and finished education can afford. What they read (however little it be) gives an exercise to their minds which distinguishes them, in a most important view, from the uneducated. The latter do not seem to be more distinguished from the merely animal creation which surrounds them, than the former from their untaught and neglected fellow men. That exercise of their intellect, for which their education has prepared them, is what most visibly assigns to them a place among the rational offspring of God. — This important effect is farther promoted by the lessons, which they continue to receive from those who have the principal and continued charge of instructing them in the knowledge of divine truth. It is a matter of woeful experience, that to a mass of population, altogether uneducated in their early years, the instructions of the clergy are like water spilt upon the ground; while the people, on the contrary, who, from having been taught to read, have also learned to think, are often found capable of understanding discourses from the pulpit, in a degree far beyond what could have been anticipated from the measure of their personal advantages. By listening to such discourses, their intellect is, at the same time, sharpened and invigorated; and, putting out of question, if we could, the moral effect which more immediately results from religious instruction, the mere improvement of the intellect itself has no small effect on the moral character; a vigorous and discriminating mind often proves itself an essential guardian of virtue.

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It is obvious that, in this way, the best foundation is laid for all those virtues which, in the mass of the people, are most essential to the prosperity, and the good order of civil society. Education, by operating, as it does, upon both their intellectual and their moral frame, is what most effectually imparts to them a spirit of industry. It is well known, that industry is not one of the virtues of the savage state; nor is it possible, that it should steadily prevail in any community, without being fostered by those habits of reflection and forethought, which education generates. That industry, which alone operates with steadiness and discretion, because that to which we are prompted by rational and unchanging motives, must be the virtue of an enlightened mind. Now, in proportion as education communicates such a spirit of industry to the great body of the people, it ultimately forms a character, in all respects favourable to the peace of society — to the stability and permanence of its institutions, as well as to its immediate prosperity. Quietness and sobriety are unfailing accompaniments of industry; contentment, also, is a natural result of the regular provision, which it supplies for the recurring wants of men. And, besides all the security for a peaceable demeanour, derived from the character, which industry thus imparts to the mind, the industrious feel, that they have a personal interest in the uninterrupted maintenance of such regular government, as alone can ensure to them the fruits of their labour.

The great question, therefore, is, In what way the necessary advantages of education may be most conveniently and effectually imparted to the labouring classes of any community?

Experience, so far as we possess it, will prove, in this case, as in others, our safest guide. And I am induced to communicate to you my sentiments on this subject, by a strong conviction, that the experience, which we have in Scotland of a National Establishment for the education of the people, entitles me to recommend to others, in the warmest manner, the adoption of a similar system.

If the Establishment, to which I allude, had been common to the whole of our United Kingdom, I could not have supposed you altogether unacquainted with it. But institutions of a humble and unostentatious kind may continue to produce the most salutary effects in a corner, without being known to the world at large. I shall not, therefore, make any apology for submitting to you such an account of this establishment, as may enable you to appreciate its utility.

With this view, it will be useful to consider — 1. The nature and origin of the institution, — 2. The advantages, which it possesses for the accomplishment of its object, — 3. The benefits,

which have actually resulted from it, — and 4. The imperfections of the establishment, as it exists among us, and the means by which they may be remedied.

I. The nature of this Establishment is extremely simple. In every parish of Scotland (with exception of the case of some great towns, which will be afterwards adverted to), there is a public school for the education of the young, established and endowed by the law of the land. All the children, attending the parish schools, are taught to read, and instructed in the first principles of religion; many of them learn also to write and to cipher; and a few are instructed in the Latin language.

The provision for a parochial-schoolmaster, independently of the fees which he receives from his scholars, consists of a dwelling-house (besides a school-room), a garden, and a fixed salary. In most cases, the schoolmaster is also precentor, or leader of the church music, and likewise clerk to the Kirk-session — an ecclesiastical court, consisting of the minister and elders* of the parish; and to each of these offices a small salary is annexed, together with some inconsiderable perquisites. His whole official emoluments, independently of his dwelling-house and garden, probably amount, at an average, to about 40*l.* per annum.

The schoolmaster is elected by the heritors, or landholders, and minister, or officiating clergyman, of the parish. But he is not authorised to enter upon the duties of his office, till his qualifications be tried, and approved by the ecclesiastical superintendents of the education of youth. This power is exercised by the church, in the court denominated a *Presbytery*, which, being composed of all the parish-ministers of a particular district, together with an elder, if elected for the purpose, from each Kirk-session, naturally extends its jurisdiction to all the schools within its own bounds. In the discharge of his duties, also, the schoolmaster remains under the superintendence of the *Presbytery*, which is invested with power to correct abuses. For this purpose, as well as for giving encouragement to the schoolmaster, the *Presbytery* occasionally employs a committee of its members to visit the school. And, in the event of a complaint being made against the schoolmaster, by the landholders, the minister, or the elders of the parish, the *Presbytery* is authorised to take cognizance of it, to censure him according to the circumstances of the case, and, if necessary, to deprive him of his office.

* An *Elder* is an office-bearer, invested with rule, or authority, in the church of Scotland, and is qualified to be a member of all its judicatories, but, notwithstanding, continues a layman, not being authorised to teach, or to administer any of the ordinances of religion.

This establishment does not appear to have assumed a regular form, or to have received the sanction of law, till the year 1633; but there were many earlier indications of an ardent desire, prevailing in Scotland, to communicate the advantages of education more extensively than they had been previously enjoyed, and even to make legal provision for the accomplishment of the object. So far back as the reign of James IV. (in 1491), when learning had been almost entirely confined to the clergy, barons and freeholders were required, under a penalty, to keep their eldest sons at school, till they should be masters of the Latin language, and then to devote three years of their time to the study of law. Not long afterwards, when the Roman Catholic church was subverted in Scotland, an attempt was made to get a part of its revenues appropriated to the endowment of schools. This plan, though warmly recommended, and zealously urged, by the Protestant clergy, did not succeed. But, in the year 1616, an act of the Privy Council was passed, for the establishment and maintenance of a school in every parish of the kingdom, at the expence of the parishioners, and under the direction of the bishop of the diocese, that “the youth might be taught, at the least, to write and read, and be catechised and instructed in the grounds of religion.” And, in 1633, this act of council, with some more special regulations, was ratified and confirmed by act of parliament.

It is not easy to say who had the principal merit of forwarding this beneficial arrangement. But, when it is considered, that the scheme originated in the reign of James VI. (of England I.) and that this King's tutor, or preceptor, was George Buchanan, whose name as a scholar will do everlasting honour to his country, — it is not less natural than pleasant to suppose, that the instructions of Buchanan, and his influence over the mind of his pupil, had impressed the young King with a just sense of the advantage, which he might communicate to his people, by a regular establishment of parochial schools. Buchanan himself received the rudiments of his education under the humble roof of such a country-school, as even then existed; it was all the advantage, of which his *birth* admitted. Yet it was the taste for learning, which he there acquired, that seems to have afterwards led him to follow out his studies at Paris. And how could he so well discharge, his debt of gratitude, for the earliest lessons he had received, the germs, it may be, of all his future attainments, as by putting it into the heart of his royal pupil to extend the same advantage to all his countrymen, in every succeeding age?

II. The advantages which such an establishment possesses, for the accomplishment of its object, must be partly obvious at

first view. From its nature, it must be more steady in its operation, than any private institutions for a similar purpose; which depend, for their maintenance, on the liberality and discretion of individuals. According to the spirit of the times, or of the men, more particularly, on whose liberality they depend, private schools are either flourishing and vigorous, or, after a gradual decline, they are discontinued and forgotten; and even when a better disposition again prevails, it requires such an effort to restore them, that it depends upon many concurring circumstances, whether the object be accomplished. The parochial school, established by law, is, no doubt, affected, in some degree, by corresponding causes;—under a slothful master, and indifferent patrons, it naturally languishes; and if zeal for the interests of education give way to indifference, in the community at large, it loses still more of its efficiency;—but, even in its depressed condition, it serves, at least, to keep alive the embers of a literary spirit, and a desire after knowledge; and, with a change of circumstances, it recovers, at once, all its native vigour.

The independence, also, of the parochial school-master contributes not a little towards the salutary effect of this establishment. The teacher of youth, who depends entirely for his emoluments, and even for his continuance in office, upon the pleasure, or caprice, of the parents of his pupils, may be deterred from what he would otherwise account his duty, by an imperious consideration of his immediate interest; he may even be too strongly tempted to follow out a system of education, which, in many respects, is more imposing than useful. In the case of the parochial school-master, such evils are prevented, in a very considerable degree, without much diminishing his motives to exertion. Upon his exertions, and his reputation as a teacher, the number of his scholars, and consequently the amount of his emoluments, in a great measure depend; yet the salary, and other advantages, which are secured to him by the law of the land, and the impossibility of dismissing him from his office at pleasure, make him so far independent of the caprice of others, as to raise him somewhat above disgraceful and pernicious influence.

It is not less important that, by means of parochial schools, endowed and established by law, the expence of education is so much diminished to the poor, as to place the advantage of it more within their reach. In consideration of the salary, which he receives, the school-master is required to instruct his pupils for a very moderate allowance, in name of school-fees, the amount of which is settled by the land-holders, and the minister of the parish; he is even obliged to teach, without any recompense, such poor children, as may be recommended to him for this purpose,

purpose, by the land-holders and minister, at any parochial meeting. From this arrangement there is a double advantage; besides the benefit, derived from it by those, who attend the parochial schools; it serves, in effect, to fix a standard for the expense of similar education, in every private seminary, which attempts to rival that of the parish. Yet such private seminaries are perhaps more numerous, than they would otherwise be, owing to the parochial schools having created a spirit of generous rivalry, between dissenters and churchmen, about the education, which they shall respectively impart to their children. In some places, the dissenters shew no aversion to send their children to the parish-school; but, wherever they decline to do so, an honourable pride seems to combine with a sense of duty, in disposing them to maintain a separate school of their own.

In, whatever view we contemplate this establishment, it is obvious that, in no other way, can a boon be bestowed upon the labouring part of the community, either more creditable to those, from whom it proceeds, or better calculated to strengthen those ties, which connect the different classes of society. By selecting and appointing, to the office of schoolmaster, the best qualified man, who can be found, and by giving him due encouragement in the discharge of his duties, the land-holders have it in their power to render a most important service to the lower orders, and a service which, when faithfully rendered, is valued, as it ought to be, by those who receive it. The attention, which is thereby shown to their interest, in a case which comes home to the heart, as connected with the prosperity of their offspring, most naturally tends to strengthen that just and kindly influence of the higher ranks, over the mass of the community, which is so essential to the public weal. And the land-holder, at the same time, acquires the best security, that can be devised, for just sentiments being early instilled into the minds of those, who surround him—with whom he is to be connected in many important relations of life. The character of his farmers, of his servants, and of his artisans, is more or less formed in a seminary, which is itself moulded, in a great measure, by the choice which he, in the first instance, makes of its head.

These and other advantages are ensured, still more effectually, by that ecclesiastical superintendence and control, under which the laws of the country have placed this establishment. It must be the fault of the land-holders, if they have not, in general, as much influence over the minds of the clergy, as can be requisite for inducing them to co-operate heartily in the measures, which are necessary to the prosperity of schools. And the aid of the clergy, as themselves well-educated men, possessed of time and opportunity

opportunity for a personal superintendence of the schoolmasters of their respective parishes, cannot be regarded as a matter of small importance. But the superintendence and control of the church are essential, in another and a higher view. Neither religion nor literature can ever prosper, so as to be a real blessing to society, without their being helpful to one another,—without their being cultivated, and followed out, in a way calculated to promote the interest of both. If literature would throw off the control of religion, it can only be for the purpose of opposing itself to revealed truth; for religion imposes no shackles upon us in our literary enquiries, so long as we are willing to conduct them in a spirit of just subordination to our knowledge of what God hath revealed, and do not bring our own wisdom into competition with the wisdom of Heaven. At first view, indeed, it may occur that, in this respect, little can depend upon what is taught in a country-school,—to children only, and these, too, of the lowest order. But, in fact, many of those who, afterwards, distinguish themselves most eminently in the walks of literature, receive the rudiments of their education in such schools; and it is even proverbially true that, while the mind is young, it is apt to receive the strongest impressions;—at that period, not the lessons only, but the spirit of a schoolmaster, who has himself just impressions of religion, may be so infused into those whom he teaches, as to have an influence on their character and views, throughout life. Even the mass of the people are, according to their earliest education, either fortified, or not, against the seductions of that false philosophy, which, in modern times, has been accommodated and addressed even to them. To maintain, therefore, the mutual dependence, and salutary connection of religion and literature, we must be watchful against a separation of their interests, *in limine*. The experience of the last thirty, or forty years, is more than enough to satisfy us of the importance of this object. And, though the clergy are far from being the only men, whose fidelity to the cause of religion may be depended upon, it is to be remembered, that we have a pledge for *their* fidelity in this case; beyond what character alone can afford, arising from their interest being committed on the same side with their duty.

In return for the advantage, which parochial schools thus derive from the superintendence of the church, a body of parochial schoolmasters is one of the most natural and important outworks, for the defence of a church-establishment. The education, connections, and habits, of the schoolmaster naturally attach him to the interests of the church; his intercourse with the lower orders gives him full access to their minds; and his superiority to them, in respect of knowledge, imparts to him no
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inconsiderable share of influence upon their opinions and conduct. This advantage may even be realised more fully in other countries, than the nature of *our* ecclesiastical establishment admits of our enjoying it. Almost all the clergy of Scotland are parish-ministers; the schoolmaster, of course, is a layman; but, in many countries, it is believed that there is nothing to prevent an establishment of schoolmasters, a large proportion of whom may themselves be in the orders of the church.*

III. I have, hitherto, referred to the advantages, which an establishment of parochial schools is *calculated* to yield, and to the circumstances, connected with the institution, on which these advantages more immediately depend. It may be more difficult, now to illustrate the benefits, which have actually resulted from

* With what degree of power any church ought to be armed, in its superintendence of schools, is a question, about which, enlightened men may differ in opinion. But, judging from the way in which the power is exercised, in this country, I should say, that it is not very likely to be abused. The superintending power of the church over the teachers of youth in Scotland was, in a great measure, settled and regulated, at an earlier period than that of the establishment of our parochial schools. And, under the same Acts of Parliament, by which it was originally fixed, it still extends to all seminaries of education, and all teachers of youth, both public and private. This power, if exercised in its full extent, would, unquestionably, be an engine of oppression. To require the teachers of those schools, which are maintained by dissenters, to subscribe the standards of the church, though warrantable by the existing law, would be, obviously, incompatible with a liberal system of toleration. But the established clergy, instead of practising any such intolerance, are so tender and delicate, towards dissenting schools, as not to exercise any offensive power whatever over them, so long as there is no particular ground to suspect, that any thing dangerous to the peace and welfare of the community is there taught, or encouraged. Indeed, a rule to this effect, has been prescribed by the General Assembly of the Church, in the following terms:—"That, in the case of those private schools, which are established by dissenters from our National Church, it is expedient, that the ecclesiastical superintendence be exercised in a way, which may tend, as little as possible, to excite, in their minds, any apprehensions, however groundless, that the Presbyteries of the Church wish to violate their liberty of conscience, or to deprive them of any privilege, to which they can lay claim, upon the most liberal principles of toleration; and that, with this view, it is expedient, in the case of those dissenting schoolmasters, who are known to have taken the oaths to His Majesty's government, that Presbyteries should abstain from all strong and offensive measures, unless they shall have some ground to apprehend, that doctrines or principles, subversive of good order, and inconsistent with the laws of this realm, are taught, or inculcated, in the particular school, or schools, to which their attention is directed." When it is thus found, that, in practice, no inconvenience results from a Church being invested with power, even in the case of schools maintained by dissenters,—with no reason, one would think, can inconvenience be dreaded, from investing the church of any country with the more limited power, which is all that seems to be necessary, of superintending parochial schools alone.

such an establishment in Scotland, without having the appearance of preferring the character of my own countrymen to that of others. But certain it is, that I have no wish to make any such boast. I may be very partial to the good qualities of my own countrymen; but I am not insensible to their defects; I know that, like all other people, they have many. Nor is it, by any means necessary to my present purpose, to represent their general character as higher, than that of their neighbours—it will be quite sufficient to show, that their good qualities are the natural fruit of that education, which they receive in their parochial schools.

I have had occasion to observe, that one of the duties of the schoolmaster is to instruct his pupils in the first principles of religion; and it will not be denied that, in outward profession, the people of Scotland are of a religious character. In what degree their profession is sincere, cannot be so easily made evident to those, who are not personally acquainted with them. But that their religion is not altogether vain and ineffectual, will, probably, be admitted upon the unequivocal ground—that, in Scotland, the number of offences committed, of which the law takes cognizance, bears a very low proportion to the population of the country. In Ireland, the number of persons annually committed to prison, are nearly at the rate of one out of two thousand—in England, exclusive of the capital, one out of five or six thousand—in Scotland, one out of about twenty thousand.

Facts, still more decisive, present themselves, in proof of the industry of the lower classes in Scotland, together with its accompanying virtues, *economy* and *sobriety*. These are undoubtedly the virtues, by which the labouring part of any community may become superior to a dependence on the charity of others; and if the pretensions of Scotchmen to such virtues be estimated by this criterion, the result will be eminently favourable. In England, the amount of the poor's rates has become enormous, not less, it is understood, than 8,000,000*l.* per annum. Other nations may, probably, have cause to congratulate themselves on being subject, in this respect, to a much lighter burden. But I doubt, whether there be any country in Europe, in which this burden is lighter than in Scotland; though the people live under the same government with that of England, and have, in many respects, similar customs and manners. It is not easy to ascertain the precise amount of the annual expenditure on the poor of Scotland, out of the funds provided for them by law; for these funds are various, and in some degree complex; but it cannot, I think, rise so high as 100,000*l.* Perhaps the proportion, which the population of England bears to that of Scotland, may be nearly 6 to 1; but, if my *data* be correct, the
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respective sums, expended on the poor of the two countries, are at the rate of 80 to 1. There is no existing cause, or combination of causes, that will account for this striking difference, without its being referred, in a very considerable degree, to the education which the people of Scotland receive in their parochial schools. Education tends to open their minds to some just understanding of their own individual importance — of what is due to themselves, and to the character, which they have to maintain in society. It begets, in this way, a just pride of character, and a spirit of independence, which stimulate them more powerfully, than could any thing else, to all the industry and economy, which are requisite for preserving themselves superior to the mortifying necessity of subsisting on the charity of others. Circumstances have been occasionally brought to light, which portray such a degree of heroism, exemplified in a cottage, both in submitting, unseen, to immediate privations, and in struggling to provide against future wants, as reflects more genuine honour on the human character, than many of the most brilliant deeds recorded in history.

Education naturally generates a spirit of ambition and enterprise, in proportion as it qualifies men to prosecute objects and schemes of advancement in the world; and we accordingly find, that a very large proportion of the youth, from the labouring classes in Scotland, come forward as candidates for the prizes of laudable ambition in every department. This tendency, and the struggles to which it gives rise, are so well known, and are, at the same time, so obviously the effect of Parochial Schools, that the only question seems to be, whether the effect be altogether salutary. It is not to be disguised that, in consequence of this tendency, many young men, who are born in a superior condition of life, but who must, in a great measure, fight their own way in the world, find it hard to maintain their natural place in society. And, when a man, without fault of his own, falls from the condition to which he was born, it is impossible for us not to feel, with regret, that it takes, at the moment, from the aggregate measure of human happiness, far more than the advancement of his rival can be supposed to add to it. But it is not less certain that the public prosperity is, at the same time, promoted, in as much as a greater portion of talent is brought into the service of the public. And the universal prevalence of such competition serves, before hand, to sharpen the talents, and increase the industry, of those who are in hazard of being put down, as well as of those, who are struggling for advancement.

One of the ultimate consequences of this competition is, that a much larger proportion of the youth of Scotland than of any other

other part of the United Kingdom, both seek and find employment, in the different foreign settlements of our widely extended empire. To London also, as the capital of the Empire, Scotland annually sends a number of candidates, far beyond the rate of its population, for employment in various departments of business, as well as in some branches of literature and science; and their success is, of itself, sufficient evidence that the talents, which they carry along with them, are of real value to the new society, in which they mingle.

It is not to be inferred, from the statement of these facts, that, in respect of any thing else than the mere universality of education, I claim, for the learning of my own country, a preference to that of any other; but the universal diffusion of that portion of knowledge, which parochial schools serve to communicate, has proved, in one respect, of such vital importance to the state, that I must be forgiven for adverting to it more particularly. At the commencement of the late revolution in France, the lower classes of the people in Scotland were induced, by those habits of thinking and speculating, which their education generates, to take a strong interest in its progress and its fate. They called to mind the successful struggle, which their own fathers had made, in a cause to which that of France was represented as bearing a resemblance. They canvassed, with eagerness, the French doctrine of the rights of man, because they practically knew, that they had themselves rights of incalculable value. And, considering the artful means of delusion, which were for some time employed, it cannot be matter of wonder, that a large proportion of them were seduced into the opinion, that it remained for them to complete the glorious work, which their fathers had begun, of emancipating themselves and their children. The prevalence of this opinion, and of a spirit corresponding to it, was earlier in Scotland than in any other part of the United Kingdom. A knowledge of its early prevalence, as well as of these circumstances, connected with the education of the people, by which it had been promoted, was the occasion of the capital of Scotland being selected, in 1794, as the most propitious scene for that infamous assembly, denominated a British Convention. But a blessed mistake was, in this case, committed. The mind of the lower orders in Scotland had already undergone a most important change. No sooner had the delusion manifested itself, than a remedy had been found, which their education qualified them at once to receive and apply. The means of delusion had suggested the antidote; it was obvious, that their disease was not in the heart; it was their understanding, that had been perverted; and it was known, that they were a people, who could be reasoned with,—who would not
refuse

refuse to re-examine and consider. Pamphlets, accommodated, in their style and manner, to the capacities and habits of the people, and well calculated to expose their mistake, were immediately circulated, as universally as those by which they had been misled. The eyes of the well-disposed part of the community were opened at once. And, when the self-named British Convention assembled in Edinburgh, its leaders soon experienced, that all the support they were to receive in Scotland, was to arise from a body of men,—to be found, more or less, in every great city,—who, in consequence of their own circumstances, having become desperate, are prepared in their minds for every desperate enterprise. When the great body of the people, in any country, have received such an education, as admits of their being thus informed and convinced, it must be the fault of the government, or of those men in the higher classes of society, who ought to aid the government, if that people become, ultimately, the dupes of any dangerous delusion, or entail upon themselves, and their offspring, the miseries of wanton revolution. There are few advantages, if any, in the case of either societies, or individuals, which do not bring along with them some inconvenience. The education, which the people of Scotland had received in Parochial Schools, was undoubtedly the occasion of their imbibing more quickly the poison of revolutionary principles. But what thus hastened the progress of the disease, also insured the efficacy of the remedy.—And the body-politic, so far from being permanently injured, became sounder and more vigorous, than before it was infected. In the end of 1792, there was more tendency to revolution in Scotland, than in Ireland. But the want of education, among the lower classes of the people in Ireland, did not very long retard the progress of the evil; and it is melancholy to think of the result, in the case of that generous and high-spirited, butuntaught and illiterate people. When once misled and betrayed, there were no means, by which they could be recovered; for there was no medium of access to their minds. The men, who misled them, had not attempted to operate upon their understandings; nor was it possible to effect a cure of the political malady, by means not appropriate and applicable to its cause; their *prejudices* had been wrought upon for the purpose of betraying them; and the delusion, which is founded in the prejudices of an ignorant and uninformed mind, is the most obstinate, if not incurable, of all mental diseases.

I might be contented with claiming, for the parochial schools of Scotland, the palm of utility in that humble sphere, to which alone they may seem to be adapted. For, however humble be
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the condition of the far greater part of those, who derive the *immediate* advantage from them, it is obvious that there ultimately redounds an advantage of no small importance to all, who have a stake in the general interests of society. But there are not wanting illustrious names, which might be mentioned, to adorn the history of this humble establishment. The name of the first *Earl Mansfield* would do honour to any seminary of learning. He received his earliest education in the parochial school of *Methuen*, a small village in the county of Perth. And who can say, that this great man may not there have acquired the first portion of his taste for that learning, which, afterwards, reflected lustre on the Bar, enlightened the senate, and obtained for him a reputation, as a Judge, which is not likely to be speedily excelled? Let me only add, that the parish-school of *Dalkeith* boasts of the first *Lord Viscount Melville*, the most confidential friend and coadjutor of the immortal *PITT*,—and of another, not less celebrated in his own department, the *Historian*, of *Queen Mary* and of *Charles the Fifth*.

A stranger may, now, be inclined to ask, why an establishment of parochial schools, if actually productive of such advantages in Scotland, has not, long ere now, been adopted in other parts of the united kingdom. Without answering this question, perhaps I may not receive all the necessary credit for the statement, which I have given of these advantages. Yet I have some doubt, whether any answer which I can give, will, to a stranger, prove very satisfactory. The expediency of establishing parochial schools in England seems to have been very generally admitted by the individuals of that country, who have directed their attention to the subject; but it is not, on that account, the easier to detect and explain the causes, which have hitherto prevented the accomplishment of the measure. The people of England are blessed with many wise and salutary institutions, under which they have been long prosperous and happy; and for that reason, they may be less sensible to the want of those advantages, which might be expected from the establishment in question. An attempt, indeed, towards the introduction of parochial schools in England, was made by the late Mr. *Whitbread*. Perhaps the measure might have been more successful, if it had originated with a confidential servant of the crown; or it may be, that the way, in which the expense of the establishment ought to be defrayed, involves a question of some difficulty. But if this be the obstruction, those concerned might do well to consider, whether an establishment of parochial schools be not likely to deliver them (putting every other advantage out of view) from a proportion of the burden of poor's rates, far exceeding

ceeding the amount of any expense, which could be incurred by the maintenance of a school, in every parish of England.

IV. Even in Scotland, there are obvious imperfections in this establishment, which have been allowed, too long, to continue without a remedy; and to these also I proposed to call your attention. The institution was left incomplete by those, who had the honour of being its founders; and all the experience, which their posterity have had of its advantages, has not hitherto induced them to add what was wanting in the system. I originally observed, that the establishment of parochial schools was not extended to the great towns of Scotland; and it is not difficult to perceive, what had occasioned this limitation. Like many other wise institutions, that in question seems to have been devised as a remedy for a great existing evil, and accommodated exactly to the extent of the evil. The want of the means of education, in the country-parishes of Scotland, seems to have been so great, that the legislature thought it essential to provide for its supply. But, in the great towns, this want had not been experienced in an equal degree. Schools of various kinds had been there previously established, on a different foundation; and it might be naturally supposed that, where the population was concentrated, as in a great town, it could not be very difficult, for those who might desire it, to find farther means of education to their children, in proportion as it should appear to be necessary. But experience has shown that the boon, which was, in this case, granted to country-parishes, possesses a value and importance far beyond what was probably anticipated by those who bestowed it, and that no schools, which depend, for their maintenance, on the liberality and discretion of individuals, or on the opinions and prejudices of the parents of the children, who are taught in them, can ever be an adequate compensation to our great towns, for the want of such seminaries of education, established by law, as are to be found in all the country-parishes of Scotland.

This view of the subject calls for the attention of my own countrymen, as well as of those who may project any similar establishment; for the consequence of the deficiency, of which I complain, is that, in the great towns of Scotland, there have been a few of the people, very nearly, if not altogether, without the benefits of education. An attempt, indeed, has been recently made to remedy this evil, by means of schools, formed and conducted according to the new system of education, devised by Dr. Bell. It is well known that, under this system, the expense of education to the lower orders is considerably diminished, in consequence of a very great number of children being

being taught by one master, with the aid of *monitors*, selected out of the number of the scholars themselves. But this expedient hitherto wants that security for its permanence, and the steadiness of its operation, which the law of the land imparts to parochial schools. And I must be forgiven for doubting, at the same time, whether the leading principle of Dr. Bell's system be, in itself, unexceptionable. So long as parochial schools, regulated and conducted as they have hitherto been, are wanting in great towns, the new system seems to be the best expedient for insuring the education of those, who would otherwise remain uneducated. But I cannot so readily perceive, upon what ground we should hesitate in preferring the tuition of a prudent and skilful man, well practised in all the arts of teaching, to any tuition which one boy can give to another. What one boy imparts to another, cannot well be communicated in any other way, than by an impression made on his memory. But, if a well-qualified schoolmaster do his full duty, he certainly may find access, in a greater or less degree, to the understandings of the young, and gradually open their minds to a more effectual, and salutary reception of knowledge. Perhaps this observation is applicable to the lessons, which the scholars receive in arithmetic; but it is far more important to consider, that it is unquestionably applicable to their instruction in the principles of religion. And, when knowledge of any kind is communicated directly to the understanding, there is additional advantage of no small importance, resulting from the intellectual discipline which the scholar undergoes, in the acquisition of such knowledge. It serves to invigorate his intellectual faculties, at an age when the whole man is most susceptible of improvement, and, at the same time, forms, in the mind, early and permanent habits of patient labour and industry.

So far as these observations are applicable to Dr. Bell's scheme of education, I trust that I shall not be understood as offering them in a spirit of hostility to a system, which certainly appears to me the best expedient for supplying, in the mean time, a very urgent want; I offer them with a single view to a deliberate consideration of the question, Whether more advantage might not be *ultimately* derived from adopting, in great towns, in common with the country, a regular establishment of parochial schools?

But it is impossible for me to speak, with the same respect, of a provision or arrangement, which is, in some cases, made, for the education of youth, (I care not upon what principles, either old or new,) by which their education is made subservient to a plan, for extorting, from their tender frame, a certain portion of daily

daily labour, which gives no salutary exercise to the body, but is, on the contrary, performed in the midst of all the filth and stench of a great manufactory. That immoderate thirst for gain, by which our times have been distinguished, has disposed some men to make every thing subservient to it; even the public have been more or less induced to look with complacency upon such an unnatural employment of children, because national wealth, very rashly mistaken for the essence of national prosperity, has appeared to be thereby promoted, and because some attention has been, at the same time, paid to the education of the children, during the short time allowed for relaxation from labour. But any device for education, which tends to facilitate and encourage such an employment of the young, I can regard only as an evil; because I regard the employment, which it tends to countenance, as an outrage against the rights and privileges of both childhood and early youth. How different, in this respect, is the system of our parochial schools? A stranger, observing the employments of the children at these seminaries, during a part of the day, would be apt to conclude that one purpose, for which they are established, is to promote every athletic exercise. During an interval of study (in summer not less than two hours), the children are, there, not only permitted, but encouraged, to follow out, with all the gaiety and ardour which become their years, a variety of exercises and amusements, calculated to invigorate their bodily frame. And to this system we are not a little indebted for the early formation of a vigorous and high-minded peasantry, who will neither shrink from toil in earning their bread, nor from danger in defending their country's cause. No greater mistake was ever committed than in supposing, that the most valuable inheritance of a people consists in either national wealth, or extent of territory. Next to intellectual and moral character, considered in a general view, that high spirit, which must be promoted in youth, if we would at all have the advantage of it in riper years, and that hardihood of mind, which more or less results from a corresponding hardihood in respect of bodily frame, are the most precious of national possessions; they are the only effectual security for that national independence, which is itself the guarantee of every other privilege, and, in its turn, contributes to promote whatever can render man most respectable, and deservedly honoured, as citizens of the present world. Any system may be carried too far; the generous enthusiasm of Mr. Wyndham, in reference to this subject, unquestionably betrayed his mind, when he contended that the people of England ought to be habituated to certain sports (falsely so called), which are only calculated to steel the heart against

against every generous feeling, or to substitute brutal ferocity for the courage and fortitude, which become a man. But, in whatever country, a permanent system shall prevail, under which the young shall be taught to deny themselves to those amusements, which, by giving an early buoyancy to the spirits, have the effect of communicating to them a permanent ardour, and to those exercises, more particularly, which are necessary to bodily health and increasing vigour, — in whatever country, these sacrifices shall be long required, in order to the young being shut up within the walls of a manufactory, where they may add, by their daily labour, to the immediate stock of national wealth, the people of that country will preserve their independence only while others have no inclination to rob them of it; what is most valuable in national independence — the high spirit, from which it results, and which would maintain the proud possession, is already lost; their wealth can prove but a lure to the invader; and, though, in losing it, they will loose their all, such a consummation can only be regarded as the deserved reward of a mean and degrading spirit.

I have been led to express these sentiments, in consequence of having remarked, that our establishment of parochial schools has not, hitherto, been extended to great towns. This imperfection might be easily remedied; for the necessary expense of the institution, in great towns, might be defrayed by a tax upon house-rent, so extremely small that it seems almost unworthy of calculation. But, besides this imperfection, the establishment of parochial schools, as it exists among us, is defective in two points. The legal provision for the schoolmaster is, at an average, insufficient; and it is so nearly the same in the different parishes, as to admit of no such gradation in the condition, of schoolmasters, as can present to those, who are once appointed to the office, any competent object of ambition, within their own sphere. Perhaps these evils also might be remedied, without much difficulty. It seems to me, that both might be effectually cured by a single regulation, which, in one respect, would be peculiarly unexceptionable; for it would not exact more, in behalf of the schoolmaster, from the land-holders of any one parish, than is already paid, on the same account, by the land-holders of a large proportion of the parishes throughout the country. All that is necessary for both increasing the average amount of the salaries, and creating, at the same time, the requisite gradation among schoolmasters, in respect of their emoluments, is to equalise, in some measure, the burden upon the land-holders, by requiring from those, who have property in rich and extensive parishes, a payment more nearly proportioned to what is already exacted from

from others, where either the extent of the parish is small, or the lands are of comparatively small value. Making allowance for a very few cases, in which two schools may be necessary to one parish, this regulation would still have the effect of rendering the emoluments of a schoolmaster respectable, in all those parishes where respectable men are most wanted for the office. And, among the schoolmasters in inferior situations, it would operate as a most powerful incitement to such exertions, as might recommend them to promotion in their own department. They would even feel, in the mean time, that their consideration in society was somewhat increased, by the increased consideration of the order with which they were connected, and by the hope which they would be allowed to entertain of advancement in their profession, somewhat proportioned to their talents and deserts. In whatever country parochial schools be established, or maintained, I am inclined to consider such a gradation among them, in respect of emoluments, as of the last importance to their salutary effect; and, surely, a regulation for the purpose, such as I have now suggested, cannot be regarded as unequitable. In Scotland, there are some parishes, where a salary of 50*l.* or 60*l.* might be paid to the schoolmaster, at the expense of a much lower contribution from the landholders, in proportion to the value of their property, than is actually required, in other parishes, for the payment of the lowest existing salary, which is somewhat less than 17*l.* In other countries, there is probably a difference, somewhat corresponding to what I now state, in the circumstances of different parishes; and I am well convinced, that, with such an improvement of the system as I now contemplate, a complete establishment of parochial schools, extending to great towns, in common with the country, would be ultimately found the most valuable boon, which an enlightened statesman can bestow upon any nation.

I take no particular credit for generosity, when I say that, in the account which I have thus given of parochial schools, I have been actuated by an ardent desire, that France may derive from such an establishment all the advantages, which it is calculated to yield; for I am convinced, that there are few things, from which my own country can derive more certain and permanent advantage, than from the prosperity of the nations around it, and especially from the advancement of the French people in whatever can render them truly respectable and happy. As certainly as the education of the lower orders of society tends to promote in them habits of industry, the industry of one nation must tend to promote that of every other, with which it exchanges commodities, under a system of commercial intercourse; and there-

cannot be a doubt, that education; by opening the mind to just and liberal sentiments, is also the most effectual means of eradicating those national prejudices, which, more than all other things, tend to foster a principle of mutual hostility among nations, even to the extent of their regarding one another as *natural* enemies. I am far from saying that all the education, necessary to this purpose, can be found in such an elementary seminary as a parish-school. But the foundation may there be laid; for, of the multitude, to whom the first elements of a good education are there imparted, some will be effectually prompted to a continued pursuit of literature, in all its delightful paths; the aggregate number of the well-educated will be, in this way, much increased; and their influence on the public mind will be, in some degree, proportioned to their number: those just and liberal sentiments, which education nourishes, will become, more or less, the fashion of the age; and fashion will not fail to extend its influence, in this as in other cases, through all the ranks of society.

What a blessing would it be to France and to Britain, if, in this way, their rivalry in arms were to yield to rivalry of a nobler kind—to a generous desire of excelling one another, in whatever can serve to promote their mutual prosperity and welfare!

I.

LETTER IV. (Translation.)

Communicating the Author's Second Memoir on the Revision of the French Code.

To J. P. B. Esq.

Dear Sir,

April 1817.

I HASTEN to fulfil the promise contained in my former letter, by communicating to you the very encouraging answer, with which my first Memoir, on the revision of our national code of laws, was honoured by Monseigneur DAMBRAY, the present illustrious chancellor of France. It will not be necessary to publish a document, dictated, perhaps, in some degree, by feelings of partial indulgence to an individual; but the other document, which accompanies this, you have my full permission to give to the public in the pages of the *Correspondent*. It is an accurate copy of the *Second Memoir*, which, in consequence of the favourable reception of my first, I thought it my duty to submit to the chan-

chancellor, going more into the details of the plan, and endeavouring to obviate such objections, as had been suggested by others, or had appeared to myself to demand consideration. With this short explanation, I trust that the Memoir will be sufficiently intelligible: and, in submitting it to your perusal, I seize the occasion of testifying the sentiments of high consideration, with which I am,

Your obedient servant,

DE S—.

MEMOIR.

My Lord,

I WAS highly flattered by the explanatory letter which Your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me, on the first of November, 1814, concerning a memoir, which I had taken the liberty of submitting to you, relative to the triennial revision of the French code of laws.

You seem, My Lord, to apprehend that the impatience of our countrymen will hardly be reconciled to the term of twenty years, in order to obtain a perfect code of laws. This objection has its weight, and I should have been the first to raise it, had you desired me at once to put my ideas in practice. — You will be aware, that I had, in my Memoir, nothing else in view, than to detail to you the method, which I considered as the most likely to bring the French code of laws gradually to perfection, and, at the same time, to elucidate the principles, which appeared to me most eligible for its future system. These two propositions are the only ones, which I have seriously contemplated; and I have endeavoured to demonstrate and support them by convincing arguments. It is for you, My Lord, to judge, how far I have succeeded. You must have perceived, that I have not entered into any particulars as to the means of execution, or the successive operations, which are to conduct us to the point at which we ought to arrive. I have taken no great pains in estimating the length of time, which we should employ for successfully terminating this great undertaking. If in my Memoir I have fixed it at twenty years, it was only, because the number *twenty* presented itself to my mind, instead of *ten* or *thirty*; but without my particularly attaching to it any greater importance, being convinced that, if any of my ideas should appear to you worthy of being modelled into law, you would previously subject them to a scrupulous examination, which would point out the modifications, necessary for any period of time that might seem best adapted to answer the desire, and the wants of the French people, upon this subject.

You recollect also that I said, in my Memoir, "that the triennial publication of a code of laws appeared to me to unite every advantage, if a preliminary article were introduced for laws, made necessary by circumstances, and which require to be promptly expedited." The new code, which the French want, at present, or rather the changes and modifications, which are absolutely called for in some of the laws, contained in the Code Napoleon, would be comprised in the class of laws rendered necessary by circumstances, and which require to be promptly expedited. As we are as yet not shackled by any regulation, one might commence by proposing to the legislative bodies, such useful corrections, as would render the text of the usurper's code more suitable to the political situation of the subjects of the legitimate sovereign. For the Code Napoleon the code of Louis le Desiré would be substituted. Although these two collections were to contain nearly the same laws, nevertheless the new title of the latter, as well as many of its articles, would harmonise better with the disposition and feelings of the French of the present day.

To you the completion of this work will raise an unperishable monument of glory, and will confer a benefit that will deserve the eternal gratitude of your countrymen. We are already convinced that it has become necessary from circumstances; let us consider now, whether it can be speedily executed.

Passing quickly on, without stopping at the subtle distinctions of school metaphysics, we shall find, that the complete code of laws of a nation naturally divides itself into five books, or five different chapters:

1st. On the composition, subordination, competency, and forms of the tribunals.

2d. On the laws and forms of criminal proceedings.

3d. On the laws and forms of civil proceedings.

4th. On the revenue laws.

5th. On the military laws.

I do not speak of the jurisprudence of the canon law, because this enters, according to its several bearings, into any one of the three first classes, which have just been enumerated. You may, however, either increase or diminish the number of these chapters, without altering, in any way, the arguments which we are about to employ, or the conclusions to be deduced from them.

The revenue laws relate entirely to the administration of the finances. The military laws fall under the cognisance of the war-minister, or the minister of the marine. I do not think, the Code Napoleon mentions them. These two last chapters
need

need not occupy the attention of the Committee of Legislation; its labours will be confined to the revision of the three first.

1. That which is to treat of the composition of the tribunals, of the manner in which the servants of the state and the magistrates are to be paid and remunerated, and of other matters, is, without doubt, the most interesting chapter. It ought to crown the edifice of French legislation, and to consolidate all its parts. It is the key-stone of the arch, and consequently that which the chief architect ought to fix as the last, since the old timber-work is yet able to support itself for some time longer.

2. The laws, forms, and other matters, relating to criminal proceedings, are, in the opinion of the persons whom I have consulted on this point, pretty tolerable: no inconvenience will arise from their being permitted to exist a few years longer.

The labours of the Committee of Legislation would, this year, be confined to the revision of the laws, forms, and other matters of the civil proceedings, which are now in force. But the greater part of those recorded in the Code Napoleon, are good enough, or at least tolerable: they do not require any immediate modification, or sudden change. Those which require a better arrangement in their enactments, or to be established on new principles, are few. The improvements, which are absolutely necessary to adapt them to the actual state of France, will extend, at the utmost, to fifty or a hundred pages. The zeal and the acuteness of the members of the Committee of Legislation, who are, besides, well versed in these matters, justify me in assuring Your Lordship, that this work will be completed long before the termination of the next session of the legislative bodies. There will then be time for its proposal and discussion in the two chambers, and for the sanction of His Majesty, in the course of 1815, so as to be in force, as law, on the 1st January, 1816. This is an expeditious plan; and, in case of its adoption, I do not think, that French impatience will have any reasonable ground for complaining of your delay in giving them a new code.

These improvements, sanctioned by the legislative powers, would be inserted in the text, with the parts preserved, making together one entire work. It might be called the French Code, or the Code Louis XVIII. This little alteration would for ever do away the scandal of being always nominally governed by the laws of an usurper, and, at the same time, would give us an opportunity of substituting a code truly national, in the place of the revolutionary laws which have so long governed us.

Immediately after the promulgation of these new regulations, it might be proposed to the two chambers as a fundamental law of the empire, that there should be a *triennial revision* (book for

book, or chapter for chapter) of the different parts of the code, which had been adopted. It might then be determined, with the most scrupulous attention, and on new grounds of reasoning, in which all the data that involve the solution of this problem, would be duly considered: What would be the fittest period to be assigned for the revision of the laws, one by one, as contained in this collection, in order to produce a second edition of it, more complete, and more analogous to the spirit of the government newly established, and more in unison with the political relations, which the different classes of the French people have among themselves? This space of time being agreed upon, the code might be divided into as many sections, as there are years allowed for its ultimate confirmation; and the discussion of each of these divisions might subsequently be proceeded with in the manner, which I proposed in my first Memoir. Two years previous to the conclusion of this task, a fresh examination might be resorted to, and materials be cut out for the second edition of this code, which would be drawing to its termination; and then we should be prepared to commence the revision of the code that had just appeared, in the same session, in which it would have been confirmed; and so on regularly, until another destructive revolution, or an unhappy change in the principles of government, should put a stop to it. But in proportion as the number of editions of this code shall increase, the laws which it shall contain, will be more perfect, and the alterations rendered necessary by circumstances will be less urgent; and at a period, which perhaps is not far distant, all the publications of these collections will be little more than collated copies of the same work. You are young, My Lord, and may hope to fix the last stone of this edifice, which will only require the care of you and your successors to be preserved.

In compelling the Committee of Legislation to study, and propose the alterations, which it is now indispensable to make in the Code Napoleon, its members will acquire a profound knowledge of its details, and a very accurate idea of the whole. Better instructed and prepared, they will point out to you, with more accuracy, the nature and the number of the sections, which are proper to be submitted to the new triennial revision. Suppose, My Lord, that they divide them into four parts. We have just seen, that the Code of Louis le Desiré, or the Code Napoleon, properly corrected, would be ready to be made law, on the first of January 1816. It must, therefore, have been discussed, and sanctioned in 1815. It would be easy to announce, the same year, to the two Chambers of the Legislative Body, the part, or the chapters of this new code, which they
would

would be under the necessity of re-examining in 1816, for the purpose of remedying their defects, so that they might be promulgated, having the force of law, in 1818. The hypothesis, which we have adopted, giving us four of these parts to retouch, it follows, of course, that we must have, four succeeding examinations, to complete the revision of the work, which, consequently, would be finished in 1820, or 1821.

By means of this method, the French would, in five or six years hence, enjoy better laws, than any one could give them in the same period. But, observe, My Lord, that in 1816, France will be in possession of a tolerable code, and, as good as she can expect, under the political circumstances of the times; that the fourth part of its defects will be amended, and completely removed, in 1817, one half of them in 1818, and so on, in the same proportion, to 1820, when none will remain, but such as the legislator, in his wisdom, shall not think it advisable to take, as yet, into his consideration.

The code of 1816, and its successive revisions, which ought to be finished in 1820, or 1821, are only preparatory: for, properly speaking, we should have worked to the year 1821 inclusive, only for the purpose of repairing, or, to use a vulgar expression, of patching up, the defects of the Code Napoleon. The necessity of governing the French, without any violent shocks, has made it our duty, to avoid too rapid an alteration in the principles of their jurisprudence. But five or six years of study and reflection, on this subject, will have much enlightened our minds. We shall then be able to decide, with a knowledge of the subject, and without fear of deceiving ourselves, as to what ought to form the foundation of our future legislation, and to sketch out, before-hand, the plan of the undertaking, which we wish to accomplish. If, at the present time, we could fortunately conceive some idea of it, it would be easy for us, in arranging our progress during the five or six years, which we shall employ in revising these two successive and preparatory compilations, to draw nearer to this land of promise, to this object of our wishes, unimpeded by any obstacles; and to fix ourselves there quietly, without inverting, by hasty innovations, the established order of society, or any one of its divisions.

About this time, the political condition of the clergy, the validity, or invalidity of the laws, respecting property, usurped or confiscated, and other things, will be finally (well or ill) settled. Questions of this nature, so perplexing at the present moment, are, happily, only transient, and the number of temporary laws, which they require, will be much diminished in 1821, and 1822. We shall then be less embarrassed, and the

French will possess a complete code of laws, which, though but provisional, will not the less correspond with their wants, and their wishes. Besides, the knowledge of the principles, which you have adopted, will begin to be diffused; they will be understood, and, at the same time, justice will be done to the wisdom and prudence, which you have bestowed upon their elucidation, and, upon the task of giving to the conclusions, derived from them, the form and character of law.

We shall then be able to divide, into smaller portions, the code of 1821, and to extend its different sections to twenty, or thirty, which would, year after year, be regularly submitted to the triennial revision of the two Chambers. These steps, being more slow, and more deliberate, will give to the jurisprudence of the kingdom, an opportunity of continually advancing towards perfection, by gradual progression, without any violent or repeated convulsions. Thus, every part of the jurisprudence, instead of being made up of shreds and patches, like that of most other nations, would always be cast and recast in one foundery. By these means, the public mind will gain a greater consistency: it will be enabled to discuss its true interests with greater certainty, and its opinions, upon the system of legislation, best adapted to its situation and character, will be more accurate. These matters will then be seriously treated, upon principles of policy, and after the conclusions of sound logic, unembarrassed by sentimental phrases, metaphysical subtleties, and sayings of modern philosophers, or by the jests (whether sense, or nonsense) of some of our writers. Then would the laws proposed — the chapters of the code, which would stand for revision, by the order of the day, become the subject of a debate, common to the two Chambers, and to particular societies. Then will solid information daily increase the number of its followers, and will, consequently, acquire more consideration, and authority. A general feeling will be created amongst us, from which will proceed a religious veneration for, and an inviolable attachment, to those laws, which, we believe, we have ourselves made; and the institutions and establishments, which guarantee their preservation.

The chapters, annually submitted to the consideration of the public, and to that of the two Chambers, being less in quantity, by reason of what has been taken out of the code, to serve for the third revision, it follows that the points of law, which will fill these chapters, will be more circumscribed, and that it will be easier to take a view of the whole, to follow its details, and to ascertain, with greater precision, whether the new laws, that are proposed, will be more effective than those, which they are to displace.

displace. It will contract the field of argument, for the speakers on both sides, and deprive them of all pretence for wandering from the subject, and diverting the attention of the public, their natural judge, by useless digressions, entirely foreign to the subject, and to the principles, upon which the question ought to be discussed. It will then, be the time for putting our hand to the work, in order to realize the plan adopted, and to take advantage of the materials, which have been collected, and purposely formed, to place on a solid basis the government of France, in such a manner as is desired.

At this time also, My Lord, you will be engaged in fixing, irrevocably, and by the principles, which you have assumed, the composition of the tribunals; their number and subordination; the means of paying and promoting the magistrates; the consideration, authority, and public functions of the clergy; the supremacy, or, at least, the relations of the priests, and the ceremonial of the established religion, with those of other sects, which are tolerated; and an infinite number of questions of the same importance, but so much at variance with the spirit and habits, left us by the Revolution, that their theory is too obscure to be understood by the public; and the consequences of which would perhaps be too dangerous, if they were suddenly to be reduced to practice. These, My Lord, are the great projects you will have to realise, in 1821, or 1822, and even sooner, if, after mature reflection, and a thorough knowledge of all the facts, you find it advisable to shorten the period, which I have only vaguely suggested. But, if during the present, or the following year, you finally determine on the plan that you intend to pursue, in future, you perceive, My Lord, that, in the interval of four or five years, you will have more than one opportunity of arranging and selecting your offices, so as to appoint the heads, and their principal assistants, to familiarise them with your ideas, and to engage them, by all the influence of your genius and your situation, to point out to you the difficulties which might embarrass the course of your future operations, and to assist you in removing them, and in preparing, before-hand, the means, which, at the appointed time, will ensure the success of your undertaking, so that every thing may be ready, when you shall wish to act.

But during this time, every one will have an opportunity of clearing up his notions, by these triennial discussions, of entering, by degrees, into the secret of your intentions, and of satisfying himself of the truth of those proofs, which support them. Turbulent innovators, disarmed by the unchangeable steadiness of the triennial discussions, will forsake the hope of increasing their

their fortunes, or their fame, by perpetual changes in the legislature of the empire, and in the habits of the different classes of the community. The state will be more tranquil, and its government, being more stable, will encounter, in its progress, fewer difficulties and intrigues, because the persons it employs, being continually forced to conform to the same order of things, will be better acquainted with the extent, the details, and the limits of their functions. It is, therefore, to be hoped, My Lord, that the people, at that time, instead of opposing, by idle clamour and ill-founded reasoning, the execution of your projects, will, on the contrary, support them with all their power, and that you will see them impatient to enjoy those laws and institutions, which are to settle the government on a foundation, well understood and well established.

We have hitherto considered the two Chambers of the Legislative Body, as instruments necessary to fix, by degrees, and ameliorate our jurisprudence. Their annual revision of the national code has appeared to us the most certain method of carrying it to as high a point of perfection, as human labours are capable of attaining. But it would not be surprising, if the daily discussions of our representatives upon the laws, proposed for their adoption, were reciprocally to support the Legislative Body, and prevent it from departing from its duty, and from the principles of the new government, which the King has just given to his subjects.

If the peace continue for some time longer, the knowledge and wisdom of His Majesty and his council, assisted and supported by the debates of men of superior ability, whom the legislative assemblies will never fail to produce, will accomplish, at no great distance of time, the regulation of all the parts of the government, as well as can be done. Ministers will have nothing to do, but to preserve order in their respective departments, and fill up the situations, which become vacant. The Republic of Venice, Maria Theresa of Austria, Frederick II. of Prussia, afford us examples, which are not yet old, of that state of stagnation, which would for ever make the sovereigns quiet, and the people happy, if they knew the value of it, by preventing them from disturbing, in the least matter, under any pretext whatsoever, the established order.

But do you think, My Lord, that all these orators, who, for some time, may have been in the habit of quitting their provinces, in order to meet in one of the two Chambers, for the purpose of discussing the great interests of the state, will have the good sense and patriotism to hold their tongues, when they have nothing more to say? Can you imagine, that these champions,
proud

proud of their strength, and filled with self-conceit, who have hastened from all quarters, to engage on the stage of politics, with the hope of shining by their eloquence, and carrying off the palm of pre-eminence, will be inclined to remain at rest, and be contented, without show, and in silence, to guard the precious deposit, which has been confided to their charge? Will the enthusiastic disposition of these representatives be satisfied with voting the necessary supplies, or legislating upon matters very trifling in their eyes, and on the ordinary business of a state, that is already well regulated? For want of real subjects, they will resort to imaginary ones, and if a war, or any great convulsion, does not furnish materials, worthy of enlivening their speeches, you will perhaps see again appear, in another form, those sage dissertations on *natural laws*, the *rights of man*, the *liberties of the people*, and an infinity of other words, of a similar description, by which always a great noise is made, because they are never well defined, and every one gives them the acceptation that he likes himself. *Liberal ideas* will again be brought forward; the sensibility of our deputies will again be awakened, every moment their tears will flow in streams, and these grave legislators will believe that they are not wasting their time, but that they deserve well of their countrymen, and posterity, in using their efforts, and employing their talents, to demonstrate the necessity of preventing the people from fighting with their fists, butchers' dogs from biting the beasts, which they are driving to their masters' shops, and the gens d'armes from seizing, with too much brutality, malefactors, and other persons. The same philanthropists, or rather friends of the animal-creation, will be eager to destroy pious foundations, and will rejoice in having reduced to beggary the numerous class of respectable citizens, who disoblige them; they will rob the landed proprietors, to pay the stock-jobbing creditors of the state, and they will not call this a bankruptcy. We have already seen them shedding floods of tears over the slave-trade, and looking calmly on the traffic made of their countrymen, who were bound in chains, in order to conduct them to the armies, and to convert them into food for the cannon: but I pass over these afflicting pictures. However, My Lord, we are lost a second time, if tears are allowed to supplant our reason, and if *liberal ideas* again are permitted to infest our principles of policy and legislation.

These inconveniencies are great, but we may remove, or weaken them in part, by the annual revisions of the national code; which will supply food for the appetite of the politicians, and be always at hand to satisfy the loquacity of our representatives, and to divert their attention from those ridiculous questions, which,

which, in the long run, must prove dangerous, if they were taken up too seriously by the leading men of a nation, especially among a people, whose distinguishing qualities are neither judgment nor reflection. The natural bias of these two Chambers, like that of all other political deliberative bodies, inclines them either to apathy, or faction. We do not yet know, in France, the difficulties to be encountered in restraining their spirit to a proper medium, nor the trouble, which a wise government has in managing a set of legislators, who are tormented by the desire of acquiring celebrity by new ideas, or fine words.

I urge the necessity of the triennial revision of the code, My Lord, because I am convinced, that revision is a general principle in politics, and one received by all nations who wish to settle, and gradually to ameliorate, their jurisprudence, a subject too much disregarded by certain statesmen, because it is not shining and showy, although it is the most essential branch of a good government, since it is the primitive and almost exclusive source of the prosperity or degradation of an empire.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's

Most humble and obedient Servant,

Le Chevalier De S—.

LETTER V.

On Spanish America.

To the-Baron de ———

Sir,

ALTHOUGH the ancient world enjoys, at present, a state of tranquillity, in the western hemisphere the tempest of internal warfare rages with no small degree of fury; the extensive regions, formerly conquered, and since settled and peopled by the subjects of Spain, have been torn by conflicting parties, some of whom are still arrayed in arms against each other, and with scarcely any definite or intelligible objects, are laying waste those most fertile and beautiful regions.

The discontented in Europe have naturally turned their eyes to that country, where they see, or fancy they see, the struggles of liberty; because that word is the cry of uncivilised and ferocious men, who trample on all rank, property, and law; and
because

because it presents a focal point, round which all the unprincipled adventurers of the old world may be concentrated. It is not, then, wonderful that one of our parliamentary orators, in the course of an harangue, which was closed without any definite or practical proposition, should have chosen to deal out invective against our government, because it has refrained from assisting the insurgents. Had our ministers acted in the manner some persons have recommended, had they, instead of remaining in a state of neutrality, assisted the opponents of the Europeans in America with arms, with men, or with stores, a war with Spain must infallibly have ensued, notwithstanding the state of weakness in which the late contest has left that country. Though such a war might be no great cause of alarm to us, if confined to that power alone, yet it could scarcely have been carried on without involving the other European nations; and thus, for the sake of supporting the South Americans of colour against the whites and the crown of Spain, the whole world might have been again plunged into the state of warfare, from which it has but recently escaped.

Had Great-Britain interfered in favour of the Spanish colonies, had she torn them from the mother-country, and left them in a state of irreconcilable separation, the sacrifice of honour, of reputation, and of moral feeling, which must have been made, could never have been compensated by any addition of commerce, however extensive or advantageous it might be.

The division of Poland, atrocious as it was, cannot be deemed more disgraceful than our conduct would be, if, whilst glorying, and honestly glorying, in having maintained the independence of Spain, we had either openly, or secretly, promoted the separation of her colonies, to whom, whether correctly or not, she looked as the principal sources, from whence the supplies must be drawn, which are to restore her to that state of prosperity, from which she has been driven, equally by jacobin friendship, and by jacobin hostility.

I am far from approving, and much more from attempting to justify, the wisdom of that system which Spain has followed with her colonies, ever since the discovery of America. In consequence of that system, she has been constantly directing the industry of her European subjects to manufactures, for which, neither the population, the soil, nor the climate of Spain are adapted, and has neglected agriculture, which might have been a much surer source of prosperity to her. To encourage manufactures, which never have and never can flourish in Spain, she has had recourse to the severest restrictions on the application of the capital and industry of her subjects, both in the eastern and
western

western hemisphere. These measures have produced their natural effects, by fostering contraband transactions, to an extent which has had no parallel in any other country. In America the magistrates, the judges, the nobility, and the clergy; have been almost uniformly corrupted by it; and this system of restrictions, by being evaded very extensively, has not only failed of securing the objects for which it was intended, but in breaking through or evading these restrictions, the great mass of the people has become corrupted and degraded. The other states of Europe have undoubtedly been guilty of similar errors, and though not to the same extent, nor adhered to so pertinaciously, all have, in a greater or less degree, been injured by the restrictive regulations they have adopted in the management of their colonies. The possession of her colonies, ever since their first establishment, has made Spain a constant object of jealousy to the rest of Europe. The inhabitants of the old continent receiving, through the channel of Spain, the principal supply of the precious metals which were long supposed exclusively to constitute wealth, have viewed her with no inconsiderable degree of envy. England, as soon as she became a naval power, was thus rendered almost the perpetual enemy of Spain, and from the reign of Elizabeth to the present day, whoever has held the reins of power in England, has cherished the wish to wrest from that kingdom her trans-atlantic territory, and to add some portion of those dominions to the crown of England.

The acquisition of silver seemed in the early periods of commerce to be the great stimulus to naval enterprise: instead of exchanging the superfluous produce of their own country for silver, which might be again exchanged for the objects of their want, each nation seemed to judge its acquisition so important, as to justify the robbery and plunder, by which it was too frequently obtained. The marauding expedition of our great circum-navigator Drake was attended with a course of conduct, repugnant to all those ideas of justice, which are now universally diffused, and the title of pirate, uniformly given him by the Spaniards, is much more appropriate than that of hero, with which we have dignified his name.

The energy and jealousy of other nations, but of England especially, were increased by the exaggerated and ridiculous reports which, in that age of credulity, were generally circulated and readily believed. Even Sir Walter Raleigh, a man of powerful mind, and on some subjects suspected of scepticism, gravely states, in his narrative of the discovery of Guiana, that the city of Manoa, or El Dorado, is so large, that a traveller on entering it marched the whole of two days through it, before he reached

reached the palace of the monarch; that the riches of this palace were such as had never before been heard of; "that all the vessels of this house, the table and the kitchen, were of gold and silver; that in the wardrobe were statues of gold that seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bigness of all the beasts, birds, fishes, that the sea or waters of the kingdom breedeth; there was ropes, budgets, chests, and troughs of gold and silver, heaps of billets of gold that seemed wood marked out to burn: finally, there was nothing in the country whereof there was not the counterfeit in gold."

These representations of the wealth of America, though somewhat diminished by the failure of Raleigh's second expedition to Guiana, continued to influence the minds, and inflame the passions, of the adventurous and avaricious throughout Europe. During the imbecile reign of James I. and that of his unfortunate son, though open and avowed hostilities were not conducted by the government, no pains were taken to repress the disgraceful expeditions, which were carried on by the private desperadoes, whose marvellous history has been narrated under the title of Buccaneers.

Cromwell was scarcely in quiet possession of supreme power, when his thoughts were turned to Spanish America. At the instigation, and under the direction of Gage, a renegade Catholic priest, who had passed many years as a missionary in that country, the expedition under Penn and Venables was dispatched to subdue the territories of Spain. Though the great design, like all others directed since with that view, completely failed, yet accident added the beautiful and fertile island of Jamaica to our dominions; and the English nation has been more than repaid by its possession for the cost of that expedition, and the disappointment which the failure of its main object occasioned.

Though the two last princes of the house of Stuart, from preserving the relations of amity with Spain, and from the intestine divisions which agitated their reigns, had directed no efforts towards the possessing of those colonies, yet the great body of Buccaneers continued, with increased force, to practise their depredations. The reign of William saw a project originating in Scotland, which, if it had not been ruined by jealousy, bid fair to have established in South-America a rival empire. From its position, and the character of its first settlers, it would have been extended, in spite of hostility, to both the seas which bound the American continent, and would have given to Great Britain advantages far beyond any, that Spain has reaped from her more extensive territory. It is singular that the settlement of New Caledonia should have been begun at the only spot, in which

which it is possible to unite, with little labour and expense, the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The river Atrato, which the Spanish government has forbidden to be navigated, empties itself into the gulf of Darien, near the place, at which the Scottish company fixed itself. The source of this river is on a level plain, on which, at the distance of not more than five leagues, the river St. Juan begins its course, which empties itself into the Pacific ocean, in the fifth degree of north latitude. A late friend of mine, who had lived near the spot, assured me, that a priest had actually cut a canal, navigable for boats in the rainy season, and had by it transmitted productions from the river which runs into the Pacific to the one, which empties itself into the Atlantic ocean.

Whether the spot selected by the Scottish company was fixed upon from accurate knowledge, or, which is more probable, from mere accident, it is to be regretted that the plan was abandoned, as, from its being the only part of the continent where the chain of the Andes is broken, the easy communication, which would have been opened by so respectable a class of men, must have been of extensive benefit to the intercourse of the civilised world.

Though, from the course of political events during the rest of that reign, no opportunity occurred of interfering with Spanish America till towards the close, when the contest arose concerning the succession to the crown of Spain, William, under pretence of reducing the Spanish dominion to the obedience of the House of Austria, had projected an extensive attempt on South America. His successor Anne pursued it, but the capture of Cadiz was considered previously necessary, and though a larger force had been sent against it, than had ever before been dispatched from this country, the attempt failed, and the design on the Spanish colonies was abandoned.

In the reign of George I., though two disputes happened with Spain, they were terminated so quickly that no serious attempt could be made on America, yet the unfortunate expedition under Admiral Hosier was considered as the first step to a larger armament, which was to have proceeded to that quarter, if the discontinuance of hostilities had not suspended the project.

When the long and pacific administration of Walpole drew near its close, the furious rage of party inflamed the passions of the multitude by exaggerated representations of the abuses, which some inferior Spanish officers, employed in checking the contraband trade of their colonies, had been guilty of; and the still baser passion of avarice was stimulated by the accounts of the riches of the colonies, and the ease with which those riches

might be acquired. The tactics of party succeeded so far as to embroil the ministry in a war, and the first step of this war, reluctantly forced on the government by the people, was an attempt at the reduction of South-America.

The expedition of Admiral Vernon to Porto Bello, and the capture of that cemetery being achieved by one of the clamorous party, was with them a subject of no small exultation; it was supposed to be the forerunner and the assurance of the subjugation of the whole continent, and neither the government nor the people were awakened to reflection, till the calamitous events, which in quick succession followed, at Carthagena, Lagaira, and Puerto-Cavallo had wasted the powerful force, which had been directed by party violence and popular clamour, rather than by the wisdom and coolness, which should have guided the cabinet.

Even the contemporaneous expedition of Anson, directed towards the western shore of the American continent, though it displayed the perseverance and fortitude of the commander, and was rewarded with enormous booty, was, in a national point of view, a most unfortunate attempt at subjugation, and was only rendered less fatal than it might have been, from the opportune tempests which prevented a superior Spanish force from getting into the South-Sea.

As peace existed between England and Spain, from the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to the commencement of His present Majesty's reign, no opportunity was offered to the government of displaying their wishes for the possession of South-America, during that period; but no sooner had hostilities begun, than an expedition, destined for that quarter, was projected on a most extensive scale. If the conquest of Mexico had been the object of government, and that object was one which could have been accomplished, the possession of the Havana was indispensably necessary, as a previous step. The strength of the place, and its capacious harbour, has caused it to be considered the key of Mexico; and though, perhaps, our occupation of it might not have facilitated the conquest of that extensive viceroyalty, it would, during a war, have rendered its possession at least useless to our enemy. As all the shipping from Mexico to Europe must necessarily pass between Cape Florida and Cape Antonio, and through the gulf of Florida, a naval force stationed at Havana would easily intercept the communication. Of the various attempts, which have passed before us, in this review, that on the Havana was the only one, which discovered much knowledge in the plan, or much talent in the execution, and it was accordingly successful so far as to injure the power, with

which we were at war, though it did not, and could not produce advantages, at all commensurate with the extent or the expense of the force employed in it. It, however, so impeded the arrival of the silver, to obtain which France had permitted the neutrality of Spain, that it was, perhaps, the principal cause of that inclination to peace which was soon manifested, and it thus became what all legitimate military operations ought to be, the cause and the means of peace.

During the wars, which arose from the revolt of our colonies, the British army was so fully occupied in the attempt to reduce them, that no force could be spared to annoy the Spanish dominions, which, on the contrary, made some successful attacks on our settlements in Florida and the Bahama islands. Two small expeditions were indeed equipped from Jamaica, probably by the sole authority of the local commanders, one of which, against Omoa, succeeded in obtaining considerable booty; and the other, towards the lake of Nicaragua, became a useless sacrifice of many valuable lives, in an attempt which, if it had met no obstruction, could only have terminated in disappointment. A project was indeed on foot to invade the province of Caraccas, which Colonel Fullarton was to have executed, but from peculiar circumstances, connected with the naval part of the operation, the force destined for that purpose was ultimately transferred to India.

The peculiar character, ultimately assumed by the war with revolutionary France, gave a natural direction to the minds of our British statesmen, and fixed their attention on those parts of the globe, to which the military force of our enemy could not be conveyed, and to which our superior naval force would always ensure us access. When all Europe was crouching beneath the yoke of the usurper of the throne of France, and the revolutionary fury was transferred from its native soil to that of its neighbours; when England was nearly, and was threatened totally to be, expelled from the European commonwealth, unless she could submit to receive laws from its dictator, it was natural and laudable in our ministers, to collect in distant countries, and to associate in our confederacy, those ancient elements of society, which France was attempting to decompose in Europe.

England was, at one period, driven to the necessity of preserving her means of existence, of prosperity, and of greatness, not by her influence on the continent of Europe, for Europe was extinct. France, revolutionary, military, immoral France, was the whole of Europe; and when the virtuous and the good, the Schills, and the Hofers, in any country, opposed her tyranny, they were treated by their oppressors, and their

own countrymen were compelled to speak of them, as rebels and traitors. — At this appalling period, we naturally looked to other countries for allies to join us in our contest, for commerce to support our prosperity, and for the education and employment of a race of sailors, on whom, in a state either of constant war, or doubtful and insecure peace, our very existence must have depended.

In our ancient colonies, the United States of America, the most turbulent demagogues had obtained the superiority; and though, from being in possession of power, they were little disposed to communicate to their fellow-colonies the kind of liberty by which they had raised themselves, there was no disposition to aid the friends of law, order, and religion, in Europe, against that tyranny, which had broken up republics, as well as monarchies, in its terrific march. It was natural, at that period, to turn the attention to those dominions founded by other European nations, in which a respect for ancient laws, rank, and property existed; and by separating them from their original founders, now become the slaves of the French emperor, to unite them in friendship with us, against the common enemy of the happiness of all countries.

The oppression of France drove the house of Braganza to South-America, where a government was established, and the foundations for future prosperity laid, in alliance with England, without any apprehension of being disturbed by the troubles of Europe, or of being subdued by the power, which might crush the country from which it emanated. Whilst an awful suspense was felt in England, and an inexpressible anxiety manifested, by all reflecting persons, as to our future condition, the settlements of Spain naturally attracted attention: our ministers, through the several changes which had taken place, were all equally impressed with the importance of those distant and interesting countries, and all projected measures to separate them from subdued Spain, and unite them, by some kind of tie, to this country. So strong was this disposition, that, at the time when Spain began to open her eyes to the evil spirit which tormented her, an operation for the purpose of separating her trans-atlantic dominions from European control, was preparing, under the direction of that great commander, who has since had the glory of assisting her efforts, directing her forces, and finally, of driving from her territory, the enemy of her happiness.

I have thus slightly noticed the various attempts, which have, at different periods of our history, been made to wrest from Spain, her colonies in America; and they demonstrate, most

clearly, not that a conquest of them was easily to be accomplished, not that the attempts were justifiable, either prudentially, or morally; not that England, or those settlements would have been benefitted by a transfer; but it shows, what was the prevailing opinion of our British statesmen, what was the ardent wish of our ministers, through all their successions, and all their changes, for a period of more than two hundred years.

We, however, have lived to see the period arrive, when the long-wished for object might have been easily accomplished, almost without hostility. By a covert and secret impulse, which nothing but a high sense of honour, a strong moral feeling, could have restrained us from giving, the object of the hereditary desires of all our statesmen, might have been easily achieved, and the Spanish colonies for ever separated from the parent state.

When the English colonies revolted from the country which founded them, and raised the standard of revolution, France, then at peace with England, eagerly fostered the spirit of insurrection, and, at last, involved herself, Spain, and Holland, in a war, to support the colonies. But England, when the settlements of Spain, driven most reluctantly, by the misconduct of the accidental and ephemeral governments of the peninsula, to shake off their allegiance, instead of availing herself of the weakness and folly, which had led to the rupture, instead of turning the events to favour her own supposed interests, and long-indulged wishes, greatly resolved to act the part of mediator, and, instead of drawing to herself their allegiance, attempted to direct it to its ancient and natural object.

It may not be improper here to remark, that the Central Junta, in the middle of the year 1809, by a decree, which declared the Americans not colonists, but subjects of the crown of Spain, equal, in all respects, to those in the mother-country, had given ground for the expectation, that the causes of their complaints would be speedily removed, and that they should be admitted to all those privileges, which the then supreme government had acknowledged to be their rights. The Americans, soothed and flattered by this decree, continued their exertions, in support of the peninsula, and the dominions, where gold and silver are procured, especially furnished, most liberally, to the government, those indispensable requisites for war. The junta, however, though they passed the declaratory decree, proceeded no farther; no steps were taken to give it effect, and one of those complaints, which had been the most loudly uttered, that all the offices in America, were filled, exclusively, with natives of Europe, was so far from being attended to, that the Junta
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not only filled every vacant office with their friends and dependants, but actually created many new offices, to provide for their Spanish relations, who were to be paid by the people of America. The monopoly which Spain had long enjoyed of her western settlements, was strictly enforced, and that which, when numerous ports in Spain were open to the colonists, was not, perhaps, a very great evil, became an enormous one, when only Cadiz, Corunna, and Malaga, were unoccupied by the armies of France.

In consequence of the dilatory, or delusive conduct of the central junta, the attachment of America to the cause of Spain was considerably relaxed, not that any disposition was felt to submit to, or to unite with France, but, disgusted with the measures of the government, and deprived of the glowing hope of speedy success, they were accessible to the intrigues of a few of the more violent, who, by exaggerating the oppressions of Spain, excited the wish of establishing republics, in alliance with England.

The dispersion of the central junta, at the beginning of the year 1810, and the formation of the regency, caused a kind of interregnum, during which no official information of the events, which occurred in the peninsula, was transmitted to America; and though the ports of Spain were all closed, in order that no loose rumours might reach the western world, yet as whatever took place was well known at Gibraltar, ships from that port had opportunities of disseminating through America the knowledge of the disasters of Spain, and the intelligence was accompanied with that kind of amplification, which generally attends the first circulation of disastrous news.

The Americans, without waiting for official communications, and perhaps scarcely expecting any, except from the French authorities, which, they supposed, solely ruled in the peninsula, were naturally thrown into a state of doubt, confusion, and even convulsion, and for a moment felt themselves without guide or system. In such moments, in every age and country, the most ardent, not the most prudent minds, will prevail; they did so in America, and before intelligence reached them, that a regency, acting in the name of Ferdinand VII., was established, and was recognised by the parts of Spain which still were free, by the army, the navy, and the allies, the province of Caraccas, the island of Cuba, and the viceroyalty of Buenos-Ayres, had created governments, opened their ports, and though acting in the name of their king, had, in reality, established forms of government for themselves.

The hasty proceedings in Caraccas and Buenos-Ayres could

not be immediately suspended upon the establishment of the regency, which convoked the extraordinary Cortes. That body, though so clamorous for liberty, never designed to establish any other system than their own overruling power, which they chose to designate by that epithet. As far as countries, which cannot come in contact with each other, can commit hostilities, war had commenced between Spain and the revolted colonies, which were naturally thrown under the guidance of the same party that had conducted them thus far towards declarations of independence, under the sanction of which they had assumed the attitude of independent states, and attempted to negotiate with the British government. As soon as the first movements in Caraccas were made known to the government of England, instead of fomenting the quarrel, and turning it to its own advantage, instructions were dispatched to General Layard, the nearest British officer, recommending, in forcible language, measures of conciliation; and in order to remove all jealousies on the part of Spain, a copy of the instructions given to General Layard was communicated to the regency. The material parts of these instructions I have extracted, to show the honour and fairness, with which we acted.

*Extract of a Letter from Lord Liverpool to General Layard,
June 29, 1810.*

“As long as the Spanish nation shall persevere in resistance to its invaders, and as long as there can remain hopes of a favourable issue to the cause of Spain, His Majesty thinks it his duty, in honour, justice, and with good faith, to oppose every kind of proceeding, which shall have a tendency to produce the least separation of the Spanish provinces of America from the European metropolis: for the integrity of the Spanish monarchy, founded on the principles of justice and true policy, is the object of His Majesty, as well as of all truly patriotic Spaniards.

“If, contrary to the earnest wishes of His Majesty, the case should occur, that the European dominions of Spain shall suffer the hard fate of being subdued by the common enemy, either by irresistible force, or by some compromise, which shall leave to Spain only the shadow of independence, (an event which, considering the constant energy and patriotism of the Spanish nation, His Majesty is far from considering as probable,) then His Majesty will feel compelled by the same principles, which have directed his conduct in the defence of the Spanish people during past years, to lend assistance to those American provinces which shall desire to render themselves independent of French-Spain,

to all the Spaniards who, refusing to submit to its oppression, shall look to America as a natural asylum, and to preserve the remains of the monarchy for the unfortunate sovereign, whenever he shall have recovered his freedom. His Majesty, in this declaration, explains the motives and principles of his conduct, and renounces all views of possessing himself of any territory, or any acquisition to his own dominions."

Though the precise line of conduct, by which it would be guided, was thus explicitly marked out by our government, and was urged on the consideration of the people of America, as well as on that of the rulers of Spain, no steps tending towards conciliation were taken by either party. The Spaniards, in opposition to the words of their own decree, insisted on exercising supreme power over the colonies, and the latter, urged on by the most violent of their demagogues, ran into all those excesses of popular frenzy, which their leaders had servilely copied from the proceedings of the first assembly of the French nation. The Americans at Caraccas, amidst all their violence, still solicited the friendship, and alliance of Great Britain. In reply to all their applications for assistance and protection, instead of encouraging that opposition, to which they must have been disposed, if they had not been influenced by feelings superior to those of mere selfish and grasping politicians, our ministers strongly urged reconciliation with the parent state, and at last, when solicited with repeated energy, undertook the delicate and difficult office of mediators between the rival Spaniards of the old and new world.

So greatly did the Cortes, then assembled in Cadiz, fear, either that the monopoly of that city, whose junta and mob influenced the assembly, would be affected by the negociation, or that the mediators, whom, amidst all the efforts made in their favour, it was their policy to represent as objects of suspicion, would gain some popularity, or some advantages which would lessen their authority, that, after long and violent debates, the mediation of England was rejected, by a considerable majority, though all the American members, except two, voted in the minority. At the time the mediation was rejected, the body who declined it was informed of the basis, on which the British government wished to proceed. It was founded on the declaratory decrees of the junta, and even of the Cortes; but like all speculative philosophers, and popular assemblages, who issue abstract propositions in the form of laws, they were unwilling to apply, practically, their own dogmas. The terms which the

British commissioners proposed, for the pacification of the Spanish colonies, and which the Cortes rejected, were—*

1st, The cessation of all hostilities and blockades, on both sides.

2d, Amnesty and oblivion, on the part of the government of Spain, for all acts committed against Spain, or against the authorities she had employed in the colonies.

3d, That all the rights of America, as before declared, should be confirmed by the Cortes; that there should be a complete and free representation of America immediately chosen, to sit and vote in the Cortes.

4th, That America should have freedom of commerce, but give a preference to Spaniards.

5th, That employments in America, whether viceroyships, governments, or others, should be conferred, indifferently, on Spaniards or Americans.

6th, That the interior governments of America, and the administration, in all its branches, should remain in the hands of the different cabildos, jointly with the governor of the province; that the members of the cabildos should be chosen by the people, and Spaniards, domiciled, be equally eligible with natives.

7th, That America, when represented in Cortes, and placed in possession of all its other rights, should acknowledge allegiance to, and obey, as their sovereign, Ferdinand the Seventh, and his successors.

8th, That America should acknowledge the sovereignty of the representation of Ferdinand the Seventh, which resides in the Cortes, when it is constituted with a due portion of American representation.

9th, That America shall maintain a regular and constant communication with the peninsula.

10th, That America should be bound to unite with the allies of Spain, to give greater effect to the efforts made to liberate it from the power of France.

11th, That America should be bound to send large supplies to the Peninsula, to support the war against France, the common enemy.

Had the Cortes permitted the negotiation to proceed, on the principles laid down in these articles, all of which, in theory, had been sanctioned by themselves, it is more than probable

* Not having immediate access to the English letter of Lord Liverpool, or to the original plan for pacification, I have been compelled to translate them from a Spanish translation; and, therefore, though the sense is preserved, the phraseology will, probably, differ from the originals.

that tranquillity would have been restored; that the lavish effusion of human blood would have been spared, and the devastations and ravages, which have disfigured the fairest portion of the globe, would have been avoided.

But the sword was drawn, and the scabbard abandoned; the most violent agitators directed the councils of both countries; and though, in succession, the leaders in America were sacrificed by others, more violent and blood-thirsty than themselves, yet passion and rage so filled the minds of all, that, at the release of their monarch from captivity, his authority could not be revived, nor even his voice heard, in some of the revolted provinces. But, though neither the mediation of England, nor the threats of Old Spain, were sufficient to restore tranquillity, yet the democratic spirit of the leaders of the insurrection, the alarms they excited, and the evils they inflicted, had disgusted many of their adherents, and weakened the spirit of resistance.

In the important viceroyalty of Peru, indeed, the party opposed to the revolutionists, always maintained their superiority; and it was almost the only part of America, which successively acknowledged the authority, and obeyed the orders of the Cortes, and of Ferdinand. Its greatest population, in the cities of Lima, Cusco, Arequipa, and Arica, gradually increasing in wealth, had felt but little interest in the squabbles of the Cortes, and therefore remained under its authority, which was very readily transferred to Ferdinand, on his restoration. The viceroy had remained without a change; and, though some of the turbulent spirits of the mixed casts attempted to intimidate him, they were kept in awe; or, when collected with insurrectionary intentions, were subdued, by the more reflecting part of the community.

The presidency of Chili had imbibed from the adjacent province, on hearing the news of the dispersion of the junta, the spirit of revolt. As is usual in such circumstances, the men of natural influence of character and of talents were set aside, and the men of enterprise, violence, and experiment took the lead: they succeeded, according to the usual routine. After a round of vagaries and of excesses, the real people were sickened with their energetic leaders, shook off their authority, and quietly returned to the order, tranquillity, and obedience, under which, with all its imperfections, they had gradually increased in wealth and population. Few countries have passed through the revolutionary ordeal with less durable mischief than Chili has retained.

The vice-royalty of Buenos-Ayres received first, by an English vessel from Gibraltar, the intelligence of the dispersion of the junta. The first commotion, in the city of that name, which is
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the capital of the province, was rather smothered than extinguished by the deposition of the governor, and the assumption of supreme power by a few individuals, who exercised it in the name of Ferdinand, till a representative assembly could be collected. The city of Monte-Video, and the northern part of the vice-royalty, at first appeared disposed to join with the capital; but a ship from Cadiz, bound to Manilla, happened to arrive, after a very quick passage, whilst the inhabitants were considering the communications made from Buenos-Ayres. This arrival announced that a stand was made in the Isle of Leon; that a regency was appointed and universally acknowledged; and that the people of Spain, instead of being depressed by the reverses they had sustained, rose in spirit in proportion to their disasters. This intelligence, equally loose and unauthentic with that which preceded it, influenced Monte-Video and the northern parts of the province to decline sending deputies to the capital; but, on the contrary, they intimated that it would be proper to wait till authenticated narratives of the events in the peninsula should arrive, before any steps should be taken that could compromise the allegiance which both parties professed to the government of Ferdinand.

The leaders in Buenos-Ayres had, however, taken their measures; they were enamoured of the supreme power they had assumed; and, in spite of the remonstrances of some, and the reluctance of other parts of the province, determined to enforce their authority by the formation of an army, and to keep up the agitation of the more ignorant part of the population of the capital, by inflammatory reports of plots, conspiracies, and insurrections.

Monte-Video in the north-east, and Potosi and Cochabamba in the north-west, were unwilling to yield to those who were obviously ruled by the mob of that capital, which they appeared to rule; and hence arose a civil war, in which, amidst various fluctuations in the success of each party, the best blood of the country was shed, the fairest portion of the province laid waste, and the wealth and happiness of all diminished. The contest has continued ever since, lessened indeed in its fury, from the losses which all have sustained, and from the disgust which the better part of the community have conceived at a contest, begun without any apparent motive, and conducted without any definite object.

The attack which Buenos-Ayres meditated on Chili, because it had returned to its allegiance, failed, partly because the naval force which was to have co-operated, under the command of an English adventurer, instead of attending to its instructions, turned

turned to the more gainful business of piracy, and after plundering indiscriminately friend and foe, deserted the service to secure its booty. Monte-Video, though captured, still retains in silence its allegiance to Spain, whilst the surrounding country is traversed by a banditti of horsemen, without infantry or artillery, under Artigas, who, like some of the independent chieftains of Indian armies, belongs to neither of the parties that have contended for superiority. He depends for supplies on a country most profusely abounding with animal food; and with horses to mount his men, he is able to elude pursuit by rapid movements, and supports a harassing warfare, not against the power, but the property of the contending parties.

Either by connivance or compact, the king of Brasil has marched an army to possess himself of the north side of the river Plate; the predatory force of Artigas has impeded its operations, and suspended it at Maldonado for a time; but from the nature of the force, and the dispositions of the inhabitants, who are exhausted by their sufferings, and only anxious for repose, they must occupy Monte-Video, and command the navigation of the river Plate.

The junta of Buenos-Ayres, created by the mob of the capital, and whilst there, deposed at its pleasure, or obedient to its changeable impulses, after frittering its resources, and disgusting the better part of its inhabitants, has removed to Tucuman. It is not easy to ascertain whether this removal has arisen from a wish to be nearer the mines of Potosi and La Paz, whose productions have been rapidly diminished under their government, but whose treasure is still too important to be allowed to escape their grasp, or whether it has arisen from fears for the personal safety of the individual members.

The capital, freed from the presence of the legislative body, has lately escaped the agitations and tumults, which were necessary to the existence of its power; its decrees issued from the new seat of government, are treated with neglect or contempt by the populace, which they once flattered, and in the quiet and tranquillity which has been returning, men of real character and influence have reassumed their rank in the Cabildo, and in all the municipal departments; and the municipal power in that city, which has much more influence than all the rest of the country subject to the junta, must preponderate. If the accounts, which have reached me, may be credited, those whose influence now prevails in the capital, are too anxious to return again to peace and tranquillity, to be very solicitous whether they are dispensed to them through the instrumentality of the Portuguese.

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or the Spaniards, though they would undoubtedly prefer the latter.

I have no doubt that the spirit of jacobinism is extinguished in the viceroyalty of Buenos-Ayres, among the greater part of the inhabitants, and that it has left them in an exhausted state, nearly destitute both of energy and power. This will soon reconcile them to a quiet obedience to any established government, whether Spanish or Portuguese, which shall exhibit a force sufficient to be a pretext for submission to it.

Obedience to a Spanish government will certainly be most acceptable to the inhabitants, who pride themselves on their origin, and condemn the Portuguese; on the other hand, a union with Brasil would be more beneficial to them, and more advantageous to Great-Britain, than a submission to Spain. By a union with Brasil, Buenos Ayres would become a component part of an independent empire, and would partake those advantages of free commerce, to which Brasil is indebted for the wonderful improvement it has attained, since the establishment of its government at Rio Janeiro. By submission to Spain it would probably become again subject to those rigid restrictions and monopolies, which it has been the mistaken policy of that, and other countries in Europe, to prescribe to their colonies.

If, after the capital and the inhabitants on the banks of the river Plate are restored to tranquil government, the pacification of the interior should not follow, numerous hordes of desultory warriors will easily find means to maintain themselves: and, without concert or superior authority, may long support themselves, in a harassing warfare, from the abundant resources which that country produces, and may intercept the communication between the mining districts and the river Plate; but, in that case, the produce of the mines, within the viceroyalty of Buenos-Ayres, instead of being transported to Europe from the river Plate, would be sent to the coast of Peru; and as the principal mines, those of Potosi, La Paz, and Oruro, are much nearer to Arica, and even to Lima, than to Buenos-Ayres, such transmission of their products, though across the Andes, would be attended with little inconvenience.

If we proceed northward, we find that the whole kingdom of New Granada has returned to its allegiance to Spain. On the first rumours of the disasters, in the beginning of the year 1810, the capital city of Santa Fée de Bogota, was convulsed by a revolutionary spirit, but it was of short duration; and though accompanied by some horrid cruelties, especially at Quito, Soccoro, and Popayan, the chief inhabitants of the country never totally lost their influence. When the events in the peninsula became

became known, and especially when Ferdinand was restored, the province gradually returned to its ancient habits of allegiance, with the exception of the city of Carthagena, the point of communication with Europe, which the troops of Spain were obliged to reduce by force, after the inhabitants had suffered every extremity of misery, from a handful of insurgents who composed the garrison; and who, to support themselves, had left the inhabitants to starve, and at last deserted them without making terms in their favour, whilst they escaped from the vengeance which was their due.

The province of Caraccas is the only part of South-America which now maintains hostilities with the mother-country, and it therefore requires some attention; its population did not exceed 800,000 of all casts and colours, according to the highest computation, and according to others, whose means of information were equal, did not exceed 600,000; of these, much the larger proportion were either Indians or negroes, among the latter of whom, there were more slaves than were found in the other continental dominions of Spain. With the exception of the native Indians, the great mass of the inhabitants may be considered either as slaves, or the masters of slaves, and those two descriptions much out-numbered the Indians.

The province of Caraccas, unlike the other dominions of Spain, (all of which have contributed annually large sums to the government in Europe,) has never raised within itself sufficient for the support of its administration; but money has been every year sent from Mexico to defray its charges.

The character of the inhabitants has been, for a long period, of the most turbulent description, and therefore a larger force has been kept there, than in the other colonies. Its tendency to tumult and insurrection had been frequently manifested, but was discovered more clearly in a rebellion, in 1797, when a plan was formed by the Creoles, with the assistance of the Indians, to massacre the Europeans, and confiscate their property. Being, however, prematurely developed, it was frustrated, but not without much confusion, and the loss of numerous lives.

It was to the combustible materials, of which Caraccas is composed, that the strange adventurer Miranda attempted to direct, in succession, the attention of all the powers of Europe; and to that province, when no European government had confidence in him, he directed one of the most wild and ill-fated expeditions, that ever followed the fortunes of a mad projector.

It is not extraordinary, then, that on the first rumour of disasters in Spain, such combustible materials should have produced an explosion. Without waiting for accurate intelligence from
Europe,

Europe, without considering any plan for maintaining tranquillity among the various and discordant classes scattered over a great extent of country, the mob of the capital, assuming the name of the people, deposed the governor, and collected an assembly, who were more easily convoked than obeyed. The revenues, as I before observed, had been insufficient in tranquil times to support the expenditure; and as they could not be increased by regular means, pretexts for confiscation were soon found, by feigning plots against the sovereign people, which involved the wealthy in the punishments of death and forfeiture, without proof, and without trial. As no enemy was at hand, an army was formed, not to defend themselves, but to attack those, who, after Caraccas had ceased to act in the name of Ferdinand, still retained that simple relic of allegiance.*

For upwards of six years, the province has been visited by all the evils which confusion, war, and bloodshed can produce; famine has followed their neglect of agriculture, and in addition to the evils which they have inflicted on themselves, they have suffered by earthquakes and pestilence, the summit of public misery. Spain has endeavoured to reclaim this most insignificant of its dominions, by a force which was worthy of a better enterprise, and which, where it has succeeded, has captured only a charnel-house. Like the negroes in the island of St. Domingo, the warriors of Caraccas have desolated their country, and vastly diminished their population; and though they may continue to resist the power of Spain, it must be by reducing still more the number of inhabitants, and bringing those who survive almost to a state of barbarism, under predatory leaders, who will retain their authority only by directing their hostility against their civilised neighbours. The system of the ancient Buccaneers is beginning to be revived on the southern banks of the Caribbean sea; and as the desperadoes from every part of the world may there find a refuge, many will doubtless resort to it, as a place from whence the commerce of the western world may be preyed upon, with success and temporary impunity.

* The pretended friends of liberty in Caraccas forbade the printing of any papers but their own gazettes, which were filled with the most gross falsehoods. The following is translated from their paper of 7th October, 1813: "The packet from England to Curassoa has brought the London Gazette of the 13th August, in which is the following news:

"The Archduke Charles has been nominated King of Spain by the congress at Prague, met there to treat of a continental peace, and will proceed to Madrid to be crowned, attended by 100,000 Austrian, and 300,000 French troops. France has concluded peace with all nations except England. Joseph Buonaparte is declared King of Portugal. The ambassadors of the United States of America were admitted to the congress of Prague, to which the English Ambassador was denied admission."

In the northern settlement of Spain, in the kingdom of Mexico, the insurrection became formidable, both from the extent of country which it covered, and from the numbers who were concerned in it. But as the city of Mexico, the seat of government, never joined in the project which was formed in the mining districts in Guanaxuto, in the vicinity of Guadalajara and St. Louis Potosi, the whole insurrection became desultory and ferocious, but scarcely ever assumed a consolidated form. Large bands of armed men, under the command of brave, if not instructed leaders, penetrated from the upper provinces, and, although repelled from the capital, possessed themselves of Xalapa and Pueblo de los Angeles, and thus intercepted the communication between Mexico and Vera Cruz, whence only supplies from Europe could arrive. The treasure destined to support the cause of Spain against the French invasion, was necessarily detained in the capital, or at Perote, till so large a quantity was collected, that it became sufficiently important to dispatch a numerous army to convoy it; and goods, and even letters, could only be transmitted from the Mexican capital to its single sea-port under the escort of a considerable armed force.

Notwithstanding this formidable appearance of hostility, the insurgents were incapable of attacking any fortified place with success. Their leaders could collect them in great numbers, for a short expedition, or a predatory excursion; but the numbers rapidly diminished when any distant or protracted enterprise was attempted.

The disunion among themselves led to the dispersion of the insurgents; the objects of their various leaders were frequently discordant, and always impracticable; a junta, or convention of the whole, never was collected; and the insurgents of one province, unacquainted with the plans of another, not unfrequently committed reciprocal acts of hostility. Notwithstanding this state of confusion, the success of the insurgents, at one period, was so great, that the whole of the western coast of Mexico, from Acapulco to Oxacca, was in their possession, and the entrance to Guatimala was open to their chief Morelos, who had defeated at Tixtla the king's army, under Fuentes, and captured the whole of its artillery, its baggage, and even its muskets, which, in the flight, were thrown away by the soldiers. It is impossible, without disgust, and even horror, to recur to the bloody scenes which Mexico exhibited during this tremendous conflict; and surprise must mingle itself with our other feelings, whenever we seek for the causes of the unnatural struggle. The insurgents, as well as the royalists, acknowledged the title of Ferdinand, and professed, and, I believe, meant to yield, obedience to him, or his

successors,

successors, if ever they should be liberated from the prison of Buonaparte: they did not indeed acknowledge the right of the Central Junta to confer on the Regency, or the Cortes, the power over America which they assumed, but they wished for such an internal government as should secure to those born in America rights, privileges, and power, equal to those enjoyed by the natives of Europe. They do not appear, by any documents I have seen, even to have demanded a free trade, as the inhabitants of Peru, of Chili, of Buenos Ayres, and Caraccas had done; though this probably arose from all the insurgents being resident in the western provinces, who having had but little intercourse with Europe, might not think freedom of commerce an object of sufficient importance to be worth a struggle.

In justice to the insurgents, I must also add, that in the midst of the most furious encounters of a civil war, a paper drawn up by Doctor Josef Maria Cos, one of the leaders, was transmitted to the viceroy, proposing an abatement of the atrocities, which had characterised the conduct of the war; that in future none should be the victims of war, but such as were found in arms; that prisoners should be made and exchanged, and the sick and wounded not put to death. The friends of the Viceroy state in his justification, that the insurgents, having murdered in cold blood some of the bearers of flags of truce, prevented him from hearkening to any application, made by those whom he deemed rebels. However these enormities originated, or to whomsoever they may be principally attributed, they were continued without diminution, during the whole of the contest.

Whilst we lament, for the sake of humanity, that such horrid scenes should have been acted, we must mitigate the severity of censure on the conduct of the insurgents, by stating, that they certainly suspected those who composed the Regency in Spain, as well as the governors sent to them, of a design to betray them into the power of Buonaparte; and hence almost all the inferior clergy joined the insurgents, and many of that body became their most active leaders.

The Cortes, when convoked in Spain, acted as impelled by the populace of Cadiz, whose monopoly of American commerce, was nearer their hearts, than the lives of millions of their fellow-subjects beyond the Atlantic. That body, with undue regard to the inhabitants of Cadiz, and total disregard of America, proclaimed liberty, equality, and the sovereignty of the people, but excluded from the benefit of their representative constitution, all those, who, in the most remote degree, had any mixture of African blood, an article which disfranchised more than half the population of America, to whom they pretended to extend the rights
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they so vauntingly professed to bestow. The troops, which had been sent from Spain, were exhausted, and their ranks thinned by the diseases of the country, and by the harassing nature of the conflicts they sustained; whilst those of the insurgents, if less injured by the climate, from being worse disciplined, became more tired with the war, as the rewards of plunder became less frequent. In this state, a scarcity in some places, a famine in others, though in the most fruitful regions of the world, was produced; it was followed by a pestilence, which continued the havoc the famine had begun, and it is not too high a calculation, to estimate the victims which were sacrificed to war, famine, and pestilence, at upwards of one million of human beings, or one-seventh of the population, in three years, in Mexico.

Amidst the sullen calm which this union of disasters created, whilst the dreadful work of death was suspended by an awful pause, the arrival of Ferdinand, in Spain, was announced at Mexico. As all the better parts of the inhabitants, that had joined the insurgents, had professed allegiance to his authority, and as his first proclamations, addressed to America, were in the language of condolence and conciliation, though peace was not restored, the armies almost disappeared, and the communications being somewhat opened, industry began to direct its efforts to the cultivation of the neglected soil, though the dilapidated mines have not yet been restored to their former activity.

Since that period, bands of armed robbers, the relics of the civil commotions, have traversed the country, and committed many enormities; yet they have not been enabled to collect in sufficient force to form an army, though they are too formidable to be wholly suppressed by the police, and the militia of Mexico. The rulers, whose cruel conduct in civil war, however it may be justified by opposing the atrocities of the insurgents, had created in Mexico a shuddering at the very mention of their names, have been recalled; and the mild, yet manly virtue of Apodaca, the present viceroy, so well known, and so highly respected in England, is, perhaps, the best security which an absolute monarch, like Ferdinand, can give to his distant and harassed subjects, for the equity and justice with which he intends to govern them.

W. J.

April 14th, 1817.

LETTER VI. (Translation.)

On the Correspondence of M. J. F. with Buonaparte, from the year 1802 to the year 1813.

To the Editor.

Sir,

THE activity, remarked in usurpers, is one of the qualities, with which the vulgar are most struck; a reflecting man considers it only as a necessary condition of their existence: they must be busy, or perish; such is the destiny, which they must fulfil. Those who slumber on the throne, are such as are born to it: this cannot be the case with individuals, whom fortune has momentarily raised to power, whether they have seized it in the midst of civil broils, or have regularly arrived at it, by the force of their genius. History also records, that all the ministers, who have left behind them a great name, were indefatigably active. Cardinal Richelieu rarely slept. Colbert was merely a great servant of the sovereign; for there could be no great minister under Louis XIV., who himself held the reins of government: and yet every one knows, that Colbert, in his last moments, complained that he had not even time to die.

The activity of Buonaparte astonished Europe. If we reflect on the circumstances, in which he was placed, we shall find, that this activity was exactly proportioned to the events, into the midst of which fortune had thrown him. Among the recollections of the monarchy of the Bourbons, and the active pretensions of the Republic, he had to attempt a government, whose principles might win over the royalists, while the advantages of it might sooth the republicans. The people, in their passion to rid themselves of some abuses, which oppressed them, had overthrown the administration: it was necessary to create it anew; to bring the nation again under the yoke of taxation; and, what was more difficult, to impose again those irksome formalities, which the collecting of the taxes requires. In his outward relations, he had, at once, to flatter the people, in order to prepare them for admiring his conquests, and to gain the good will of the kings, by the idea, that by restoring, in France, unity of power, he could not but establish, and strengthen, the thrones, which had been every where shaken by the popular doctrines. Fearing the ascendancy of a religion, which ages had connected with the legitimate monarchy, and yet convinced, that his interest required, that religious consciences should be tranquillized, and that there
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ought to be a predominating public doctrine, were it only to obviate the danger of secret doctrines, he had to maintain his influence among the priests, whom he dreaded, and among the philosophers of the age, who detested the priests, and only required him to show himself an atheist, in order proudly to yoke themselves to his car. Add to all these difficulties that very great one of satisfying and subduing the feelings of those, who had been his superiors, his equals, his rivals; and we must be sensible, that all his faculties must have been incessantly in exercise, and that the uncertainty of every succeeding day was sufficient to shorten every one of his nights.

One cause, which is but little known, increased the necessity of the incessant application, which was imposed upon him. Buonaparte possessed but little information. He did not know France, although he had been educated in it; and this ignorance was common to him with many other persons. Naturally presumptuous, and tormented, from his earliest youth, with the desire of being something, his passions, and the turn of his mind, had estranged him from those solid studies, and from those regular occupations, which produce knowledge, such as inparts certainty to our opinions, and gives even more firmness to our mind than brilliancy to our talents. The books, which censured all that was, and all that had been, (and there was no lack of these books in France, before the revolution,) must necessarily please him, because it is sooner done to declare, that men in past ages were fools, than to study the wisdom of those ages. But as he advanced to power, and as men and things presented themselves to his eyes, in all their truth, and as the decision of all affairs was thrust upon him, he lost much of his confidence in the doctrines of the philosophers, and, consequently, much of his contempt for the experience of ancient times. Yet, valuing truth only, in so far as he could turn it to account for securing his dominion, and having no longer time for any regular study, we may be permitted to conclude, that it was by way of an abridged course of instruction, that he then entered into correspondence with some men, and it is even said, also with some women, who had a reputation of being well informed, and possessing good sense and judgment, or merely great experience of the world: for he was as much interested in knowing the origin of an ancient etiquette, as the grounds of an ancient law, which is not at all surprising in a man, who wished at once to re-model the legislation, and to exhibit to Europe all the display of a brilliant court.

It has been matter of dispute, whether the title of *correspondence* could be given to a series of letters, required, and read

by him, to whom they are addressed, even where there were no answers on his part. This question originated in the jealousy, excited among the courtiers and placemen, by the correspondence which Buonaparte maintained, and especially by that, which lasted eleven years, and which ceased only at the will of him who wrote the letters. Perhaps there existed an intention of urging the author to some indiscretion; for, certain public transactions had made the world understand, that this correspondence was not entirely without reciprocity. It appears to me, that the term, *correspondence*, has obtained from time a positive acceptation. M. de Laharpe was never reproached for having given the title of Correspondence to the letters, which he was authorised to address to the Emperor of Russia, although that sovereign did not answer him, and indeed had nothing to answer, because the question related to French literature. These letters, which M. de Laharpe subsequently printed, under the title of Correspondence, form one of the most curious monuments of the history of our literature, at the end of the eighteenth century.

There is much less pleasure, than may be supposed, in the situation of being a correspondent with a man, at the head of a government; on whom all eyes are fixed, all hopes are centered, and who keeps in action the desires and wishes of those around him: but this situation is never a matter of choice. It cannot be thought, that a private individual, living aloof from public affairs, should go, and say to the man in power, "*Do you wish that I should write to you?*" This would be so stupid, and so improper, that it cannot even be supposed. And if that individual lived in the midst of business, most certainly the great man would not make choice of him, so as to give him the privilege of writing to him, on all the subjects that he might be pleased to treat of; he would be aware, that this would be giving too much influence to a man, if he were firm enough always to tell truth; or that it would expose him to the chance of receiving, from that man, only those truths, which were connected with the interests of his office. From these very plain observations, it must be concluded, that the choice of Buonaparte fell upon him, who was the object of it, like a flash of lightning; and that to hold no place, and to be known as not desiring any, constituted an additional recommendation for such a choice.

But the ambitious, and the courtiers, were not the less affected by alarm and jealousy; for a correspondence is certainly secret, in so far as no one knows what it contains; but its existence is never for a long time mysterious. That would be impossible, were it only, because it is carried on through intermediaries; and
because

because neither of the two persons interested has any motive for concealing it.

Its existence, being once known, and its contents being kept secret, it is to be expected, that every one will construe that correspondence according to his own character. The ambitious man will suppose, that it is aimed at the destruction of all those, whom the writer would supplant; the intriguer sees in it the means of ruining one person, and serving another; the covetous will affirm, that it is an expedient for draining the bounty of the patron: let all the passions, which prevail at courts, be surveyed, there will result, from them, as many various ways of explaining this correspondence; and each explanation, being the offspring of jealousy, and uneasiness, will assume the features of an accusation. The men in place will reciprocally entertain the idea, that this correspondence is serviceable to their rivals; that the author is on the side of their enemies; they will treat him with marked politeness, or with hatred, from notions utterly groundless; and, in reality, he will be on bad terms with all, if he is wise enough to belong to no one. But still this is nothing. In order to comprehend all that is embarrassing in this situation, it is necessary to recollect the suspicious and distrustful character of Buonaparte. He can endure the severest truth, if it be said only to himself, (and nothing was here promised, but truth and discretion;) but were he to believe, that this same truth, which he endures in the solitude of his cabinet, had been communicated to others, and that it was not the insulated thought of the writer; or were he to suspect, that it had been suggested to the writer by others, in order that it might thus be conveyed to Buonaparte, it would be difficult to conceive what would be his rage and his violence. I know not, whether this will be considered a hazardous conclusion; but I think that he, who for eleven years has maintained himself in that situation, proves that he had not desired it, and that he had successively experienced all its difficulties; for if there had been the slightest personal feeling of his own in what he wrote, he would have been ruined an hundred times. It was he, however, who had the honour of breaking off, by declaring, that it was necessary to be silent, when truth had no longer any attainable end. He was appointed prefect, and he set out immediately. His removal was the more agreeable to the ambitious, and to the courtiers, because they, with very good reason, looked upon him as an exile. In this respect, it may be said that all parties were satisfied: for he who retired, foresaw what was to happen; he wished, above all things, not to suffer for any faults but his own, in the catastrophe which was preparing, and of which the issue

might have been particularly dangerous to the capital, but for the noble and prudent conduct, which the sovereigns of Europe then observed.

As it is not yet known, how many different characters co-existed in Buonaparte, it will be difficult to believe that he could endure truth; the republicans will be least able to believe it, because they imagine that truth can only be told to those in power, in the way that our tragic poets, of the eighteenth century, contrive to have it told, on the stage, by their heroes of liberty; or, as your orators of public meetings have latterly presented it, in the petitions, which they addressed to your House of Commons. The love of truth does not exclude the notion of fitness and propriety. The author of the correspondence, of which I am speaking, judged rightly, in apprising Buonaparte that he should not address any letters to him personally, because it would have interfered with his ease and freedom, if he had always fancied the person, to whom he was writing, before him; but that he would convey notes to him, which should not directly be addressed to any one, and such as the author would draw up for his own use, if he were inclined to review the events which might strike him. It will be easily conceived, how agreeable this form must be to an independent mind, well enough acquainted with the practice of the world, and the irritability of self-love, to know, as Louis XIV. said to a Christian orator, who had designated him too clearly from the pulpit, that if those in power choose to take to themselves the truths, which are spoken before them, they do not, however, like to have them forced upon them. When they preached before Louis XIV., he knew that it was for him; when Buonaparte received a note, he knew that it was *for* him. Whatever there was, that generalised the application, was far from impairing the truth, and was only a stronger and more circumstantial way of telling it.

This correspondence has made too much noise to leave the author without any intention of printing it; as every one has arranged it according to his own conjecture and disposition, it is proper that it should appear, as it really is. Besides, no doubt has ever been entertained as to the principles, on which it was written, and this for a very plain reason, which is, that the author, at the same time, likewise wrote for the public, and his opinions being adverse to the Revolution, and never having varied, it cannot be supposed that he would have been such an idiot, as to write publicly in one manner, and secretly in another. That might, perhaps, have been the only means of putting a speedy termination to a correspondence, which wearied him. But who does not prefer toil to contempt? By toil must

be understood, the irksomeness of a difficult situation, which he had not wished for; for the author had subjected himself to no conditions; he was sometimes six weeks without writing; sometimes he composed several notes, in the course of one month: and as he drew the whole from his own reflections, he only wrote when he was so disposed. His merit in this correspondence, a merit which the public honourably acknowledges in his works, is to see the subject in all its different bearings.

You will, perhaps, feel gratified in giving your readers a specimen of this correspondence, which is connected with the history of the age. I am authorised to communicate to you the annexed note, leaving you to make whatever use of it you please.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F.

NOTE 141. (Addressed to Buonaparte.)

2d May 1811.

ONE of the characteristics of party-spirit is to exaggerate the danger of small matters, to hurry on those in power, and to precipitate all measures, so as to leave no time for reflection. This has taken place with respect to the discourse, which M. de Chateaubriant was to deliver, at the Institute, as successor to M. Chenier, a man of letters and a politician, and, besides, one of those, who voted for the death of Louis XVI. The public alone has preserved a strict impartiality in this affair. It depended upon me, whether I chose to know any thing of that discourse; but I avoided hearing it read, that I might not be involved in a quarrel, which it was easy to foresee, and which it was then necessary to know how to avoid, unless the supreme authority was determined to declare itself in favour of the great principles of morality, justice, and policy. I shall, therefore, speak of all this, only as the world has spoken of it.

The question is to know, whether it be, or be not, time to say publicly in France, that it is a crime to put kings to death? If it be not yet time, this proves, that we have not made great progress in our return to better principles; it proves, especially, that the interests of the Revolution are better maintained, than the interests of the throne. As to myself, I have never entertained a doubt of it; but it is not the less painful to impress the public with a similar conviction.

To induce the Emperor to interpose his authority, he was told, that he ought not to suffer literary societies to occupy themselves with politics. There is some truth in this observation. But it was necessary first to enquire, whether the Institute is a literary society, or a political and revolutionary association; next

it was necessary to enquire, whether academical discourses, which are to contain eulogies on Cardinal Richelieu, on Louis XIV., on the head of the government, are unconnected with politics; lastly, it was necessary to enquire, whether, on the death of Messrs. Sieyes, Merlin, Maret, Lacuée, Bigot, Regnault St. Jean d'Angely, those who shall succeed them will have to eulogise their literary labours, which are known to nobody, or their political achievements, which are very well known. Are those persons men of letters, or public men, united with the fraternity of the Institute? Of the examination of these questions, which are much more important than may be thought, the result would be, that the Institute is a revolutionary faction, which has always had the address to employ the sovereign authority, for the purpose of silencing those writers, who refuse to profess the doctrines adopted by the faction.

My opinion on this point has never varied. More than seven years ago, I called the Emperor's attention to the danger of this association. He was struck with the truth of my observations, and ordered a change in the regulations of the Institute. There was a semblance of obedience, but, in reality, things were suffered to remain as before; for the faction, which was always well served, soon perceived that the Emperor's will had, in this instance, been influenced, by an adviser, and that, if it were once eluded, he would not revert to the subject. Those who govern, should never deceive themselves in this particular; the men who approach them, being interested in knowing them, are never mistaken in distinguishing what proceeds from their own will, and that which flows from an idea suggested, and which is so foreign to their turn of mind, that it makes but a momentary impression. The ascendancy of the philosophers, for the last half of the eighteenth century, in every respect resembles that, which the bishops and monks acquired, at the beginning of our second dynasty, and of which the results, as they affected the Carlovingian family, are well known. Charlemagne committed a great fault in relying too much on the clergy; he should have gradually removed them from political affairs, precisely because they had been powerful enough to dispose of the crown. It is equally a fault to be too indulgent to the philosophers, who overthrew the monarchy of the Bourbons. If the Emperor had not done so much for them; if he had not appointed them to every office, and to the highest dignities, he would not now be reduced to the necessity of joining their party, against the public morals, and the inviolability of those who govern.

The late philosophers, who are become barons, counts, and dukes, who possess good houses and brilliant equipages, and
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are loaded with riches and honours, being afraid to compromise themselves, manifest every compliance with the wishes of the Emperor, and, at court, seem well enough inclined to make light of the opinions they formerly professed. But these opinions are still alive in their hearts, and to propagate them, they train up young philosophical fanatics, of whose reputation and fortune they take charge, and who will, should opportunity offer, one day, without mercy, begin again to throw France into disorder. This is not a conjecture; it is a truth so evident, that it appears to me inconceivable, it should not have frequently struck the Emperor. The present generation is growing up, without public morality, without knowing what is good, and what is evil; and France is so destitute of principles, that it is not even allowable to say, in 1811, that the assassination of the sovereign is the greatest of crimes, and the greatest of misfortunes, that can befall a nation. This would offend the doctrines of the monks of the Institute.

I know, better than any one, the pride, the disposition, and the projects of the philosophers: the Emperor fears them; and treats them with indulgence, because he thinks they contribute to his reputation. I myself despise them; and if they had not called power to their aid, I would have rendered them as supple, as they are now insolent. At the present day, talent is no longer on their side; 'it is wholly on the side of the moral and religious writers.* This circumstance should have been turned to account: young authors, who have their fortunes to make, would have come over to us; but the philosophers cried out; they denounced me; and the government had the weakness to come to their relief. Who knows so well as I do, how much it has repented of it? It is not from being displeased, or offended, as the Emperor believes, that I have been unwilling to recommence this contest; but because I am convinced that, when the government had once given it up, it was become for ever useless. The philosophers are as much convinced of this as myself. They are neither corrected, nor frightened out of the revolution; they find it a profitable trade, which produces large returns; they wait for new circumstances, and make no secret of their views. Meantime, they remain in coalition; and this is what renders them dangerous, even now. They unite themselves to power, as the monks united themselves to Charlemagne, that they might urge him to convert the Saxons, sword in hand; this erected new bishoprics, but they nevertheless deprived his son of the crown.

* This is still true in 1817. Within the chamber of Deputies, as well as without, talents are on the side of the party, which is for royalty, liberty, morality, order, and religion.

To any one who contemplates human transactions, without personal interest, it must be curious to see M. Regnault St. Jean d'Angely denounce M. Chateaubriant, and avow that the Institute ought to keep clear of politics; whilst the same M. Regnault causes to be announced officially, by the secretary of the council of state, to all the members of the council, the day on which the Institute holds its sittings. I confess that nothing to me is more ludicrous than to find, among the *projects* and reports sent to me, as a member of the council of state, a printed letter, by which the *secretary of the council of state has the honour to acquaint me, that the Institute will sit on such a day.* This is an honour quite lost upon me, for I never did, and never shall set foot in that assembly. Why does not the secretary of the council of state do me the honour to acquaint me also, that a good sermon will be preached, in one of the churches of Paris? I am sure, that would appear ridiculous, and the sole reason of its being so would be, that it has no relation whatever to the functions of the secretary of the council of state. Why should it not appear equally ridiculous in form, and more ridiculous in substance, that he should announce to me the sittings of the Institute? •

Is it not more extraordinary to see M. Regnault himself communicate, to the members of the Institute, projects submitted to the council, to cause to be printed, and distributed among the council, the opinions of the members of the Institute, on the excellent project of the minister of the interior, for diminishing the difficulties occasioned by the metrical system, in the weights and measures, used by the people. How is this! nothing must be said to any one, concerning the propositions submitted to the council of state, except to the sages and philosophers of the Institute; and those gentlemen are to have the right of interfering with the public administration, as the bishops and the monks interfered with them, under the second race of our kings. That nothing may be wanting to this comparison, M. Delambre causes to be printed "*what he can concede,*" touching a project, submitted to the council of state, which concerns only the public administration, adding, that his associates will blame him for the facility with which he makes concessions; just as the bishop of Ghent permitted Louis le Debonnaire to march his armies, during Lent, provided it was after the hour of the fast, declaring, at the same time, that his brethren would blame him for his condescension. O human folly! canst thou do nothing but vary thy form? O France, is it for ever thy fate to be misled by opinion? and will Heaven always deny to those, who govern thee, counsellors sufficiently firm and superior to vanity, to repel, according to the circumstances of the age, the ambitious pretensions

sions of monks and philosophers? M. Regnault believes, he has a mind above all prejudice, because he has not the prejudices of the ninth century; and when the minister of the interior proposes the project of a decree to diminish the evil, occasioned by the men of science, in forcing the habits of the people; when the Emperor approves this project; M. Regnault goes to consult men of science, and by their decision thwarts the deliberations of the government. The fact is quite singular, but such are, in all ages, the features of a double character. Here is a president of the section of the interior, here is a minister of state; but being a member of the Institute, he imbibes the spirit of that body. Another belongs to the literary class, because he has been an orator of the tribune; who knows whether, out of complacency to those gentlemen, the same person will not become a member of the class of sciences? Was it not thus, that, under the second race of our kings, the ambitious man turned monk, in order to become a statesman, whilst the statesman turned priest in order to obtain power, independent of that which he held from his sovereign. To belong to a public body, which considers itself as the regulator of public opinion, is a speculation which ambition has made, and will make use of, in all ages. It is for the government to decide, whether it ought to allow men in office to enter into speculations, under which more ingratitude may be hid, than is to be supposed, and where fooleries serve as a cloak to cunning.

The outcries of the sect against M. Chateaubriant's speech were so violent, that the Emperor was stunned with them; by expressing his sentiments too soon, he lost a fine opportunity of introducing a proper reform into the Institute. He should have allowed the speech to be delivered, and next day have seemed offended that politics should be spoken of in a literary society; he should have proceeded to oblige men in office to make their election between literature and public employment; the society should have been deprived of its title of Institute; the dangerous association of classes should have been broken; the French Academy, the Academy of Sciences, and the Academy of *Belles Lettres* revived, and placed on their former footing; and a declaration made, that the state would sanction no costume, except for public officers; and the distinctions of mind, not coming under the description of office, the members of no academy in France should be permitted to wear a particular dress. The speech of M. de Chateaubriant might then have answered some purpose. The more one reflects on this subject, the more one is convinced, that the Institute is a revolutionary association, and not an assembly of men of science and letters. Indeed, what country was there, before the Revolution, in which scientific and literary

literary bodies were distinguished by a particular costume? And when it is considered, that this was adopted at the very time, when the ecclesiastics were not allowed a distinguishing mode of dress, because it was alleged, that, they were not public functionaries, it is readily seen, what were, and what still are, the pretensions of the Institute.

We should render M. de Chateaubriant the justice which he merits; he conducted himself very well in this affair. His only fault was, allowing himself to be drawn in as a member of the Institute; and forgetting that, whenever a disposition is shown of finding respectable men to fill up the revolutionary bodies, a snare is laid for their good faith; and the secret intention always is, to try whether eminent talents, or a distinguished character, will acquiesce in being degraded. Conquests of this kind add strength to the sect, and discourage virtue. But, after all, as things were so managed, that M. de Chateaubriant must necessarily pronounce an eulogy on the regicide Chénier, what could he be expected to do? The crime is so great, so recent, so public, that if the orator had been silent respecting this terrible epoch in the life of Chénier, it would be the only point, which the public would have remarked in his speech; the crime would have been not the less stigmatized; and M. de Chateaubriant must have lost much of the respect, which he had acquired. All that those criminals can do, will be in vain; there never will be any solemn occasion, which will not be a judgment for them; the moment these feelings should cease, the world would be lost; for morals, justice, and truth would be no more.

Is an undeniable proof wanting to this assertion? By rejecting the speech of M. de Chateaubriant, by contriving that it should not be pronounced, when the public expected it, an affront was offered to the orator, which is unexampled in the history of learned societies. Suppose the speech to be contrary to the morals, and to the politics of the world, the affront would have a real foundation. If public opinion has vindicated M. de Chateaubriant, if the conduct of the Institute toward him has added to the glory of the writer, the reason is, that it was generally known that his speech was rejected, solely because it stigmatised that crime. On that occasion, as well as on every other, where it was possible, all France disclaimed the assassination of Louis XVI.: and certainly there must be something, in the policy of the imperial government, which I cannot understand, that should induce it, of its own accord, in this instance, to interest itself for the honour of the regicides, against the opinion of the country. I very well conceive, that some men in that government may have dreaded the application, but it is precisely

precisely for that reason, that the opportunity should have been seized for making them feel, that they ought to cease to form part of a literary body, so singularly organised, that it is impossible for a member to die, and to escape a public eulogy. The public eulogy of a man, who has killed a king ! Yet we talk of the fury of the League, and the fanaticism of that period of our history ! I have never heard that, eighteen years after the assassination of HENRY IV., any fanatical body, (since that is the expression,) pronounced an *éloge* on RAVAILLAC.

LETTER VII.

On the Hamlet of Ducis, compared with that of Shakspeare.

To M. De St. M——.

My dear Sir,

TO you, who are so well versed in English literature, it is unnecessary to state, with what enthusiastic admiration SHAKSPEARE is contemplated by his countrymen, of the present day. I shall not enter on so vain an attempt, as to justify to French taste the extraordinary honours, which we lavish on our dramatist : still less shall I pretend to assert the superiority of English taste over that of France. There are points, on which nations may differ for ages, yet differ amicably : and this is probably one ; but you tell me, that Shakspeare has been tried on your stage, and though aided by the genius of one of your first modern poets, has failed, not indeed to attract attention, but to secure any high degree of admiration. Far be it from me to detract from the merit of M. Ducis ! a poet so warmly, and so deservedly eulogised by a man of the genius of M. DESEZE, must himself have possessed genius of the highest order : and, in truth, I have perused his works with great delight ; but when I come to compare them with those of Shakspeare, I find differences, which it is extremely essential to notice. The HAMLET of Ducis, for instance, is not the Hamlet of Shakspeare. It may, if you please, be equally striking and poetical ; it may be more simple ; it may be better adapted to the French stage ; but it does not afford your countrymen any fair criterion of Shakspeare's powers, as a dramatist.

It is a very general, but a very mistaken idea, that Shakspeare's chief characteristic is force : on the contrary, though he has, with wonderful flexibility of mind, portrayed almost every striking feature of the human character, yet his great art, or, I should

should rather say, the natural and irresistible turn of his own mind, was to infuse a harmonising gentleness into every character, that would admit it. Thus Hamlet, the *Prince* (and not the King) of Denmark, bears, throughout every scene of the play, most evident marks of a temper, naturally sweet, mild, and inclined to every thing that is amiable. The play forms the developement of such a character, tinted, as it were, with a native hue of constitutional meditateness, which has sickened into melancholy, from the occurrences it has witnessed — occurrences peculiarly painful to a delicate mind — the sudden death of a beloved father — the hasty, strange, and unnatural alliance of his mother, with her deceased husband's brother — and that brother, a person calculated, both in mind and body, to inspire any thing but love and respect. The play, I say, puts this most interesting, and most poetically imagined character into action, by an event within the limits of imagination in all ages, and of very general belief in the age, wherein Shakspeare lived. The supernatural appearance of a disembodied spirit, always awful, becomes invested with tenfold horror, and

————— “ shakes our disposition

With thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls,”

when that spirit is believed to be a King, a Father, whose canonised bones, hearsed in death, have burst their cerements, to call for the revenge of a foul and most unnatural murder. The first feeling of the son is, that he will sweep to his revenge

——— “ with wings, as swift

As meditation or the thoughts of love.”

But when the apparition is no longer before him, he begins to fall into that hesitating state of mind, which his natural temperament, and the obscure terrors of the event, must necessarily have produced. The belief in ghosts was always a doubting and shrinking belief. There was no touchstone of the spiritual reality. It must always have occurred to a reflecting mind, as it does to Hamlet, that

——— “ the spirit, that I have seen,

May be a Devil : and the Devil hath power

To assume a pleasing shape ; yea, and perhaps,

Out of my weakness, and my melancholy,

(As he is very potent with such spirits)

Abuses me to damn me.”

This waving, and alternate tide of sentiment is peculiarly suited to the interest of the drama. The truly great dramatic poet is he, who shows the toils and struggles of the human mind, amidst its conflicting elements. Such a poet is Shakspeare : and such he eminently shown himself, in the play of Hamlet ; for, as

I said

I said before, that play is principally to be regarded, as the developement of a single character, to which all the rest are merely subsidiary.

M. Ducis, on the contrary, appears to have constructed his tragedy more with a view to the fable, than to the characters: accordingly, the latter are more exactly balanced. *Hamlet*, placed on the throne of Denmark, loses in poetic interest what he gains in rank: whilst *Claudius*, reduced from the station of king, which he occupies on the English stage, to that of first prince of the blood, necessarily performs a much more important part in the progress of the piece. *Ophelia*, the object of Hamlet's love, being made the daughter of Claudius, also becomes of more importance, in a dramatic point of view. In order to explain my ideas of the total change, which the play undergoes, in its effect and character, from these alterations; and at the same time to prove to you, that I have been neither inattentive to *M. Ducis's* production, nor insensible of its merits, I will carefully trace it throughout, with such remarks as occur to me on the different passages. I say nothing of the necessary variations, effected by placing the scene immutably at Elsinour, and by excluding from the dramatis personæ all the characters of a comic cast; because these two circumstances are necessary submissions to the French taste, and without them the piece could not have appeared on the French stage. I am not so sure, that it was absolutely necessary to give Hamlet, Claudius, and Gertrude each a separate confidant. By these means the audience, indeed, are informed of many particulars, which the delicacy of your taste will not permit to be represented on the stage: but you know the old observation —

“ Segniùs irritant animos demissa per aurem,
Quàm quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, et quæ
Ipse sibi tradit spectator.” —

At the very opening of the play, we have an instance of the improbability to which this sort of poetical artifice gives rise. The scene opens with a conversation between Claudius and Polonius (who, as you know, is a very different character from the Polonius of Shakspeare) — and in the course of it, the former confides to his friend much that the latter must surely have known before:

“ Oui,* cher Polonius, tout mon parti n'aspire
En détrônant Hamlet, qu'à m'assurer l'empire.”

* Translation: Yes, my Polonius, the sole view of my party is by the dethronement of Hamlet to insure me the empire.

I would not, however, be understood to be in the least insensible to the poetical beauties, with which this dialogue is interspersed. The omens, which accompanied the death of Hamlet's Father, are beautifully amplified, from a similar passage in our poet's first scene :

" As stars with trains of fire and dews of blood,
Disasters in the sun," &c.

Thus splendidly imitated by M. Ducis :

" Le ciel,* parlant soudain par la voix des orages,
Etonna les esprits, et glaça les courages.
On eut dit que les vents, que les mers en courroux
A son dernier soupir s'élevaient contre nous.
Je leur rappelle alors la tempête effroyable
Qui signala du roi le trépas mémorable ;
Je leur peins l'océan prêt à franchir ses bords,
Ses gouffres entrouverts jusqu'au séjour des morts —
Nos mers s'enveloppant de ténèbres profondes,
La foudre à longs sillons éclatant sur les ondes —
Dans le détroit du Sund nos vaisseaux submergés —
Nos villes en tumulte, et nos champs ravagés —
Chez les Danois tremblans la terreur repandue,
Ceux-ci croyant des dieux voir la main suspendue,
Ceux-là s'imaginant voir l'ombre de leur roi,
Fuyant avec des cris, ou glacés par l'effroi,
Comme si des enfers forçant la voute obscure,
Ce spectre à main armée effrayait la nature,
Ou que les dieux, pour lui troublant les élémens,
Eussent du monde entier brisé les fondemens."

But I proceed with the narrative of the play. — Claudius describes his artifices to injure Hamlet in the eyes of the people; which he carries ultimately so far, as to cause the melancholy, in which Hamlet is absorbed, to be ascribed to remorse for

* Translation : — Heaven, speaking on a sudden by the voice of the tempest, astonished all minds, and chilled all hearts. It appeared that the angry winds and waves arose against us, as he heaved his last sigh. I then recalled to them the dreadful tempest which signalised the memorable decease of the king. I represented to them the ocean, ready to burst its boundaries, its gulfs yawning to the habitations of the shades — our seas shrouded with profound darkness, the lightning bursting in long flashes on their waves — our vessels foundered in the straits of the Sound, our cities in tumult, and our plains laid waste — the trembling Danes overwhelmed by terror, some thinking they saw the impending hand of Heaven, others the shade of their departed king — these frozen with terror, those flying with shrieks, as if this armed spectre, bursting the caverns of Tartarus, had terrified nature herself ; or that the gods, vexing the elements on his account, had rent the solid foundations of the universe.

having murdered his own father ; but of whose death Claudius himself and the queen were the infamous perpetrators, he taking advantage of the illicit attachment of the queen to himself, to prevail on her to administer a poisoned cup to her husband on his sick bed. She, however, is touched with remorse, and refuses her hand to Claudius, whilst she gives directions, that the coronation of her son should be expedited. I will extract this portion of her speech to Claudius, in the first act :

“ Vous * savez à quel prix j’ai cru vous acquérir ;
Le crime est assez grand pour nous en souvenir :
Toujours depuis ce temps, son horreur retracée,
Ainsi qu’un songe affreux, a rempli ma pensée :
Car ne presumez pas que, brulant à mon tour,
Je me sois occupée d’hymen ou d’amour.
Périssent de nos feux la mémoire funeste ;
Seul bien des criminels, le repentir nous reste ;
Il en est temps encor ; fléchissons ; croyez moi,
Sous l’ascendant sacré d’un légitime effroi,
Du pouvoir qui nous parle il est l’organe auguste.
Je tremble, j’en fais gloire ; et sans doute il est juste,
Que le ciel, qui nous met au dessus de nos lois,
Arme au moins le remords pour se venger des rois.”

Let us turn to Shakspeare. — We find the first act † of his play to commence in the “ dead waste and middle of the night,” with a “ *Que vive ?*” — “ Who’s there ?” — between Francisco and Bernardo, on duty, on the ramparts of the castle of Elsinour. Marcellus and Horatio the rivals (partners) of their watch, enter, and the story of the “ dreaded” sight, twice seen by Bernardo and Marcellus, is recounted. How awfully are they interrupted by the appearance of the ghost in “ complete steel.” The relation of this to Hamlet, his perturbation, and anxiety himself to see it ; his interview with the spectre, with all its circumstances of terrific grandeur, of which not even the personification of the

* Translation : — You know at what a price I thought to gain you ; the crime is great enough for our remembrance. Ever since, like a frightful dream, the horror of its recollection has absorbed my thoughts. For think not, that I have in my turn burnt with love, or cherished the idea of marriage. Withered be the fatal memory of our passion ; repentance, the last good of the guilty, is left us. Let us yield to the sacred influence of a just terror ; believe me, we are yet in time. It is the august organ of the power, which reproaches us. I am proud to tremble ; for doubtless it is just, that heaven, which places us above our own laws, should arm at least remorse for the punishment of kings.

† In speaking of the division of Shakspeare’s plays into acts, it must be remembered, that these divisions were arbitrarily made by the players, but the plays were originally written, as Johnson observes, in one “ unbroken continuity.”

ghost by a creature of flesh and blood can deprive it, are incidents which the French rules would not admit; consequently the merit of M. Ducis' first act is left to rest on passages of poetical description, instead of the representation of the passions, which such extraordinary situations must call forth.

The second act commences with the disclosure, which the queen makes to Elvira, of the circumstances of her husband's murder, in terms not deficient of energy, but which place her in a light totally different from that, in which she is painted by Shakspeare.

——— “ Le * cœur des mortels n'est point fait pour le crime ;
 Et dès qu'il est coupable, il n'a pour se juger
 Qu'à descendre en lui-même, et qu'à s'interroger.
 Tu t'en souviens encore, tranquille et sans alarmes,
 D'un hymen vertueux je goûtais tous les charmes,
 Je devois tous fuir ; je revis mon vainqueur ;
 Claudius dès l'instant regna seul dans mon cœur.
 Dans ce palais bientôt eclata sa disgrâce ;
 D'un reste de devoir le dépit prit la place ;
 Je plaignis mon amant, j'approuvai son courroux,
 Je crus pouvoir sans crime abhorrer mon époux.
 Eh quoi ! me suis-je dit, sa cruelle prudence
 Va sur ce que j'aime achever sa vengeance.
 Pour prévenir ce coup, tout me paroit permis.
 Le Roi dans ces momens, à mes soins seuls remis,
 Empruntait le secours de ces puissants breuvages,
 Dont un art bienfaisant montra les avantages.
 Habile à m'aveugler, mon complice inhumain
 D'une coupe perfide arma ma foible main.

Hélas, depuis l'instant, qui me fit parricide,
 J'ai toujours devant moi vu la coupe homicide.
 Elvire, eh ! quel bonheur puis-je encore espérer,
 Quand mon fils sous mes yeux est tout près d'expirer ;

Plus

* Translation : — The human heart was not formed for crime ! when it becomes guilty, it has but to look into and interrogate itself. You still remember, in what tranquillity I enjoyed the pleasures of a virtuous union. I should have avoided every temptation ; but I saw my conqueror again, and Claudius from that moment took possession of my heart. His disgrace at court soon became public ; duty gave way to indignation : I pitied my lover, I approved his anger, and thought, I could despise my husband, without being guilty of a crime. What, said I, shall he, from motives of severe policy, make him I love the object of his vengeance ? To prevent this, every thing seemed to be allowed me. The King, at that time, intrusting himself solely to my care, sought relief from those powerful potions, which are recommended by a healing art. Skilful in blinding me, my inhuman accomplice placed a treacherous cup in my powerless hand. * * * * * Alas ! from the moment I became a parricide,

Plus d'époux, plus de fils, de mon hymen funeste,
L'horreur d'un parricide est le fruit qui me reste ;
Et la nature, exprès pour mieux percer mon cœur,
Jusqu'en mon propre sein s'est cherché son vengeur."

With a similar strength of character, the queen thus rejects the idea of uniting herself to Claudius :

—— " Nous,* grands dieux ! que l'hymen nous unisse †
Que du soleil pour moi le flambeau s'obscurcisse,
Avant qu'un nœud si saint puisse assembler jamais
Deux cœurs infortunés, unis par leur forfaits !"

Hamlet is now introduced : I need not say how much more violent is his grief than as drawn by Shakspeare ; for he is described as incessantly haunted by the spectre, urging him to revenge. Voltimand thus cautions Hamlet's friend, Norcestes, of his approach :

" N'avancez† pas, seigneur : le prince furieux
De ses cris effroyans fait retentir les lieux ;
Jamais dans ses transports il ne fut plus terrible ;
On diroit, que d'un dieu la vengeance invisible
Pour quelque grand forfait l'accable et le poursuit.
Dans quel trouble mortel l'ai-je vu cette nuit !
Mes bras l'ont arrêté, fuyant dans les ténèbres,
Tremblant, pâle, égaré, poussant des cris funèbres.
Dans l'état déplorable, où le destin l'a mis,
Son œil peut-il encor distinguer ses amis ?"

*Hamlet rushes on, thus addressing the spectre, which is visible to him alone :

—— " Fuis,‡ spectre épouvantable !
Porte au fond des tombeaux ton aspect redoutable !"

ricide, the murderous cup has been ever in my sight. Oh, Elvira, what happiness have I to expect, when I see my son ready to expire before my eyes ! Bereft of husband, of son, the only fruit of my fatal marriage which remains, is the guilty horror of parricide ; and nature, that she may the more effectually rive my heart, has sought her avenger even in my own bosom.

* Translation : —Heavens ! Hymen unite us ! Sooner for me be the light of the sun extinguished, than so holy a bond should unite two wretched hearts, assimilated by their crimes.

† Translation : —Do not advance, Sir ; these walls re-echo with the fearful cries of the prince : never did I see him more terrible in his transports. One would imagine, the vengeance of some invisible power pursued and overwhelmed him, for some great crime. In what mortal distress have I seen him this night ! These arms have arrested him ranging in the dark, trembling, pale, bewildered, uttering funeral shrieks. Can he recognise his friends, in the deplorable state, in which his destiny has placed him ?

‡ Translation : —Fly, terrible spectre ! Carry thy dreadful aspect to the bosom of the grave !

" Avaunt, and quit my sight. Let the earth hide thee ! " —MACBETH.

—— “ Eh* quoy ! vous ne le voyez pas ?
 Il vole sur ma tête, il s'attache à mes pas ! —
 Je me meurs.”

He turns, perhaps somewhat too easily, from this supernatural attendant, to converse with his friend Norcestes. The following passage has a similarity with one in Shakspeare :

“ Il† n'est plus ! et sa cendre à peine est recueillie,
 Que son trépas s'efface, et que son nom s'oublie.
 Lasse d'un deuil trop long qui gênait ses desirs,
 Je vois déjà ma cour revoler aux plaisirs,
 Et moi dans ce palais, l'œil fixé sur la terre,
 Je cherche encor les pas de mon malheureux père.”

To his friend he thus describes the appearance of the ghost, which is by these means thrown into relation :

“ Deux‡ fois dans mon sommeil, ami, j'ai vu mon père,
 Non pas le bras levé, respirant la colère ;
 Mais desolé, mais pâle, et dévorant des pleurs,
 Qu'arrachait de ses yeux l'excès de ses douleurs.
 J'ai voulu lui parler : plein de l'horreur profonde,
 Qu'inspirait à mon cœur l'effroi d'un autre monde,
 Quel est ton sort ? lui dis-je ; apprends moi quel tableau
 S'offre à l'homme étonné dans ce monde nouveau ?
 Croirai-je de ces dieux, que la main protectrice
 Par d'éternels tourmens sur nous s'appesantisse ? —
 Oh, mon fils, m'a-t-il dit, ne m'interroge pas ;
 Ces leçons du cercueil, ces secrets du trépas,
 Aux profanes mortels doivent être invisibles.
 Que du ciel sur les rois les arrêts son terribles !
 Ah, s'il me permettrait cet horrible entretien,
 La pâleur de mon front passerait sur le tien.”

Nos

* Translation : — What ! do you not see him ? He hovers o'er my head, he follows my steps—I die.

† Translation : — He is gone ! and his ashes are hardly collected, when his death is effaced, and his name forgotten. Already my court hasten back to their pleasures, tired with a mourning too long for their desires, whilst I in this palace, my eyes fixed on the ground, still seek the path my unfortunate father has taken.

‡ Translation : — Twice in my slumbers, friend, have I seen my father ; not with upraised arm, denouncing his anger, but wasted and pale, stifling the tears, which the excess of his grief appeared to force from his eyes. I wished to speak to him : filled with the awful dread, with which another world inspired me — What is thy fate ? said I — tell me what scene is offered to the wondering eyes of mortals in the other world ? Can I believe, that the protecting hand of the gods will load us with eternal torments ? Oh, my son, he replied, question me not ; these lessons of the grave, these secrets of death, must be inexplicable to profane mortals. How dreadful are the decrees of heaven upon kings ! Ah, if this terrible discourse were permitted me, the paleness of my countenance would

Nos mains se sécheroient en touchant la couronne,
Si nous savions, mon fils, à quel titre il la donne ;
Vivant, du rang suprême on sent mal le fardeau,
Mais qu'un sceptre est pesant quand on entre au tombeau.
Oh, m'écriai-je, ombre chère et terrible,
Pourquoi des bords muets de ce monde invisible,
Confident des tombeaux, viens-tu m'entretenir,
Moi, qu'avec toi bientôt mes douleurs vont unir ?
Ne laisse point sortir de tes lèvres glacées
Ces hauts secrets des dieux, qui troublent nos pensées.
Hélas ! pour t'obéir ai-je assez de vertu ?
Je t'écoute en tremblant : réponds que veux-tu ? —
Oh, mon fils, m'a-t-il dit, je viens enfin t'apprendre,
Quel sang tu dois verser pour apaiser ma cendre.
On croit qu'un mal cruel trancha soudain mes jours ;
Ainsi les noirs complots sont voilés dans les cours.
Ta mère — qui l'eut dit ? — oui, ta mère perfide
Osa me présenter un poison parricide ;
L'infame Claudius, du crime instigateur,
Fut de ma mort sur tout le complice et l'auteur. —
Il dit, et disparaît. —
Je resistai long-temps. Ce ciel que je révère,
A vu, si sans frémir j'osai juger ma mère.”
Sans cesse à l'excuser, mon cœur ingénieux
Trouvait quelque plaisir à démentir les dieux.
Mais cette nuit enfin revenu plus terrible : —
Mon fils, m'a dit le spectre, es-tu donc insensible ?
Aux douceurs du sommeil ton œil a pu céder,
Et ton père en ces lieux est encore à venger !

Prends

would be transferred to thine. Knew we on what terms a crown is conferred, our hand would wither at its touch: the burden of supreme rank is imperfectly felt by us, when alive, but how heavy is a sceptre, when we enter the tomb ! Oh, I exclaimed, dear and awful shade, wherefore dost thou quit the silent confines of that invisible world, charged with the secrets of the tomb, to converse with me — with me, whom grief will soon unite to you ? Let not the solemn secrets of the gods, which perplex our souls, escape from thy frozen lips. Alas, have I virtue enough to obey your will ? Trembling I listen ; answer, what is your will ? Oh, my son, he replied, I come to instruct you, what blood you must shed to appease my manes. 'Tis thought, that a malignant disease cut short my thread of life : thus are dark conspiracies shrouded in courts. Thy mother — wouldst thou think it ? — yes, thy treacherous mother dared, with parricidal hand, to administer to me poison, the infamous Claudius being the chief instigator of the crime, the accomplice and author of my murder ! — He spoke, and vanished. — Long I resisted belief : heaven, which I revere, can judge, if I dared, without shuddering, suspect my mother. My mind, continually inventing excuses for her, found even pleasure in distrusting the gods ; but this night returned, still more terrible. — Son, said the spectre, art thou then insensible ? can thy eye-lids yield to the delights of slumber, and thy father remain here, unrevenged ? Seize a dagger — take

Prends un poignard ; prends l'urne où ma cendre repose ;
 Par des pleurs impuissans suffit-il qu'on l'arrose ?
 Tire la de sa tombe, et, courant m'appaiser,
 Frappe ! et, fumante encor, reviens l'y déposer. —
 Je m'éveille à ces cris. Hélas, mon cher Norceste —
 Je me suis élancé hors de mon lit funeste ;
 Plein de l'objet affreux qui troublait mes esprits,
 J'ai rempli ce palais d'épouvantables cris.
 J'ai couru tout tremblant, foible, éperdu, sans suite ;
 Le spectre à mes côtés semblait presser ma fuite ;
 Cette ombre, ces forfaits, ce récit plein d'horreur,
 Dans mon cœur expirant jette encor la terreur."

It is easy to recognise, in these lines, many which are imitative of, and some which are translated from, Shakspeare. I have quoted largely ; but I think I could not, in justice to M. Ducis, quote less.

The indecision of Hamlet, to revenge his father, which, in the English play, is ascribed to his doubt, whether the enemy of mankind may not be practising on his senses, is differently accounted for by Ducis : the caution of the ghost against parricide is somewhat injudiciously omitted* ; and Hamlet is left to a contest of natural duties and affections, with a supernatural injunction to become the instrument of divine justice. Hamlet determines to withdraw the urn, containing the ashes of his father, from the tomb, as the spectre had directed, that

" — à † chaque instant cette cendre en les lieux
 De ses empoisonneurs fatigue au moins les yeux."

He then directs Norcestes to relate, before Claudius and the queen, the murder of the King of England, which had taken place just before Norcestes returned from that country, with circumstances of treachery, very similar to those which occasioned the death of his father.

" Raconte ‡ devant eux, pour démêler leur crime,
 L'attentat dont un Roi dans Londres fut victime."

Dis

take the urn, which contains my ashes ; does it suffice, that it is watered by impotent tears ? Snatch it from the tomb ; and, flying to appease me, strike, and, recking, return to replace it.—I awoke at these cries : alas, my Norcestes, and, starting from my fated couch, full of the terrific object which disturbed my senses, I filled the palace with dreadful cries. Trembling, weak, and dismayed, I fled ; the spectre, at my side, seemed to urge my flight ; that shade, these crimes, this tale full of horror, still strike terror into my fainting soul.

* Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive

Against thy mother aught ; leave her to heaven ! —

† Translation : — That his ashes may every moment weary the sight of his murderers.

‡ Translation : — Relate before them, to discover their crime, the attempt, to which a King fell a victim in London. * * * * Say that ambition, love, adultery,

* * * * *

Dis que l'ambition, que l'amour, l'adultère,
Ont causé le malheur, dont gémit l'Angleterre;
Si je vois leurs regards s'entendre, ou se troubler,
Leur crime est vrai; je puis les punir sans trembler."

I shall say little of Shakspeare's second act: it is taken up, as you know, in the conversations of Polonius, Laertes, and Ophelia; the attempts of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, to get at the secret of Hamlet; and the preparations for the play, by the representation of which, Hamlet means "to touch the conscience of the King." I am aware, that this last idea would hardly have suited a French audience, and that the recital of Norcestes was perhaps better suited to your stage; but still, I think the general effect is considerably paralysed.

M. Ducis' third act proceeds with a conference between Polonius and Claudius, who tells the former the success of his emissaries, for inciting the people against Hamlet; that

" ses * agens secrets
Le tournent contre Hamlet; sement qu'en ce palais,
Avidé de regner et fatigué d'un père,
Il força dans son cœur la nature à se taire;
Qu'un poison préparé par ce fils criminel
Fut versé de ses mains dans le flanc paternel;
Et que les noirs transports, dont son âme est saisie,
Sont les effets vengeurs du crime qu'il expie."

*Gertrude, Hamlet, and Norcestes, enter. Gertrude exhorts her son to appear to the people, who clamorously demand to see him:

" Paraissez † à leurs yeux, comme un astre qui luit,
Pâle encore, mais vainqueur des ombres de la nuit."

Hamlet now takes occasion to call on Norcestes for the relation of the murder of the King of England: Claudius remains

adultery, have occasioned the misfortune which England deplored; if their looks are interchanged, or if they are disturbed, their crime is true; I may punish them without fear.

* Translation:—His secret agents excite them against Hamlet; report that in this palace, greedy of rule, and tired of a father, he stifled nature in his bosom; that this guilty son administered poison to the author of his being; and that the dismal transports, which assail his mind, are the vengeful expiation of his crime.

† Translation:—Appear to their eyes like a star, which shines pale, but still victor of the shadows of night.

E. E. 4. moved,

unmoved, but Gertrude betrays the agitation of guilt: Ophelia, the daughter of Claudius, in the following scene, discovers to the queen the mutual attachment existing between Hamlet and herself; and, while she supposes she reveals the cause of Hamlet's disorder, asks her pardon, for the infringement of a severe decree of the late king, which must for ever prevent their union. The queen, delighted but to imagine that her son's melancholy has no other cause, yields full sanction to their love, and determines to unite them, and thus the third act concludes; — which, in our Hamlet, contains the famous soliloquy, on the miseries of life, and the reasons which weigh with the philosopher, against the vain attempt to terminate his evils with his mortal existence; the interview with Ophelia; the performance of the play, which discovers the guilt of the king and queen; the artifices of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern; and, finally, the famous closet scene, in which Hamlet so strongly appeals to the feelings of his guilty mother, and in which the ghost again interposes his awful presence,

“ To whet his almost blunted purpose.”

M. Ducis begins the fourth act, with the fine soliloquy, of which, I shall quote that part, in which he most closely follows, Shakspeare's “ To be, or not to be” —

“ Je * ne sais que résoudre — immobile et troublé,
C'est rester trop long temps de mon doute accablé.
C'est trop souffrir la vie et le poids qui me tue.
Eh, qu'offre donc la mort à mon âme abattue ? —
Un asile assuré, le plus doux des chemins,
Qui conduit au repos les malheureux humains. —
Mourons ! — que craindre encore, quand on a cessé d'être —
La mort ! — c'est le sommeil — le reveil peut-être —
Peut-être ! — ah ! c'est ce mot qui glace ; épouvanté
L'homme, au bord du cercueil par le doute arrêté.
Devant ce vaste abyme il se jette en arrière.
Ressaisit l'existence, ou s'attache à la terre.
Dans nos troubles pressans, qui peut nous avertir
Des secrets de ce monde, où tout va s'englouter ?

Sans

* Translation : — I know not what to resolve : inactive and perplex'd, too long I remain overwhelm'd in doubt. To live and bear this mortal burden is not to be endured. What then does death offer to my afflicted soul ? — a certain asylum, the sweetest path to lead unfortunate mortals to repose. — Die then ! — What can we fear, when we have cens'd to be ? — Death ! 'Tis a sleep — perhaps, an awakening ! Perhaps ! ah, 'tis that word which chills man with terror, stopt by

11 Sans l'effroi qu'il inspire, et la terreur sacrée,
 11 Qui défend, son passage, et siège à son entrée,
 11 Combien de malheureux iraient dans le tombeau,
 De leurs longues douleurs déposer le fardeau !
 Ah ! que ce port souvent est vu d'un œil d'envie
 Par le foible, agité sur les flôts de la vie !
 Mais il craint dans ses maux au de-là du trépas
 Des maux plus grandes encore, et qu'il ne connaît pas."

He is interrupted by the entrance of Ophelia, who hastens to tell Hamlet of the queen's approval of their vows; a dialogue ensues between them, in which he refuses her hand, from motives which he cannot explain, but this is in terms of the utmost tenderness. If M. Ducis has here given more consistency to the conduct of Hamlet, he has reduced this scene, in some degree, to the polite insipidity of modern tragedy. In the following passages will, however, be found some sparks of poetic fire:

Oph. C'est † trop souffrir ! Cruel, quels sont donc tes malheurs ?
 Que je t'aide du moins à porter tes douleurs !

Ham. Leur poids t'accablerait.

Oph. Connais mieux mon courage.

Penses-tu que les pleurs fassent seuls mon partage ?

Pour te sauver, Hamlet, s'il ne faut que périr,

Viens me voir expirer, et t'apprendre à souffrir.

Ham. Malheureuse ! et sais-tu jusqu'où va ma constance ? —

Entends-tu dans les airs les cris de la vengeance ?

Vois-tu soudain les morts se montrer à tes yeux —

Errer sous ces lambris des spectres odieux ?

Le jour vois-tu les cieux couverts d'ombres funèbres —

La nuit des feux sanglans sillonner les ténèbres ?

Sens-tu par les enfers ton esprit agité,

Dans ton cœur expirant tout ton sang arrêté ?"

The

by doubt at the brink of the grave. — From this vast abyss he recoils, resumes his existence, and attaches himself to earth. In our severest troubles, who can inform us of the secrets of that world in which all is to be swallowed up ? But for the terror it inspires, the sacred dread which defends the passage, and sits at the entrance, how many wretches would repair to the tomb, to deposit the burden of their lengthened griefs ! How often is that port viewed with a wishful eye, by the wretch tossed on the waves of life ! — But amidst his ills, he fears, beyond the tomb, still greater evils with which he is unacquainted.

† Translation : — *Oph.* 'Tis too much to bear ! Cruel man, what are then thy misfortunes ? Let me at least share the burthen of thy griefs. — *Ham.* Their weight would crush thee. — *Oph.* Know my fortitude better. Do you think that tears alone would fall to my share ? To save you, Hamlet, if I must but perish, come, see me expire, and teach you to suffer. — *Ham.* Wretched woman ! and do you know the extent of my resolution ? — Do you hear in the air cries of vengeance ? — Do the dead suddenly present themselves to your eyes ? — Do you see horrid spectres glide along these walls ? — By day, do you see the heavens covered

The scene between Gertrude and her son is striking in both poets. The former part of it is treated differently; but when the spectre is supposed to appear to Hamlet, the parallel is tolerably exact.

“ *Ger.* Tu * pâlis; tous tes sens sont glacés;
Tes cheveux sur ton front d’horreur sont hérissés!
Qui te rend tout à coup immobile, Insensible?
Tes yeux semblent fixés sur quelque objet terrible.”
Ham. (*voyant l’ombre de son père*) C’est sur lui; le voilà! ne le voyez-vous pas?”

An animated passage follows, when Claudius, hearing Hamlet’s refusal of his daughter, proposes to the queen to revoke the law which forbids the marriage, as being a princess of the blood, and requests that his hand

“ lui † choisisse un époux,
Que des nœuds moins brillans ”——

The overwhelmed prince, rousing from his apparent state of almost lifeless depression, here breaks into expressions of offended majesty, and threats of vengeance with great effect:—

—— “ Il ‡ n’en est plus pour elle;
Tremblez, audacieux, de devenir rebelle!
Avez-vous oublié que je suis votre roi?
J’aime — je suis aimé; votre fille à ma foi.
Nul mortel à sa main ne doit jamais prétendre.
Je crois, en souverain, me faire assez entendre.

covered with sepulchral darkness—by night, streaks of blood-red fire gleam through the shades?—Do you feel your soul agitated by the powers of hell, your blood stagnated in your expiring heart?

* Translation:—*Ger.* You are pale; all your senses are frozen; your hair is bristled with horror. What strikes you motionless, insensible? Your eyes appear fixed on some dreadful object!—*Ham.* (*seeing the spirit of his father*) ’Tis on him—There he is! do you not see him?

Compare these with Shakspeare:—

“ *Ham.* How is it with you, Lady?

Queen. Alas, how is’t with you,
That you do bend your eye on vacancy,
And with the incorporal air do hold discourse?
Forth at your eyes your spirits wildly peep,
And, as the sleeping soldiers in the alarm,
Your bedded hair, like life in excrements,
Starts up, and stands on end! O gentle son,
Upon the heat and flame of thy distemper
Sprinkle cool patience. Whereon do you look?

Ham. On him! On him! Look you how pale he glares?”

† Translation:—May choose her a husband, that a less brilliant alliance may——

‡ Translation:—There is no other (alliance) for her: tremble, audacious man, to rebel! Have you forgotten that I am your king? I love—I am loved.
Your

Ce cœur, que vous jugez sans force et sans vertu,
N'est pas peut-être encore tout à fait abattu.

(*Regardant Claudius*)

Sans doute ici mon sceptre excite quelque envie ;
Mais si je dois bientôt abandonner la vie,
Je n'en sortirai pas, que ce bras furieux
N'ait assouvi ma haine, et satisfait les dieux."

The fourth act of our Hamlet is of too varied and romantic a turn for your stage; it includes the sending off Hamlet to meet his death in England, by a treacherous artifice of the king; his unexpected return; the madness of Ophelia; her melancholy death; the re-appearance of Laertes; his rage against Hamlet, as the author of the woes of his family; the use the king makes of it to prevail on him to murder Hamlet, by an * "unbated and envenom'd" foil, at a fencing-match: nor must we forget the humour and homely wit of the grave-diggers, singing and jesting over their melancholy office, and the beautiful reflections of Hamlet over Yorick's skull.

Let us return to M. Ducis. — The conduct of Hamlet had determined Claudius, at the end of the preceding act, to precipitate the dethronement of Hamlet, to seize on and to leave him

— " sans † retour

Achever ses destins dans l'ombre d'une tour."

In the fifth act Norcestes brings Hamlet the urn, containing the ashes of his father. Ophelia enters; and finding that Hamlet threatens her father's life, thus entreats him:

" C'est † ton amante en pleurs qui tombe à tes genoux :
Sur l'auteur de mes jours suspends du moins tes coups.
Songe, si quelque erreur t'entraînait dans le crime,
Combien tes longs remords vangeraient ta victime !
Ne mets pas entre nous un rempart éternel ;
Et ne me réduis pas au supplice cruel
D'avoir ma flamme à vaincre ; et que sais-je peut-être
De trahir en t'aimant le sang qui m'a fait naître."

Hamlet,

Your daughter has my pledge. No mortal can ever pretend to her hand. I believe, as a sovereign, I am sufficiently explicit. This heart, which you think without strength, without power, is not, perhaps, quite overwhelm'd. (*Looking at Claudius*) Doubtless, here my sceptre excites some envy; but if I am shortly to abandon life, it shall not be until this furious arm has glutted my revenge, and satisfied the gods.

* Unblunted, — a foil without a baton.

† Translation: — ——— without return (without remedy), to accomplish his fate in the recesses of a dungeon.

† Translation: — 'Tis thy love who falls in tears at thy feet: suspend at least thy vengeance on the author of my being. Think, if an error should draw

Hamlet, however, sacrifices his love to the duty of revenging his father. M. Ducis, whose filial piety made him dedicate the last edition of his play to the memory of his father, probably penned the following lines from his own feelings:

“ Enfin * mon père est mort ; il faut que je le venge ;
Un si saint mouvement n'admet point de mélange ;
Nous pouvons l'un et l'autre éteindre notre amour,
Mais à mon père, hélas, qui peut rendre le jour !
Une semblable plaie est à jamais saignante ;
On remplace un ami, son épouse, une amante,
Mais un vertueux père est un bien précieux,
Qu'on ne tient qu'une fois de la bonté des dieux.”

Ophelia quits him, saying,

“ Si † de ton erreur rien ne te peut tirer,
Je n'entends plus alors, à te perdre enhardie,
Que l'intérêt du sang qui m'a donné la vie.”

Doubtless the following scene is capable of fine stage-effect, where Hamlet proposes to his mother to attest her innocence on the urn, containing the ashes of her husband :

“ *Ham. † (lui présentant l'urne)* Prenez cette urne, et jurez moi sur elle :

Non, ta mère, mon fils, ne fut point criminelle.

L'osez-vous ? Je vous crois :

Ger. Donne.

Ham. Vous hésitez.

Ger. Ah ! pardonne à mes sens encore trop agités.

Ham. Attestez maintenant.

Ger. Eh bien ! oui — moi — j'atteste —

(*Elle tombe sans connoissance dans un fauteuil*)

Ham. Ma mère !

Ger. Je me meurs.

Ham.

draw thee into crime, what unceasing remorse would revenge thy victim ! Place not between us an eternal barrier ; do not reduce me to the cruel punishment of having to overcome my love : (and what think I) perhaps, by loving thee, to betray the blood whence I sprang.

* Translation : — In short, my father is dead ; I must avenge him ; so sacred an impulse admits of no admixture ; we may each conquer our loves, but who will restore my father to the light ! This is an ever-bleeding wound : — a friend, a wife, a love may be replaced ; but a virtuous father is so precious a gift, that we receive it but once from the bounty of the gods.

† Translation : — If nothing can remove thy error, I, emboldened to lose thee, do but listen to the welfare of the blood which gave me life.

† Translation : — *Ham.* (*presenting the urn to her*) Take this urn, and swear on it thus : — Thy mother, my son, was not guilty. If you dare, I believe you. —

Ger. Give it. — *Ham.* You hesitate. — *Ger.* Ah ! excuse my agitated spirits. —

Ham. Now swear. — *Ger.* Well — Yes — I — I attest — (*She falls senseless into*

Ham. Ah, revenez à vous !
Voyez un fils en pleurs embrasser vos genoux ;
Ne désespérez point de la bonté céleste ;
Rien n'est perdu pour vous, si le remords vous reste.
Votre crime est énorme, exécration, odieux ;
Mais il n'est pas plus grand que la bonté des dieux. —
Chère ombre, enfin tes vœux n'ont plus rien à prétendre ;
L'excès de ses douleurs doit apaiser ta cendre."

Elvira, at this moment, announces that Claudius, with his faction, besieges the palace.

Ham. * ——— Lui ! ce monstre, qu'il vienne —
Qu'il vienne ; je l'attends ; ma vengeance est certaine.
C'est le ciel sous mes coups qui l'amène aujourd'hui.

Ger. Que la pitié te touche.

Ham. Il n'en est plus pour lui.

Ger. Mon fils !

(*Le spectre reparait.*)

Ham. La voyez-vous cette ombre menaçante,
Qui vient pour affirmer ma fureur chancelante.

Ger. Où suis-je ?

Ham. (*s'adressant au spectre*) Oui, je t'entends, tu vas être obéi.

(*A sa mère*) Oui, tous deux dans leur sang ! Que faites-vous ici ?

Ger. Grands dieux !

Ham. Savez-vous bien, qu'en désordre extrême
Je puis dans cet instant attenter sur vous même,

Ger. (*Se laissant tomber d'effroi au pieds d'Hamlet.*) Ah ciel !

Ham. Qu'ordonnes-tu ? de frapper ? j'obéis.

Mon père, tu la vois ! Grace ! Je suis son fils.

into a chair) *Ham.* Mother ! — *Ger.* I die. — *Ham.* Oh ! return to your senses ; see your son in tears, at your feet ; do not despair of the goodness of heaven ; you have lost nothing, if remorse remains. Your crime is hateful, execrable, enormous, but it is not greater than the mercy of heaven. — Dear shade ! thy vows are now satisfied ; the excess of her grief must appease thy ashes.

* Translation : ——— He ! the monster, let him come — let him come ; I await him ; my vengeance is sure. Heaven itself consigns him to my stroke ! *Ger.* Have pity. — *Ham.* There is none for him. — *Ger.* My son. (*The spectre appears again.*) *Ham.* See you yon threatening shade, who comes to confirm my faltering rage ? — *Ger.* Where am I ? — *Ham.* (*addressing the spectre*) Yes, I hear thee, thou shalt be obeyed. — Yes, both in their blood ! — (*To his mother*) What dost thou here ? — *Ger.* Great Gods ! — *Ham.* Do you not know, disordered as I am, I may attempt your life ? — *Ger.* (*falling with terror at the feet of Hamlet*) Ah, Heaven ! — *Ham.* What dost thou command ? to strike ? I obey — My father, you see her — Pardon — I am her child. — *Ger.* My son ! *Ham.* Well, mother — Heavens ! perhaps my heart will be no longer master of the transport which revives. — Fly — I tell you, go — or rather let me fly from you ; I fear every thing from myself in the state in which I am,

Ger.

Ger. Mon fils !

Ham. Eh bien, ma mère — Ah dieux, mon cœur peut-être,
D'un transport renaissant, ne serait plus le maître.
Fuyez, sortez, vous dis-je ; ou plutôt je vous fuis.
Je crains tout de moi-même en l'état où je suis."

(*Hamlet sort.*)

Claudius at the head of his party now arrives, and is stabbed by Hamlet ; the queen kills herself, and Hamlet concludes the drama with these words : *

" Privé † de tous les miens dans ce palais funeste,
Mes melheurs sont comblée, mais ma vertu me reste ;
Mais je suis homme et roi, réservé pour souffrir ;
Je saurai vivre encore, je fais plus que mourir."

Having placed Shakspeare and Ducis, side by side, all the way through, I must sum up the catastrophe of the English Hamlet.

The exchange of foils catches Laertes in his "own springe," while Hamlet also receives a wound, from the weapon of which the slightest puncture is mortal. The queen falls, by drinking in mistake of the poisoned cup, which the king had prepared to ensure the death of Hamlet, who, on the unravelling of his treachery, by the dying Laertes, no longer delays to satisfy the manes of his father, and sinks himself immediately after, a victim to the "potent poison."

Thus the guilty and the innocent are involved in one undistinguished mortality ; but if poetical justice be violated, the laws of nature and the deity are not ; which teach us not always to expect, in this stage of our existence, the just retribution of crime, or reward of virtue.

In dramas, so widely different in the licence of their composition, what comparison can justly lie ? yet surely we cannot refuse the meed of praise to M. Ducis, for having given his countrymen an idea of the *spirit* of our Hamlet, while considerable dexterity is displayed in reconciling it to the unities, and the severe laws of the French theatre. I do not accuse M. Ducis of what he has been obliged to do, I only regret that he has been so obliged. The comic parts, and some of the episodical incidents of Shakspeare, being rejected, the piece proceeds through its acts with one main object and tendency. Hamlet, according

* There are some variations of the catastrophe, printed at the end of the fifth act, by which I see the queen is preserved, but I think the first dispensation is the best.

† Translation : — Bereft of all mine, in this fatal palace, my misfortunes are complete, but my virtue yet remains. I am a man, a king, reserved for sufferings ; by knowing still how to live, I do more than die.

to M. Ducis, though perplexed, and sometimes irresolute, never loses sight of the injunction of the ghost. The Hamlet of Shakspeare, on the contrary, notwithstanding the second appearance of his father's spirit, the decree of banishment, and a discovered plot against his life; does not pursue his vengeance on the king; and the catastrophe is brought about by events, in which, as Johnson remarks, his interposition has little share. But I leave it to yourself to determine, whether a supernatural injunction to murder, (supposing such an event could occur in real life,) would not be received, by a virtuous mind, with hesitation and distrust, and though acceded to, on the score of justice, whether it would not, probably, be pursued with much indecision, confusion, and dismay.

In fine, I conceive, it will be allowed, on all hands, that Ducis' adaptation of Hamlet is highly ingenious, that he has exhibited, in the course of his play, a sterling poetic vein, on which no servile imitation can be charged. He has already obtained the posthumous honors of his countrymen, and CORNEILLE, RACINE, and VOLTAIRE need not be ashamed to admit Ducis to a share of their laurels.

I remain, my dear Sir, your's, faithfully,

A. J. K.

LETTER VIII. (Translation.)

On the Juries in France.

To Sir S. R.

Paris, 19th Feb. 1817.

Sir,
I PROPOSE to give you the history of our Jury, and of the different modes in which it has been organised, since its introduction into our legislation. Such a subject must be interesting to an Englishman, whose natural curiosity will be willingly directed to an institution borrowed from his own country, and who will be desirous of knowing the modifications which have been given to it, in adapting it to the French nation.

It is to the Constituent Assembly that we owe the introduction of Juries. The institution flattered the popular vanity, and was received with enthusiasm.

Many members of this famous assembly would have wished, that this institution should be admitted into civil as well as criminal trials; but, in spite of all their efforts, it was confined to the higher class of crimes, that is, to crimes to which painful or dishonouring punishments were annexed. The first law respecting

respecting the organisation of juries, is of the 16th of September, 1791.

This law (of the 16th of September) has been modified by a fundamental law of the Constitution of the year 3, bearing date the 3 Brumaire of the year 4. Finally, this last law itself, after having experienced some changes by subsequent laws, has been entirely abrogated by the *Code d'Instruction Criminelle*, promulgated towards the end of the year 1808. Thus have we had, in the course of 29 years, two systems of trial by jury; one at the period, when democratic principles were carried to their utmost extravagance, and the other at a time, when despotism no longer kept within any bounds. The latter system is that, which now governs us.

I shall first attempt to explain to you, as clearly as I can, the nature of our juries, in the time of the Republic.

Of Juries under the Republic.

It is not necessary for me to inform an Englishman, that a jury consists of persons sworn to deliberate, and pronounce their verdict, on questions of fact.

Under the law of the 3 Brumaire, in the year 4, juries were distinguished into Juries of Accusation, and Juries of Decision.

It was necessary that a jurymen should be 30 years of age.

Their functions were incompatible with those of a member of the Legislative Body, of Judges, of Ministers, of Officers of the Judicial Police; and the Commissioners of Government, in the Tribunals, the Justices of the Peace, the Mayors and their associates, and the Commissioners of Police, were excluded, as officers of justice.

Persons of seventy years of age might also claim exemption.

Those whose rights of citizenship were suspended, could not be jurymen. This exclusion applied, 1st. To insolvent debtors. 2d. To the immediate heir, holding, without consideration, the whole or part of the succession of an insolvent. 3d. To hired servants, attached to the house, or to the person. Lastly, to those, who were in a state of judicial interdiction, of accusation; or of contumacy. But it did not apply to those, who were under an arrest, but might have given bail, their rights of citizenship not being as yet suspended.

The relations of the party, of whatever degree, might be *jurymen*, the power of challenge acting as a corrective of this inconvenience.

Every three months, each departmental administration formed, from personal knowledge, and the information derived from the municipal

municipal departments, a list of such citizens, domiciled in the department, as appeared fit to execute the functions of jurymen.

This list was divided into so many parts, as there were *directors* of juries in the department. The office of director of the jury of accusation was intrusted to the president of each correctional tribunal, so that there were as many juries of accusation, as there were correctional tribunals in France.

Then the departmental administration put down, on this list, so many citizens of each *arrondissement* of juries of accusation, as there existed thousands of inhabitants; *thus for 1,500 inhabitants one jurymen was named, from that to 2,500 two, and so on accordingly.*

This list could not be determined upon, till after it had been submitted to the commissioner of the executive authority, residing with the departmental administration, for his observations.

The manner of forming the lists, which I have been describing, was changed a few months after Buonaparte became consul. The following is the mode, in which the elementary lists of the jury pannel were made out, up to the time of the promulgation of the code of criminal instruction.

Every three months, the justice of the peace (*juge de paix*) marked out, in his *arrondissement*, three times the number of citizens, which this *arrondissement* would have to furnish, according to the proportion, above-mentioned, that is to say, three citizens for 1,500 inhabitants, and so on regularly. He sent this provisional list to the sub-prefect, who, after having reduced it by one-third, sent it to the prefect of the department.

The prefect, after having, in the presence of the council of the prefecture, reduced, by one half, through lot, the lists sent him by the sub-prefects, made out from them a general list, which he divided into as many particular ones, as there were tribunals of *arrondissement* in the department.

He then sent to the president of the court of criminal justice the general list, and this list served for the formation of the pannel of the jury of decision.

He sent, in the same manner, to each director of juries, the particular list destined for his *arrondissement*, and it was from these lists, that the pannels of juries of accusation were respectively formed, in each *arrondissement*.

These lists were to be prepared 15 days before the commencement of the three months, for which they were to serve.

In case of any delay in sending them, the lists immediately preceding were to be made use of.

The prefects were responsible for delay in sending the lists; and the justices of the peace, guilty of negligence in this respect, were to be prosecuted for a misdemeanour.

The general and the particular lists of juries were likewise sent to all those, whose names were inscribed in them, ten days, at least, before the commencement of the three months, for which the lists were made out, in order that they might be prepared, in time, with their grounds of excuse (in case any such existed), when they should be called upon to serve.

The same citizen might be successively placed on the four lists of the same year; but having once served on a jury of decision, he was exempt from the necessity of serving a second time in the course of the same year, unless he was an inhabitant of the commune, in which the court of criminal justice was sitting.

I shall now speak of the Jury of Accusation; of the particular formation of its pannel, of its summons and appearance, and, finally, of its powers and duties.

On the 15th and the last day of each month, the director of the jury formed the jury of accusation, which was destined to act during the ensuing fifteen days. For this purpose, he caused the eight citizens, who were to form the pannel, out of the partial list, which had been sent to him by the prefect, to draw lots publicly, in the presence of the magistrate of security, and that of the prosecutor. This number of jurymen was strictly necessary, as was also the proceeding by lot, and the publicity of that proceeding.

The law admitted no objection against the jurymen of accusation, either to the party accused, or to the prosecutor.

When the jury of accusation was to be assembled, those who were to compose it, were informed of it four days before the time of assembling. This notification was required, under pain of nullity, in order that the accused might not be deprived, by the act of the prosecutor, of the jurymen which the lot had awarded to him. Any shorter notice was a nullity.

Every jurymen, who did not appear according to this notice, was condemned, without appeal, by the director of the jury, to ten days' imprisonment, and a fine of 25 francs, the sentence being printed and publicly stuck up, unless he proved that he had been prevented by sickness or main force.

If, on the day of assembling, several jurymen were absent, either on admitted grounds of excuse, or from whatever cause, the director of the jury replaced them by one or more citizens of the commune of the place, where the jury were assembled.

This substitution also took place by lot, in the presence of the public, and of the magistrate of security, out of the partial list sent by the prefect, and subsidiarily out of the citizens of the place of the age of 30 years.

The jurymen, being assembled at the appointed day, were obliged

obliged to remain at their post, until they had fulfilled the object, for which they had been called together.

Neither the accused nor the witnesses appeared before them.

The director of the jury, in the presence of the magistrate of security, addressed to them the following words: "Citizens! "You promise to examine, with attention, the documents which "will be laid before you, and to observe secrecy respecting "them; to declare your opinions, uprightly and honestly, upon "the indictment, which is about to be put into your hands, and "to be influenced neither by hatred nor malice, nor by fear or "affection." Each jurymen then separately answered, that he did so promise.

He next explained to them the nature of the accusation, and of the duties they were to fulfil, observing that strong presumptions, and a probability of satisfactory proofs, ought alone to call forth their decision in behalf of the charge.

Then, and always in the presence of the magistrate of security, he read to them the indictment, together with all the documents relating to it. After this he delivered them to the jury, together with the depositions of witnesses, and the examination of the accused.

This done, the director of the jury and the magistrate of security retired.

The jury remained, and deliberated without withdrawing; the oldest of them was the foreman; he presided, and collected the votes.

If the majority of the jurymen was in favour of the charge, their foreman put, at the bottom of the indictment, this affirmative form: "The declaration of the jury is, that there is ground "of accusation."

If only four jurymen were against the charge, their foreman, in a similar manner, put at the bottom of the indictment a negative form of words.

When a plaintiff, not being able to agree with the magistrate of security, either on the facts, or on the nature of the indictment, had prepared an indictment of his own, the jury determined which indictment should have place, or it rejected both.

But this power, which the law granted to the plaintiff, of preparing a separate charge, was hardly ever exercised. It would even be difficult, to point out an instance of a criminal proceeding, in which it was resorted to.

In every case, the declaration of the jury was dated and signed by their foreman, who returned it, in their presence, to the director of the jury.

Without this signature, the declaration was of no effect.

As all persons, without distinction, were called upon to discharge the functions of jurymen, it often happened, that their chief, or foreman, that is to say, the senior among them, was unable to sign the declaration, from not being able to write.

If the jury had refused to make, and to give in, their declarations, in the manner above specified, the director of the jury could not receive them; but pronounced their nullity, after having heard the magistrate of security. He also ordered the jury to unite themselves again, and to proceed again, without withdrawing. In case of the refusal or resistance of the jurymen, the director finally condemned them to a fine of from 100 to 500 francs, without prejudice to the criminal prosecution, if there should be grounds for it.

The defendant, in whose case the jury had declared, that there was no ground of charge, was immediately discharged, and could not again be prosecuted for the same offence, unless upon new charges there should be presented a new indictment.

If the jury declared that there was ground for the charge, the director of the jury immediately issued a writ of arrest, by which the person under accusation was ordered to be conducted to the house of justice, established near the criminal court.

I pass now to the formation of the Jury of Decision, and to the regulations by which it was governed.

The jury of decision assembled on the 15th of every month, on the summons of the president of the court of criminal justice, issued on the 5th.

The accused, who did not arrive at the house of justice till after the meeting of the jury, might be tried by this jury, if the attorney-general desired it, and they consented to it.

The number of twelve jurymen, and three adjuncts, was necessary to form the jury of decision.

The same person could not be both on the jury of accusation, and on that of decision, in the same case.

The pannel of the jury of decision was formed on the 1st of each month. For this purpose, the president of the court of criminal justice, in the presence of two municipal officers, who bound themselves to secrecy, presented to the attorney-general the general list, which had been sent to him, by the prefect of the department.

The attorney-general had the power of striking out one name in ten, without assigning any reason. The rest of the names were put into a vessel, from which were drawn out by lot, in order to form the pannel, twelve jurymen and three adjuncts.

The pannel of the jury of decision, thus formed, was presented to the accused, who might in twenty-four hours, and without assigning

assigning any reason, object to those who composed it. The jurymen objected to were replaced by lot.

When the accused had objected to twenty jurymen, those afterwards objected to could only be rejected on grounds, of which the court determined the validity.

If several persons were jointly accused, they might settle among themselves respecting the twenty rejections, which were allowed to them by law, without their being called upon to assign their reasons.

They might also exercise this right separately, but in either case, the power of rejecting without assigning reasons, was confined to the number of twenty, whatever might be the number of the accused.

If the accused did not agree respecting their objections, the lot determined the order in which they should object; and in that case each of them objected to a jurymen successively, until the allowed number of challenges was exhausted.

The accused might also agree among themselves with respect to a part of the twenty challenges allowed, with liberty afterwards to exercise, separately, the remainder of their privilege, in the order fixed by lot.

Every jurymen, who, without a sufficient excuse, failed to appear, according to the summons, was condemned to the same pains as a defaulter of the jury of accusation.

In every case, if there were wanting one or more jurymen on the appointed day, the president supplied their places by citizens of the commune, in which the court of criminal justice sat, who were drawn by lot, out of the particular list of the arrondissement of the jury of accusation, of which this commune made a part, and subsidiarily from among the inhabitants of the place, of the age of not less than thirty years.

Such were the provisions of the code of the 3 Brumaire, of the year 4, respecting the formation of the pannel of a jury, before whom were to be opened the discussions relative to the acquittal or condemnation of the accused.

Circumstances of external force might deprive a jury of one, or more of its members. This case had not been foreseen. The omission was repaired by a law of the 25 Brumaire, in the year 8, which authorised the criminal courts to direct, before the drawing lots out of the general list, that, independently of the twelve jurymen, and three adjuncts, three other jurymen should be drawn, who should assist at the discussions, and should replace others, as occasion demanded, in the order in which they should have been drawn.

As soon as the jury was formed, the president of the court of

criminal justice commenced his sitting. The accused was brought up, free, unfettered, and merely under a guard to prevent his escape.

The president then addressed the jury and their adjuncts, in the following terms: — “ Citizens! You promise to examine, “ with the most scrupulous attention, the charge brought against “ the prisoner, and to hold no communication with any one “ respecting it, until after your verdict; to be influenced neither “ by hatred nor malice, by fear nor affection; to decide according to the evidence on both sides, according to your conscience, and inward and thorough conviction, with the “ impartiality and firmness of freemen.” Each of the jurymen and their adjuncts, called on by name, answered that he did so promise.

In the course of the proceedings, the jury might ask of the witnesses, and of the accused, whatever questions they thought necessary to the discovery of the truth.

During these proceedings, they might also take notes of whatever appeared to them to be of importance, either in the testimony of the witnesses, or in the defence of the accused, provided the trial was not thereby stopped, or interrupted.

No written declarations of witnesses, not present in court, could be produced to the jury.

Before the jury of accusation, every thing was by written deposition; before the jury of decision, on the contrary, written information was not admissible; and could only be read, where it was necessary to point out either to the witnesses, or to the accused, the differences and contrarieties, which might be discoverable, between what they had said before the jury, and what they had said at a former time.

When the accused had no longer any thing to urge in his defence, the president declared the proceedings at an end.

He summed up the case, and reduced it to its most simple points; he directed the attention of the jury to the chief evidences, for and against the accused; he reminded them of the duty they had to discharge, and for this purpose he read to them the following instructions, which, besides, were hung up, in large characters, in the chamber, in which their deliberations were to be held:

“ Juries ought to examine the indictment, the depositions, “ and all the other documents in the suit, with the exception of “ the written declarations of witnesses, and the written notes of “ interrogatories, put to the accused before the officer of police, “ the director of the jury, and the president of the criminal “ court. — It is upon this foundation, and particularly on the “ evidence

“ evidence and examinations heard by them, that they ought
“ to rest their personal conviction; for it is on their personal
“ conviction that every thing here turns; it is this conviction
“ which the law charges them to declare; it is to this conviction
“ that society, and that the accused, look. The law does not
“ enquire of them, by what means they have been convinced;
“ it does not prescribe to them the rules, upon which they
“ ought to make the force and the sufficiency of the proofs
“ depend; it prescribes to them, to examine their own minds
“ in silent recollection, to search in the sincerity of their con-
“ sciences, what impression has been made upon their reason,
“ by the proofs adduced on one side, and the defence of the
“ accused on the other. The law does not say to them, you
“ shall consider as proved every fact, resting on the testimony
“ of such or such a number of witnesses. Neither does it say
“ to them, you shall not regard as proved such facts, as are only
“ established by such a *procès-verbal*, by such documents, by
“ such a number of witnesses, or by such and such evidences.
“ It asks them only this simple question, which involves in it the
“ sum of their duties, Have you a full conviction? What is
“ very material to be kept in sight is, that the whole deliberation
“ of the jury of decision, relates to the indictment, and to this
“ they ought entirely to confine themselves; they depart from
“ their first duty, if, taking into their consideration the pe-
“ nalties attached to offences, they look to the consequences of
“ their decision, with respect to the accused. Their duty
“ has no reference to the prosecution, and punishment of of-
“ fences; they have only to decide upon the facts, and
“ whether the accused is, or is not, guilty of the crime imputed
“ to him.”

The president then, in the name, and by the authority of the court, states all the questions which arise, as well on the indictment, as on the trials, and which the jury ought to decide upon.

His first question bore upon the essential consideration, whether the facts, which formed the ground of the charge, were established, or not; the next, whether the accused had committed, or had co-operated in the commission of, them. Then followed the questions, arising out of the indictment, the defence of the accused, and the whole trial respecting the moral nature of the act done, and its greater or lesser degree of criminality. The president laid them down in the order, in which they were to be considered by the jury, beginning with such as were most favourable to the prisoner, in crimes comprehending circumstances not necessarily dependent on one another; as, for instance, in a case of theft, whether committed in the night, by a

forcible breaking, by a domestic servant, whether a repetition of the offence, &c.: questions touching these circumstances were presented to the jury separately, without its being thought necessary to begin by the most aggravated.

The accused, his counsel, the attorney-general, and the jury, were at liberty to make observations on the manner in which the questions were laid down to the jury, and the court decided immediately on their propriety.

No complicated question could be put to the jury, nor could any question respecting facts, not alleged in the indictment, be raised, whatever might be the testimony of the witnesses. But the jury might be called on to decide respecting one or more particular circumstances, not mentioned in the indictment, although they might alter the nature of the offence, as stated in the indictment, provided it arose out of the facts stated in it. For instance, on an indictment for a personal violence, the president might, after the trial had ended, demand of the jury, whether the act was committed with intent to kill.

The president, after having declared the questions, gave them in writing to the foreman of the jury. He also delivered to him all the documents produced on the trial, except the written depositions of witnesses, and the written interrogatories put to the accused.

He informed them that the law required them to retire into their chamber, in order to deliberate; and he reminded them, that they were not to communicate with any one, until after they had pronounced their verdict. He ordered, at the same time, the accused to be taken back to the house of justice.

The jury having retired to their chamber, and discussed the questions proposed by the president, he whose name was found first inscribed on the pannel, was their foreman.

They could not, during the twenty-four hours of their remaining together, pronounce otherwise than unanimously. During this delay, and in the case of their opinions not being unanimous, they were excluded from all external communication. If, after the expiration of the twenty-four hours, they could not agree on an unanimous verdict, they were to declare it; and again unite themselves, in order to deliver the decision by majority.

If in the course of this new deliberation, there was an equality of opinions among them, on one or more questions submitted to them, their decision on these questions was to be for the discharge of the accused, in the same manner as if a majority of voices had decided in his favour.

When the jury were in a situation to give their verdict, they informed the president of it, who deputed one of the judges to receive

receive it, in the chamber of council, in the presence of the attorney-general.

If the decision was unanimous, the result was immediately reduced into so many separate written articles, as there were questions decided. If there was not an unanimity upon all the questions, each foreman delivered, individually, *viva voce*, and in the absence of his brethren, his verdict. He then took from the hand of the judge, who presented two balls, one white, the other black, that which was suited to the opinion to be expressed, and placed it openly in a box of the same colour with the ball which he had chosen.

To avoid all mistakes, the balls were so contrived, that the black ball could not enter into the opening of the white box.

The foreman, or elder of the jury, first gave in his verdict. When he had done so, he remained in the council-chamber with the judge and the attorney-general. The other jurymen withdrew one after another, as they had finished their declaration.

The juryman who pronounced, that the facts were not established, had no farther declaration to make; and his voice was considered as in favour of the accused, on the other points.

The juryman, who having found the fact established, yet had declared that it was not brought home to the accused, made no farther declaration; and this determination was in like manner taken as favourable to the prisoner, on the other points.

The juryman, who found that the accused had committed the act, proceeded to a decision on the guilt of the act, according to the questions of intention, as submitted to them by the president.

When a juryman, among several questions of intent, presented according to their degree, had decided the first in favour of the accused, there was no longer any farther subject of decision.

But while he decided one against the prisoner, he was obliged to pronounce upon those that followed, until he had given his opinion on all, which the tribunal had proposed.

The questions arising on circumstances independent of each other, in the same offence, the juryman, who had voted on one favourably to the accused, nevertheless proceeded to decide on the others also.

The jurymen could not decide on any other crime than those stated in the indictment, nor relieve themselves from pronouncing on that, which was stated in it.

Each juryman pronounced his decision on the above different matters in the following form. He placed his hand upon his heart, and said, "Upon my honour and my conscience, the fact is established;" or, "The fact does not appear to me to be established;" "The accused is convicted," or "The accused appears

pears to me not convicted;" "He has committed such and such an act wilfully and wickedly," or "he has not, &c. &c."

The twelve jurymen having all given in their separate verdicts, they all returned to their chamber of council. The boxes were then opened by the judge, in their presence, and in that of the attorney-general, and the particular decisions were collected, in order to form the general decision upon the whole matter.

The verdicts of the jurymen being thus completed, and reduced into writing, they returned to the court, and resumed their places. The president asked them, what was their verdict on each of the questions presented to them. Their foreman rose and said, "On my honour and conscience, the verdict of the jury is, that, &c. &c." He then read the decisions, according as they had been agreed upon in their council-chamber; he signed them, and delivered them to the president, who also signed, and caused them to be signed by the register.

It sometimes happened, that the head of the jury could not read the verdicts. In that case, another jurymen was substituted in his place, for this purpose, according to the order of the pannel; and the verdicts were signed by the jurymen who read them.

These verdicts were not subject either to appeal, or revision. They were considered as matters judicially and absolutely established.

But, however, in cases of conviction only, if the court was unanimously of opinion, that the jury had decided erroneously, it might direct that the three adjuncts should be united to the twelve jurymen, for the purpose of giving a fresh verdict.

This new verdict could not be required, either by the accused or by the attorney-general, or by any one of the jurymen. It could only be ordered by the court, and immediately after the verdict had been pronounced.

The deliberations of the jury were strictly limited to the forms above specified.

In case of the violation of any of these forms, the verdict was void. The court was obliged to reject it, and to order the jury again to retire into their council-chamber, in order to frame a new one.

The court of criminal justice was bound, in the same manner, to declare the nullity of the deliberations of the jurymen, and cause them to proceed anew, if their decisions, though regular in point of form, involved contradictions of each other.

In another letter I shall explain to you the organisation of a jury, called a Special Jury, to which the law submitted exclusively a certain species of criminal offences; and I shall after that

describe the form, which was given to juries in 1808, and which subsists at the present time.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

K. L.

LETTER IX.

On the Religious Missions in France.

To J. S. Esq.

I PROMISED you, my dear friend, some observations, on the present state of our *Religious Missions*. The following are the few that I have been able to collect. The missions in France neither are, nor ought to be, what they were in times past. They must be considered in a new point of view. Formerly, Christianity, enjoying peace and prosperity at home, was able, like the ancient republics, to found colonies at a distance; and, being at ease respecting its principal family, it could also stretch forth its arms to the children of strangers. This comprehensive solicitude, this unwearied tenderness, is perhaps, the most celestial stamp of the Christian religion. The detail of the progress it has made, is the pledge of that which it is still to make. Praise is, justly, due to that pious establishment, which cherished in Paris a nursery of proselytes, destined to propagate, beyond the seas, the germs of Christianity; and whoever has perused its annals, in the *Lettres Édifiantes*, will no longer seek, in the pages of history, for lessons of virtue, courage, and glory. But at length, we have been brought, by successive reverses, to a time, when religion must no longer seek for conquests among the Antipodes. A nearer field is, unfortunately, opened to her; and if distance were the only consideration, in such an enterprise, the task would appear, at the present day, very easy. There are unbelievers and barbarians every where; we have only to look around us; and I confess, it is not without some astonishment that I see French apostles embarking to plant, in another hemisphere, the faith of which their own country is in want; and to seek, beyond the seas, those miseries, and those calamities, which abound at home. What I am about to say, has the appearance of a sophism, but will be found not the less true, by those who will go to the bottom of the reasoning. As hardships are the incitements of missionaries, and sufferings their triumph, I dare affirm, that
those,

those, who should not go far to seek them, but should give up the conversion of infidels, in order to confine themselves to that of Christians, would have the satisfaction of undertaking a task, perhaps more painful, and certainly more ungrateful. The former found their recompense either in success, or in martyrdom; the latter have to fear, that they will fail of obtaining either. The former sowed and reaped, without trouble, in fruitful lands; the latter will have to sow, for the most part, in the barren and dry ground of the parable. Here then are, at least, difficulties of another kind, boundless labour, and, at the same time, an object much less certain. The state of things, therefore, is changed. It is no longer to the docile people of Paraguay, the black inhabitants of Juida, the pacific Hindoos, that the faith is to be carried; alas! among them there are many who, like the centurion and the Canaanite woman, are more truly children of Israel, than the Pharisees. We must bring the faith to our own homes, to our neighbours, to our friends: it must be presented no longer to tractable ignorance, but to negative wisdom, to haughty scepticism, to contemptuous indifference. In short, it is upon France itself, according to my opinion, that all the efforts of the foreign missions must now be concentrated. *

But another powerful motive has of late been added to these considerations. France, at the present day, does not possess, in

* The complaint, which the writer makes, of the decay of religion in France, will not appear extraordinary, when we attend to the following statements, contained in the Report of the Central Committee, made to the Chamber of Deputies, by M. ROUX DE LAROSIÈRE, 1st of February, 1816.

"FOUR THOUSAND village-churches in France, preserved as it were by miracle, are totally without worship, and without ministers. SEVEN bishopricks are without episcopal residences. SEVENTEEN foundations, for ecclesiastical instruction, are without buildings for the residence and instruction of the students. THIRTEEN THOUSAND parishes are without parsonage-houses: the churches every-where are in ruins: the gulf of the last usurpation swallowed up the contributions of the departments and communes, towards their repair. There are wanting, not to the pomp and splendour of religion, but to the performance of its simplest rites, about THIRTEEN THOUSAND priests! According to the common chances of human life, as applied to the ages of the surviving clergy, three-fourths of France, will in the course of twelve years, be destitute of ministers and of altars; and in twenty, or twenty-five years, all will have disappeared."

To this it may be added, that there are parishes, within thirty leagues of Paris, in which the inhabitants neither baptise, nor marry, nor bury, with any religious rite. There are others, where the church-service is performed, but its ordinances are so little regarded, that the most incestuous unions take place, without the least affectation of secrecy. In fine, the existence of a Providence, and of a future state, are openly derided by peasants, who, on such subjects, have become as enlightened, as MIRABEAU, or CONDORCET. Happy fruits of a revolution, conformable to the *spirit of the age*! ED.

its

its population, one-third of the spiritual strength, which she had before the revolution. That population no longer possesses, either in fortune, in energy, or in public estimation, one-third of the means of influence, which it formerly commanded. If I calculate right, our resources are already reduced to a ninth, and I shall extend the calculation no farther, for fear of coming too near the negative point. One important consideration must, however, be admitted; which is, that things have gone on declining to this degree, in the course of twenty-seven years, and that now we may indulge hope so far as to believe, that they will remain stationary, because it is no longer in good taste "*to crush the villain* *." There exists not the will; or not the power, (I do not examine the difference between these two words,) to endow the church with property, and make it independent: it cannot, therefore, be rendered useful and respected; it will continue, then, to want recruits, and, in the immoveable condition to which we are brought, it will shine only as an immoveable ruin. In this state of things, how is it to be expected, that the French clergy, who are less rich, less powerful, less numerous than the English clergy, and yet have the cure of Catholic souls, which require from religion greater exertions and greater labours, should be competent, in ten years, to this immense work, wherein the deficit, alas! would appear much greater, were it not for the unbelief in which one part of the people are plunged? It is impossible to anticipate such an effect. What means, then, can be used to supply the deficit? I know only of one. It is not much, yet it is the only one.

"In our age, when so much has been done to abridge manual labour, and to perform a great deal of work by few hands, philosophy ought to devise means for extending to the moral world the advantages of mechanic science. If it is proved, that there is now only one minister of the Gospel, where there were formerly five, eight, or ten; if it is likewise proved, that the new institutions do not admit of any possible change in those proportions; and if it is an axiom that nothing can be changed in these new institutions, we must come to some determination, pursue other measures, and seek for a support to religion among its remains and fragments, since none can be found in its restoration. The greatest work must be undertaken with the smallest possible number of labourers, and forming our church on the pattern of the English tribunals, we must have circuits for our clergy,

* *Écraser l'infâme*, a blasphemous expression of the revolutionary monsters, levelled at our blessed Saviour, and implying their design of subverting his religion. Ed.

an itinerant court of morality, which shall hold assizes for teaching and catechising. In short, missions must every where be instituted, in order to fill up, by an ardent zeal, and excursive charity, the many voids that now exist.

This necessity has long been felt by truly Christian souls, who have hailed this last resource, and devoted themselves to it courageously. Under Buonaparte, their zeal would have been checked; in the present time, it has met with no obstacle. Perhaps a hope may be indulged, that means will be found to cherish and propagate it. The first efforts were more productive of benefit, than could have been expected. They must appear surprising at the first view, when one knows, to what a degree immorality, dissipation, and indifference had risen in France; but this surprise ceases with those, who consider that the labours in question operated chiefly upon the lower classes of the people, who are not drawn away from religion by false lights, and who are impelled toward it by two powerful motives, profound misery and long servitude. Proud infidelity reigns in France in a more elevated region, in that which is peopled by rich and ambitious revenue-farmers, military commissaries, contractors, and the like; by all the men whom the revolution has taken from their original situations, in order to raise them to a higher rank in the scale of society. These men acknowledge but one God, or, rather, one Goddess. As for the two other tribes who vegetate on our soil, the one has remained stationary, that is, the people; the other has fallen from its station, these are the great and the rich of other days. The former resume their ancient doctrines, as they maintain their ancient condition; the latter have saved from shipwreck only their religion, their principles, and all the fortune which BIAS carried along with him. They adhere to it as to their last remaining good. There is reason, therefore, to bless Heaven and its apostles; but we are not to be astonished at the success of the first missions. I shall reserve my surprise until the time, when I shall see them convert not merely the people, and the rich who have been ruined, but also the poor who have been enriched.

In support of what I have just stated, you will, perhaps, be interested in receiving some details, communicated to me from a most respectable quarter, concerning a mission which took place, at the commencement of last year.

The main objects of this mission were the important towns of Orleans, Angers, and Nantes. In the latter, it lasted from the 17th March to the 28th April. It was under the direction of the learned and pious Abbé de Rauzan, chaplain to the king, and acting superior general of the missions in France. His co-adjutors,

adjutors were Messrs. Forbln de Janson, Guyon, Montant, and six others whose names have not reached me; if I knew them, I should mention them with more satisfaction, than I would many of the heroes of history.

The smallness of their number did not allow them to multiply their labours, as the wants of the church might have required, by extending their circuits to towns of an inferior order, and to country-places; but the inhabitants of the neighbourhood flocked to the town where they sojourned, and, in the limited circle which they were obliged to prescribe to themselves, they reaped a harvest so abundant, that the infidels, the libertines, and the friends of the revolution, who ridiculed them at the outset, at length assailed them with bitter abuse. This was quite natural; no one likes to have his religion attacked, and atheism has become a religion among that class. They called these ministers of the Gospel the *spies of the king*.

Their labours, which exceeded, not their zeal, but their strength, consisted, from the first, in performing religious worship two or three times a day, for an hour and a half each time. That in the morning began very early, and that in the evening very late, so as not to interfere with the occupations of the people. The *Domine, salvum fac regem!* always terminated the service. Masses, instructions, and lectures on evangelical doctrine and morality, occupied part of the remaining time, and, from five in the morning until eleven at night, the hours which were not employed in these holy works, were wholly taken up in confession.. Not a moment was reserved for repasts, which were like those of the anchorites of the Thebais; and part of the night, besides, was devoted to the dying and the sick.

During the mission, an act of solemn expiation was performed to the Deity, for all the crimes with which his altars were polluted, in the revolution. With equal solemnity, a renewal was made of baptismal vows, and of dedication to the Holy Virgin. The most distinguished persons in the town assisted, and held burning torches before the holy sacrament.

The missionaries appointed nine days for religious exercise and humiliation (*retraite*), and more than four thousand *men*, (I notice the sex, because it makes a great difference in the religion of the French,) attended to the call, with extraordinary earnestness. On one Sunday two thousand four hundred of them communicated, with the most lively faith, and the tenderest piety: after twenty-five years of mourning, this touching spectacle cannot be adequately conceived by those who did not see it.

The mission was at length terminated by *planting* the cross, called

called the *Cross of the Mission*, preceded by a general procession, so majestic, so remarkable for the good order, the silence, and the attention which prevailed, that the aged could not remember to have ever seen so imposing a ceremony. The chiefs, the public authorities, the troops, the whole town, and the country around attended.

Such, my dear friend, were the labours of those apostolic men, in the single town of Nantes; and the following are the fruits they produced. There prevails in that great town more union, more neighbourly affection, more industry, peace, regularity, and social order. The converted persevere, and the unbelievers are ashamed. Manners are become more pure; people love their God, and consequently their king. Three associations have been formed there, for the purpose of gratuitously providing for the indigent classes, a religious, moral, and social education. In short, all the inhabitants, even those who unhappily consider this blessing solely in a civil and political point of view, ardently desire that so valuable a crusade should be renewed, and that every diocese in France should have a permanent body of missionaries, constantly employed in its visitation.

As to the character and talents of the men, who have dedicated, or rather sacrificed, themselves to this good and great work, their devotedness alone would be a sufficient testimony; but I shall add, that they were men well-disciplined, disinterested, faithful, glowing with zeal; they were apostles of the primitive age, with no provision, but the scrip and the cross; with no ambition, but that of saving souls; worthy of martyrdom, and ripe for Heaven. Several of them were endowed with much eloquence. The Abbé de Rauzan had that gracious gift of persuasion, which distinguished Massillon. The Abbé de Janson, more austere, was qualified to subdue rather than to attract.

I have perhaps detained you too long on a subject, of which the full importance can be felt only in France, where, however, it is not adequately felt; but my warmth has led me on: I can see no greatness in this world, comparable to greatness so humble, and so chaste. All the dust raised by dignities, ambition, and arms, is still but dust, when contrasted with this solid glory. Believe me, my friend, we may burn our books; the truly great are those who seek to descend; the real heroes are not those who sacrifice nations to their own renown, but those who sacrifice themselves for the welfare of nations.

DE F

LETTER X. (Translation.)

On Louis De La Roche Jaquelin, and on French Parties.

To E. J. — Esq.

My dear Friend, *Paris, March, 1817.*

IN compliance with your urgent request, that I would collect, for your information, every authentic particular that I could, respecting the fate of our gallant hero LOUIS LA ROCHE JAQUELIN, I transmit to you the substance of an affecting communication, which I have just received from my friend D'O——. You will see in it, I hope, another proof of the contrast that must ever exist between the feelings of *Whites* and *Blues* — between men who devote themselves to almost certain, and (I am sorry to add) in general, to thankless ruin, in the cause of honour and loyalty; and men, who, making a *trade* of rebellion, even in its pettiest details, can huckster and traffic for the pillage of a slaughtered enemy, can refuse to his gallant followers the precious relic of their chieftain's sabre, and drive a jew-bargain for his watch. Yet for aught I know, the latter may be basking in the sunshine of royal favour, while the former hardly escape the stigma of an *amnesty*, for having shed their blood in the cause of the Bourbons: the one party may be covered with *crosses* of honour, while the other is left to *bear the cross* of Christianity alone. But so it is, and must ever be under the reign of what are so falsely called *liberal ideas* — ideas, which liberally take right for wrong, copper for gold, like the proverbial exchange of the arms of Glaucus, and perhaps, at bottom, for the same reasons, cowardice and folly — but I will not detain you from the narrative, which I promised.

You know, that Louis LA ROCHE JAQUELIN accompanied his sovereign to Ghent. He could do no otherwise; his name, and his rank in the king's military household, would have prescribed this conduct, if his sentiments had been far less noble, than they really were. At Ghent, you know, having seen the king fixed in safety, and no apprehensions of his majesty's personal danger any longer existing, La Roche Jaquelin's first thoughts, his most ardent wishes, were to be on the field of battle, combating for his sovereign. The white flag was flying in *faithful La Vendée*. The shade of his martyred brother beckoned him to the field. Earnestly did he solicit to take with him his brave grenadiers of the guard, and to embark with them for the coasts of Brittany. At length he was allowed to depart *alone*!

He sought your friendly shores. There patriotism and loyalty were felt, and were honoured. He collected a few loyal Frenchmen: he was animated by the applause of the Prince Regent's government: he was furnished with arms and ammunition for immediate use, and further supplies were promised him, to be sent as occasion should direct. — You saw him depart.

I will not attempt the recital of events, which will soon be illustrated by a far more interesting pen. I will say nothing of the loyalty which, in a few weeks, had raised, as by magic, an army of 80,000 royalists in La Vendée — I will pass over the diabolical treachery of Fouché, which contrived to paralyse their operations, even by means of his communications with Ghent — in fine, I will be silent on the unhappy, but too customary dissensions of the Vendean chiefs. Louis La Roche Jaquelin, always foremost in danger, fell nobly on the 4th of June, 1815 — only a single fortnight before the battle of Waterloo — a single fortnight, and La Roche Jaquelin might have been preserved to his country! — The ways of Providence are inscrutable; but they are wiser than our frail judgment can conceive.

The following is the substance of D'O——'s short narrative: — “Our unfortunate general,” said he, “was killed within fifteen paces from the enemy; our people were flying; and it was not possible to rally them, until we received a reinforcement of 400 men of the *marais*; then we drove the enemy from the field of battle, and pursued them for the space of two leagues. It seemed as if these same *Blues*, who massacred our prisoners at L'Aiguillon, and who killed them even afterwards, soldiers and officers indiscriminately, with the bayonet, at La Roche Servière, were struck with respect at the sight of the bleeding body of this victim of heroic resignation, and too great bravery. They did not strip him, but only plundered him of his sabre, his watch, his papers, and the money which he had about him. When the Duke de Bourbon went to Nantes, he passed the three first corps of the Royal Vendean Army. The fourth corps, that of the department of the two Sevres, sent to compliment him by a deputation, of which I made a part. We were twelve: we found General Estève at Nantes; he commanded the enemy on the unfortunate but memorable day of the affair of Mates, on the 4th of June. With one consent we resolved to endeavour to rescue what had been taken from our unlucky chief. We went to find Estève, who received us coldly, though politely. He said, that he only knew of the sabre, which he had in his possession, and the watch which a soldier had sold to a *major*: after many pretences to gain time, and get rid of us, he showed

showed the sabre. At this sight, our feelings were not to be described. As to me, the tears were in my eyes; and I was not the only one who wept: the Chevalier de B—— stamped with his feet, and, taking hold of his sabre, cried out, "Good God!" A younger person, who was with us, could not contain himself, and muttered an insulting, but gross term, as descriptive of our enemies, in the very hearing of Estève and his aides-de-camp.

"They comprehended his meaning well enough; but there was a calm after this ebullition of rage—a calm of respect, terror, and veneration, which they could not avoid participating, and which they durst not interrupt. We all crowded around this sabre, turning our eyes from beholding it, for it was quite stained with the blood of the General; our conversation grew animated, but somewhat loaded with invective; the words we used were no longer disguised; and things almost proceeded to extremities. At last we found out the major, who had purchased the watch—he sold it to us for triple its value!!! We paid the money, looking astonished at each other; we returned to St. Aubin, to present these precious relics to the ladies La Roche-Jacqueline, sisters to the General. It was to them and to us, the most appropriate present that could have been offered." —

Such is the statement of my friend D'O——, and I need not assure you, that every fact, and every feeling, which it paints, are painted with as much fidelity as clearness. It may afford some illustration of the characteristics, which you often hear attributed to the different parties in France. Those characteristics are forcibly marked, in the first Number of the CORRESPONDENT, which I have read with great pleasure. Perhaps, however, the following shorter sketch by the Baron de M—— will serve to bring the exact state of our political parties more distinctly within the comprehension of an English reader: and if you think so, you are at liberty to publish it, together with the other contents of this letter.

"We may consider France as divided into *three* different parties.

"The *Royalist* party, properly so called, is that which in good earnest desires the end of the Revolution. It is not (as people wish to make it be imagined,) composed of a small number of emigrants, who, constantly attached to their legitimate sovereign, have grown old in exile, and lost all, except honour. As little is it exclusively made up of people, who sigh after the restoration of the old regime. On the contrary, it is composed of old proprietors, and of people, who, not having profited from any of the depredations so common in the Revolution,

tion, have more or less been its victims; it is composed of men who have never quitted France, during the most violent troubles, and who have been forced, for their personal safety, to study the events, and follow the progress of that Revolution, with which they have often struggled; in short, it is composed of men of all professions and ages, united by a desire for the public good, the remembrance of some virtues past, and the hope of tranquility to come; these people of course are *determined* not to become a second time the victims of a small number of adventurers, enemies to religion, social order, the country, and its legitimate government. This party can reckon in its body nearly four-fifths of the population of France; it is confident in its strength, and extent of means; it is more moderate than is generally believed; and only wishes to act in cases of most extreme moment and urgency; this party, above all things, wishes to establish the *peace of Europe*, and the *legitimacy of the Throne*.

“ Another party, more dangerous for France and the repose of Europe, is that which the French government seem to favour the most, because it conceives it to be the most powerful, and consequently wishes to support itself on its interest. This is the party which, knowing always how to accommodate itself to circumstances, has, for the last 25 years, occupied all the places under the Republic, the Directory, and Buonaparte; it imagines, that, except in its pale, there cannot exist talent; and which, to prove this assertion, boasts of all the victories, and vast conquests which have been gained under its administration, and which ultimately led to the *definitive treaty of 1815* || This party is composed of almost all the agents of the present government, who hold all their offices from Buonaparte, and anxiously expect his return; it also includes the purchasers of national domains; monied men of the army, who were ultimately dismissed on the banks of Loire; and all those who fear to lose the places they enjoy; it takes in a fifth of the population of France; Paris supplies it with great numbers; this party hates the allies; seeks to sow dissension amongst them; and to stir revolts in their states. It openly avows, as necessary for its existence, the continuation of war without the kingdom, and the illegitimacy of the throne within it.

“ The *third* party is named the ORLEANS faction; it is inconsiderable; but may be increased with ease by the great number of adventurers, with whom France abounds; and also by the individuals who only wish the illegitimacy of the throne, without being acquainted with the secret views of the chiefs. Their object is to make use of the name of a prince, whose errors,
and

and the courage which he showed in the commencement of the Revolution, may second their ambitious views; but who cannot be ignorant, that such views would only prepare for him the fate, which befel his ambitious father. It must not be forgotten, that it was this last party, which, by sowing the seeds of revolt, all over the world, prepared before-hand the surprising but short-lived triumphs of the French arms."

To these just remarks of our friend De M——, I have nothing to add, but that I am ever, my dear friend,

Yours,
T.

LETTER XI.

On the Corporation of London, its Antiquity, and political Importance.

To Monsieur de ———

London, March, 1817.

HAVING briefly traced, in my former letter *, the progress of English corporations, in general, and their intimate connection with the establishment of civil liberty, I proceed to notice, more particularly, your enquiries respecting the constitution of the corporation of London, which is founded not only in chartered, but prescriptive customs, the origin of which latter have been lost in the lapse of ages. From the first records of the history of England it seems, that London had made a conspicuous figure; and on one great occasion, viz. the Revolution of 1688, it was called upon to send the lord mayor, all the aldermen, and fifty of the common council, to sit and deliberate in the Convention parliament, as one of the co-estates of the realm.

The form of its government is almost an epitome of the British constitution: it is guided by the Lord Mayor, as the executive, but not as a separate power: the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council are the deliberative bodies, the former of which acts separately in some of its functions; but in general measures they act conjointly, each individual of the whole having an equal vote.

A.D. 1191, during the absence of King Richard I. in the Holy Land, the Regent (his brother), together with the barons,

* See p. 15.

met the citizens of London in St. Paul's Church-yard, and granted them "to have a *community*," or select number of citizens, for the management of their affairs. This body, eighty years afterwards, appears to have consisted of only forty persons, belonging to the different wards, into which the city is divided. The number has been since increased, and now consists of 236. Some of the charters, within 200 years from the Norman invasion, call the men of London, "on account of the dignity of that city," *Barones*. In 1224 they were allowed to use a common seal.

The great body of the citizens are now termed *Freemen*. They all possess the important privileges, above alluded to, in the charters. Their number is not known. A freeman only can sell goods, by retail, within the city; which right is obtained by these modes: 1st. by patrimony, it being hereditary; 2dly. by servitude, as an apprentice to some trade, for seven years, 3dly. by purchase, at an expense of from 30*l.* to 50*l.* according to the rank and respectability of the livery company, in which the individual is to be enrolled, as a member. The public functions of the freemen, who are householders within the city, consist in choosing the *Aldermen*, in their respective *wardmotes*, or ward-meetings, and in annually electing members to represent them in *Common Council*; as likewise, *constables* for the preservation of the public peace, and *inquestmen*, who inspect the weights and measures of retail shop-keepers. They perform, besides, other functions, tending to the good order of their respective wards.

The next constituent body of citizens are the *Liverymen*. Every freeman must belong to some *livery company*, but he may not be a liveryman. These companies are the different *guilds*, or trades, established by early charters, in the infancy of commerce, for the support and protection of each art and mystery, such as goldsmiths, weavers, merchant-tailors, ironmongers, &c. Formerly, it was necessary for every artisan to be a freeman of the company of his respective trade, before he could exercise his calling. This custom, however, in the progress of commerce, became so burdensome, that it has long since been disused. Many of these companies still retain the remains of their ancient importance, in possessing considerable privileges, and revenues, the latter of which are expended, either in supporting public seminaries of learning, or relieving their decayed members, and also in celebrating occasional festivals. A few particulars, not to be found in the common publications, respecting the revenue and expenditure of the companies, and of the corporation in general, will suffice to give you an idea, how these institutions are interwoven with the other public establishments of the country, and no less with the general system of public credit, and how this

mutual

mutual bearing of all the parts of the great national fabric on each other, serves to consolidate and strengthen the whole. Thus, dependent on the *Mercers' Company* is *St. Paul's School*, endowed with landed and monied property, to the amount of 5,300*l.* a year, which is principally expended in paying the salaries of the actual, and pensions of retired, preceptors; in keeping up the school-house, and supporting a certain number of the scholars at the university. It should be mentioned, that the monied property is invested in the public funds, amounting to a capital of 26,000*l.* 3 per cents., and is chiefly the result of accumulations from the landed revenue. The rich and respectable company of Merchant-Tailors, which has had to boast among its members several sovereigns, and branches of the royal family, besides a great number of noblemen, (it now includes the Duke of York, the illustrious Duke of Wellington, the present Lord Chancellor, &c.) maintains out of its funds the excellent seminary, called *Merchant-Tailors' School*, founded in 1561; and has, besides, the patronage of a great number of fellowships and exhibitions at the universities: viz. thirty-seven fellowships at Oxford, and seven exhibitions to Cambridge of 40*l.* a year, each for seven years. The exhibitions are in the gift of the master of the school. It has likewise six civil law-fellowships in St. John's College, Oxford, of 50*l.* each. In speaking of establishments for education, under the inspection or patronage of any part of the corporation, it would be improper to omit the munificent foundation of *Christ's Hospital*; the funds of which amount to, or exceed, 43,000*l.* per annum.* It has large estates, in various parts of England; it clothes, boards, and educates between 1100 and 1200 children, from the age of seven to fifteen, several of whom are sent to the universities, and supported there, from the funds of the charity. This school, founded by the royal charter of King Edward VI., is under the government of the lord mayor, aldermen, twelve of the common council, and various noblemen and gentlemen benefactors.

The lord mayor and aldermen are also governors of St. Thomas's, St. Bartholomew's, Bridewell, and Bethlem hospitals, and of Emmanuel hospital, in Westminster, a charitable institution for children, and aged people, with an income of 3,580*l.* a year, including the interest of 7,900*l.* 3 per cent.

* According to a report made to the House of Commons, last session, the exact amount of the income is 43,386*l.* The charters which *Christ's Hospital* holds, are of Edward VI. and Charles II. Ed.

stock.* It would lead me entirely away from my purpose, to speak of the 64 charity schools, (each educating 1000 children,) the National and Lancastrian schools, and the numerous other 'charitable institutions' in the metropolis, many of which have landed estates, or money in the funds. My object is to make you acquainted with the corporation of London, and I have, therefore, only to advert to such matters, as are immediately connected with it. Under the head of the expenditure of the corporation, the city-festivities are to be noticed. It is a common observation, which cannot be well contradicted, that nothing is done in London without a dinner. Our most sumptuous feast is that of the lord mayor's day; and the show and pomp which precede the dinner, are amongst our most splendid exhibitions. On that occasion, many of the companies display their flags and pageants, in escorting the lord mayor to and from the banks of the river Thames, when he goes, in his magnificent barge, to Westminster-hall, to be sworn into office, by the Barons of the Exchequer. Several of the richer companies attend his lordship, on the river, in their own barges, which are richly ornamented. On the lord mayor's return to Guildhall, an entertainment is given to the whole of the corporation, who appear in their robes. The ladies of the aldermen, and others, adorn the fête, which is likewise honoured by the great officers of state, foreign ambassadors, judges, and many of the nobility and gentry. Not unfrequently, some members of the royal family are present; and on the first lord mayor's day, after the accession of a new sovereign, their majesties, the King and Queen themselves, condescend to be guests of his lordship. In general, about 1000 persons are thus entertained. The great Gothic hall, in the Guild-hall, is appropriated to this purpose.

But on no occasion was the hospitality of the lord mayor and corporation so sumptuously manifested, as in the year 1814, when the Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, and other great personages, were assembled in London. The joy at the overthrow of Buonaparte, and at the re-establishment of order and peace in the world, was universal, and was no where felt more strongly than in our metropolis. An address of congratulation had been presented by the city of London to your sovereign, Louis XVIII., on his resuming his throne: and it was natural, that sentiments of gratitude and admiration should be expressed to those great monarchs, and their generals, by whose efforts

* The report alluded to in the foregoing note, states the income of Emmanuel hospital at 2,990l. The charter is by Queen Elizabeth. Ed.

those happy changes were brought about. An unanimous vote was accordingly passed by the corporation, to invite the Prince Regent, with his illustrious guests, to a dinner at Guildhall, which, being accepted, was conducted with such splendour and magnificence, as to exceed any thing of the kind ever remembered in this country. The expense of this and a subsequent dinner, given to the Duke of Wellington, amounted, together, to upwards of 25,000l.*

Besides the great entertainments of the corporation, each of the most opulent companies has frequent dinners in its own hall, to which strangers of note are invited, and where our respectable traders associate with our naval and military heroes, with churchmen and lawyers, and other distinguished persons. This intercourse between the different members of the community, is not without its advantages, by bringing into contact those, who, from their situations, might otherwise know less of one another. You will, perhaps, smile at the gravity with which I speak of our dinners. They are in England of some importance, and almost thought necessary for the well-being of its inhabitants. — I have stated, that the freemen are enrolled in in one or other of the livery companies: each of these has a select number of members, who are called liverymen; which distinction is obtained by purchase, varying from 10l. to 100l. These liverymen, about 8 or 10,000 in number, hold their municipal meetings in the Guildhall; where, among other functions, they exercise the important privilege of choosing four representatives in parliament, a double number to that of any county, or other city in the kingdom. They elect the lord mayor, the sheriffs, the chamberlain, and some other city officers. They occasionally assemble with the consent, and under the presidency of the lord mayor, to discuss various political questions, previously submitted to his opinion. All these meetings are called *common halls*, and are to be distinguished from *common councils*. The common halls, especially when political subjects are to be agitated, are usually relinquished by the opulent and well-disposed part of the liverymen, and occupied by such, as have an interest or delight in turbulent and factious proceedings. Democracy and jacobinism have frequently made them their resort, and they have served as batteries, from which the government has been assailed. Noise, tumult, and ignorance, are generally the prominent features of such assemblies: and as they are pro-

* There exists a printed account of those festivities, which will remain a memorial of the magnificence of the London Corporation. Ed.

ductive of no good, you may be inclined to ask, why they are permitted. But Englishmen are so well acquainted with the character and essence of liberty, that they are not so easily misled, as others might be: and less apprehension is entertained of declamation, and bluster, than of any acts, that might tend to injure the constitutional freedom.

The *common council* is of a very different description. This, together with the lord mayor and the aldermen, forms the system of the city-administration, and is properly called the *Corporation*, or also Court of Common Council. The body so constituted possesses, in common with both houses of parliament, and the two universities, the distinguished privilege of addressing, or petitioning, the king on his throne, and the sovereign always condescends to reply in person. The duties of the common council are, to make bye-laws for the government of the city, to manage its revenues, which amount to no less than *one hundred thousand pounds sterling* * a year (arising chiefly from ancient grants by the crown, of lands, fines, imposts, &c.); and also to administer the funds of various trusts, committed by parliament to the corporation. The court of common council takes cognizance of all infractions of city-privileges; and it discusses political questions, with that freedom of speech which the British constitution imparts. It is only required, that the chief magistrate should convene, and preside at, such meetings. It often sets the

* Since the above was written, it appears that the corporation funds have experienced considerable embarrassments, chiefly owing to an act of parliament, which passed last session, for the abolition of gaol fees, throughout the kingdom, which by its operation increases the city expenditure upwards of 10,000*l. per annum*. — Newgate, and the other gaols, have been supported, from time immemorial, from the city's purse. The prisoners from the county of Middlesex, as well as the city of London, are confined there; and although the proportion of the former to the latter is nearly as six to-one, yet the whole are placed under the superintendence of the lord mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen exclusively. The abolition of fees, with the increased allowance of provisions, occasion this additional expence. The Regent's ministers refuse to encourage any expectation of assistance from the county-rates, unless the Middlesex magistrates have a concurrent jurisdiction with those of the city; this is resisted by the latter, and as no hope exists of parliamentary relief, on account of the late violent line of politics, adopted by the corporation, great difficulties exist in deciding, how this annual and increasing expenditure can be borne by its ordinary revenues, especially as they were before considerably deranged by the cost of a new gaol for debtors, the splendid dinners in 1814 to the foreign potentates, the Duke of Wellington, and many other extravagant expences. A *radical reform, and retrenchment*, therefore, appear to be, in future, indispensably necessary, in its own affairs, thereby adding to the innumerable instances on record, that those who profess the most fiery zeal for reforming the state, are usually themselves liable to be miserably deficient in the practice of economy.

example to the rest of the country, and influences other public proceedings, so that it, occasionally, may be said to have great weight in the nation, and a decided effect upon the measures of the minister. A striking instance of this we lately witnessed, in the question about the income-tax. The court of common council set the example of petitioning against this tax, as an intolerable burden, in time of peace, and these proceedings were followed up by the meetings of the different wards of the city, under the presidency of their respective aldermen. The result of these deliberations was published in all the newspapers, and echoed from one end of the kingdom to the other. It is well known, that the income-tax, in consequence of the feelings excited in the country by these and similar proceedings, was rejected by the House of Commons, notwithstanding the efforts of the ministers to prolong its existence.

The aldermen, with the lord mayor at their head, form a distinct court of record, for appeals on rates, assessments, and other matters. There are 26 aldermen, including the lord mayor. The name of Alderman, or Earlderman, appears to have been of Saxon origin. There is no account of their first institution. They are elected for life, and preside over the respective wards of the city. They are the only magistrates within the city. The wards and aldermen were recognised, in the 12th century, by a charter of Richard I.

The *Sheriffs* for London and Middlesex are chosen annually by the liverymen, under the charter of King Henry I. They are not necessarily aldermen, but must be freemen. Their chief duties are, to issue writs, take charge of prisoners for debts and felonies, and to act as returning officers in all elections for the city and county. This office is one of considerable expense: it seldom costs less than 3000*l.* to each person who serves it.

The *Lord Mayor* is the chief magistrate of the city. He is annually chosen from among such of the aldermen, as have served the office of sheriff. In modern times, the office has not often been served by one person twice. The practice was different in former days. Between the years 1189 and 1385, there were no less than ten instances of *mayors*, who occupied their station, on an average, six years each. From that period, there was no example of the immediate re-election of a mayor, till 1690, when the celebrated Sir T. Pilkington served two successive years. On the authority of these precedents, the present lord mayor, (Alderman Wood,) was re-elected after his first year; and he now wears two gold chains, in token of his double nomination. The livery, in common hall, possesses the right of proposing two candidates for the mayoralty; one of whom is then chosen by the court of aldermen. The lord mayor

mayor ranks with the King's privy counsellors, and, like them, has the title of *Right Honourable*. He does not sit as a peer of parliament; but at a coronation, he officiates as one of the great dignitaries of the crown, and walks in procession next but one to the princes of the blood. The title of *lord mayor* was assumed in 1399, when Henry I. granted the privilege of a mace being carried before him, which badge gives him the rank of a baron. The mace, which is made of silver and gilt, is likewise conceded to the mayors of York and Dublin, who, for the same reason, are styled lord mayors. The establishments of the lord mayor of London are almost princely. He has a noble mansion-house, in the heart of the city; and officers are appointed to attend him on occasions of ceremony. One of these carries the sword of state; another the mace and cap of liberty, which is not a *bonnet rouge*, but a handsome and sober fur cap. These, together with about twenty gentlemen, who purchase their situations, are, by turns, in waiting at his residence, and accompany him on any solemnity. He has a state-carriage, which, being of grand structure, like that of the King, is drawn by six horses. The expenses for this great office are supplied from the revenues of the city. The sum appointed is upwards of 9000*l.* each year; but this is seldom sufficient, and renders an aid out of the private fortune of the individual, who holds the office, necessary. This addition has sometimes been equal to the original appointment. That great expenditure will not surprise those, who know the wealth of the city. It is calculated, that the collective income, arising from trade in the city of London, annually, among the individuals, who clear at the rate of 5000*l.*, or more, falls little, if at all, short of *two millions and a half sterling*. It may thence be inferred, that there are always, in the city, from three to four hundred persons, who, by going very little beyond their ordinary income, have the means of supporting the state and dignity of the mayoralty, on the scale of expenditure, which I have mentioned. Among the principal officers of the city are farther to be reckoned, the Recorder, the Common-Serjeant, the Town-Clerk, and the Chamberlain.

The Recorder is chosen by the court of aldermen. He is always a lawyer of eminence, and supposed to be particularly conversant in the rights and privileges of the city, so much so, that his testimony and authority concerning them are admitted in evidence by the courts of justice. The Recorder ranks above every alderman, who has not been lord mayor. He presides in the city-courts, and in the absence of the Judges, at the Old Bailey, both for the city and for the county of Middlesex. In this

this capacity, he tries more criminal cases than any other magistrate in the kingdom. — The *Common-Serjeant* acts as Deputy Recorder, and is elected by the common council. — The *Town-Clerk*, who receives his appointment from the same quarter, is keeper of the records and charters. — The *Chamberlain* is the treasurer, and is chosen by the liverymen annually. All these officers, and several others, who are connected with the various law-courts within the city, have ample salaries. These expenses, together with public improvements, charitable subscriptions, and so forth, absorb the revenues, great as they are, so completely, that they, generally, leave little or no annual balance in the hands of the chamberlain.

Some idea may be formed of the responsibility of the Chamberlain's office, from the accounts laid by him before parliament, in the course of the last session, from the year preceding. These accounts relate to funds, constituted under the authority of different acts of parliament. That called the Orphan's Fund, consisting of small duties, on coals, wine, &c. amounted to 71,766*l.* and was applied to pay the interest, and reduce the principal, of the debts, contracted by the corporation, on the guarantee of this fund, for the purposes of building Blackfriar's bridge, making various improvements in the city and its approaches, &c. The principal of this debt, which amounted to 747,000*l.* in the time of King William III. is now but little more, viz. 789,000*l.*, notwithstanding the many public works, since executed by the corporation. The expense of keeping in repair Blackfriar's bridge was, in the course of last year, about 800*l.*; that of maintaining the city sewers, about 4000*l.*; that of forming new sewers, moreover of paving and lighting the streets, (which is now partly effected by the gas lights,) above 35,000*l.*; that of improving the upper navigation of the river Thames, above 28,000*l.*; that of improving the port and docks above 14,000*l.*; that of regulating the coal market, 5,800*l.*; that of improving Moor-fields, 1700*l.*; and that of building the New Prison, 15,000*l.*

You will perhaps ask, whether the government of the country appoints any of the officers of this remarkable corporation, assumes the management of its funds, or possesses any influence over its affairs, or direction in its deliberations? All these questions may be distinctly answered in the negative. In a body of electors so numerous, as the freemen and liverymen, it cannot be possible to influence their choice; nor do I believe it to be much more easy to affect the conduct of the members of this corporation. They are generally composed of persons in trade, or in the law, who are removed from all temptations of ambition; and

and as to interest, it is not recollected, that during the last twenty-five years, a charge of corruption in that respect has been seriously made, except in two cases; in one of which a leading member, who usually supported the ministry, having a clergyman for his son, to whom the Lord Chancellor presented a city living, worth about 200*l.* per annum, was charged, on no probable grounds, with having obtained it, in consequence of his political opinions. The other instance was that of an old member, whose son got a place of inconsiderable value in the custom-house. The father was accused of the same impropriety as the former. It may here be observed, that no alderman, or common-councilman, receives any salary, or enjoys any advantage, as a compensation for his services, with the exception of the allowance, before-mentioned, to the lord mayor, and a trifling sum divided among the various committees, for coach-hire, when the members attend, amounting to a few shillings each time.

With respect to the political divisions, which exist in the corporation, it is admitted, that party-spirit prevails there, as it does in every public body in Great Britain. But this must ever be the case in a free country. Human opinion cannot be uniform; and where there is liberty of speech, such differences will appear. The parties are usually distinguished as ministerialists and oppositionists; though, in fact, there is perhaps, in the corporation, little attachment to the individuals who form the ministry, or lead the opposition in parliament. The ministerial party, therefore, may be more properly said to support the existing government, than the men who compose it. They concurred in the war, on the principle of Livy, *Justum iis bellum quibus necessarium*; and they considered it necessary at once to defend the government against revolution, and the country against invasion. On the other hand, many of the oppositionists, or *whigs*, as they sometimes, though inaccurately, affect to style themselves, (for the old distinctions of whig and tory have long since ceased,) have a strong bias towards unqualified republicanism. There is no question of Lord Grey, Mr. Ponsonby, and other members of what is considered as the constitutional opposition in parliament: it is only such politicians as Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Cochrane, and the like, who are looked up to as their leaders. Of late, those parties have been nearly balanced. The doctrines of liberty and equality have still their influence, particularly among the poorer class of householders, (who are the most numerous,) in the out-skirts, (or *outwards*, as they are called) of the city; and as a rental of 10*l.* per annum gives a vote, most of the members returned by them are of the democratic cast. Some of the latter possess considerable

ability, and often take a lead at the common halls, as well as in the common council. Being sure to have their speeches recorded in the newspapers, they usually touch upon the most inflammatory topics, and are, therefore, deemed serviceable to the cause of *radical reform*.

On several occasions, the democratic party has considerably preponderated in the common council, which has been owing to the superior tactics of their leaders. It has been their practice, for some years past, shortly before the annual elections, to bring into debate some argument of a popular nature, calculated to inflame the passions of the ignorant. On such occasions, they take great pains to organise their proceedings, by holding previously nocturnal meetings of such of their adherents and followers, on whom they can depend. Each man is not only at his post, on the day of the debate, but he endeavours also to procure the attendance of all, over whom he can exercise any influence. Threats of the displeasure of their constituents are held out to those, who shall venture to differ from what is called the popular voice: their names are noted, and commonly inserted in some newspaper. These measures deter many, who love a quiet life, from attending these meetings; and thus it happens that men of property, and respectability, are virtually excluded from the common council, and replaced by those, who are distinguished for their violence, and extravagance in their political opinions. It is likewise known, that the republican faction has agents in every ward of the city, who have always a candidate of their party in readiness to start up, when any vacancy occurs. Such candidates are usually elected without opposition, as those, who are well disposed, seldom are inclined, from a love of tranquillity, to encounter the struggle that would be necessary, in order to defeat the purposes of their opponents. Hence those contradictory proceedings are to be explained, which have lately taken place, when measures of government, which were at a former period most highly commended by the common council, touching the conduct of the war, and the conclusion of peace, were subsequently condemned and reprobated, nominally by the same body; an inconsistency which, if the common council were answerable for it, one could not think of without indignation, and contempt. It may perhaps be hoped, that the citizens of London, who are, in general, sincerely attached to the constitution of the country, and its lawful government, will vindicate their rights, and not suffer their body to be made the tool of a despicable faction, that under the semblance of patriotism aims at nothing less than revolution.

I have

I have thus given you an account of the corporations in England; and you will have perceived how they are connected, as subordinate wheels, with the great machine of our political constitution. I have pointed out to you, how those bodies, in former times, were the source and support of civil liberty; and the advantage, that now is derived from them, upon many occasions. I have lastly directed your attention to the Corporation of London, in particular; the construction and peculiar character of which is no less interesting to the curious observer, than its influence upon the affairs of the British empire is remarkable.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

J. J.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the preceding letter, the funds and endowments of some schools, and charitable institutions, have incidentally been mentioned. The editor can add a few data, which he has collected, concerning other establishments that exist in the metropolis: and it may not be disagreeable to the reader to have them communicated. The following statements are derived from the authority of a report made to the House of Commons, last session:—

	£	
Grey Coat Hospital - - - -	Income 1,934	Charter by Queen Anne.
Green Coat School - - - -	700	- - - Charles I.
Foundation School, White Chapel - -	452	Will of Rev. R. Davenant.
Parish School, Hemmings's Row - - -	1200	Voluntary Subscription.
St. Luke's Parish School - - - -	752	

There are altogether 64 charity schools, in the metropolis. The parochial school of St. Luke's has 6,300*l.* in the 3 per cent. consols. St. Catharine's charity school has 1,550*l.* in the funds. The Foundling Hospital has about 95,000*l.* stock in the funds: its annual income is about 10,000*l.* from lands, and funded property. The Charter-House has estates to the value of 22,000*l.* per ann. besides some money in the public funds, to the amount of between 8 and 9,000*l.* capital. It has 22 exhibitions to the universities, of 80*l.* to 100*l.* per ann. each; and the patronage of 11 livings in the church. Westminster-School was founded by Queen Elizabeth, and is supported by the revenue of various lands, and other possessions, with which the Dean and Chapter are invested. It sends off eight scholars annually to the universities, on exhibitions: but the expense of the school is not above 1,200*l.* a year.

J. S.

LETTER XII. (Translation.)

On the French Armies.

To C. M. Esq.

YOU wish to know, sir, how the French armies acquired that astonishing superiority, which threatened to lead to universal conquest; and you desire to be informed of their organisation, their progress in the art of war, and also of the causes of the most memorable victories, and the most dreadful reverses, on record. You seem, besides, anxious to learn, whether, in reality, the moderns have advanced, or are fallen off, in military science, and wish to survey the gradations by which nations, who were highly civilised, and distinguished by the discovery and acquisition of many excellent and useful arts, beheld, in the midst of such advantages, in the bosom of luxury and refinement, the re-production of the numberless armies of a Cyrus, and an Attila — multitudes, preceded by terror and devastation, and followed by famine and pestilence.

The subject is copious, extensive, novel, and of deep research; and a great and interesting work might be written upon it, to the execution of which I wish that I were competent. But the time for it is not arrived, and this work belongs to the province of history. In the meanwhile, it may be allowable to trace some sketches; and I will make the attempt — let an abler hand accomplish the task. You will, therefore, sir, pardon me, if I prove not, at all times, equal to the subject; for I am, in the present instance, less prompted by the extent of my knowledge, than by the desire of complying with your wishes. It is principally with regard to facts, that misrepresentation should, I think, be guarded against; our opinions are as nothing; it is for posterity to judge. Having for twenty years attended the French armies, I have often witnessed both triumph and defeat, and have been a near observer of men and things. If I be unable, at times, to restrain my enthusiasm, as an actor in these scenes, I shall willingly subject it to the examination of rational criticism. I shall speak of what was good, and of what was evil, with the same frankness. Your judgment will do the rest.

Public opinion, ever uncertain, has been found, in all cases, to incline to the fortunate side. The most admirable enterprises have been often blamed, solely because they had failed; while

others, the most extravagant, have been extolled to the skies, because they had succeeded. Men have been judged by events; and the operations prepared by genius have been sometimes ascribed to incapacity: such a criterion may mislead, since there is an evil influence, which decides, at random, on individuals and on reputation.

A campaign is not like a game at chess; combination is easily frustrated in the one; in the other every thing may be foreseen: here the elements are ever varying in nature and value; there they remain always the same. The chances of war may be said to be of two kinds, *physical* and *moral*; talent may direct the former, but it is powerless over the latter. Hence the soldiers of the Revolution, undisciplined, inexperienced, ill clothed, and almost destitute of arms and of bread, disconcerted, in the way that we have experienced, the wisest combinations of the first generals in Europe, by a burst of enthusiasm, which deranged all tactics: they were victorious in defiance of probability, in spite of all obstacles, against numbers, and advantage of ground. The same phenomena have been observed, of late years, in *Spain*, and were formerly witnessed in *Switzerland*, and in the *United States*; they are to be seen, at the present moment, in *Mexico*. So far is courage superior to all combination!

The passions decide every thing, even in war. Oppose an army of fanatic enthusiasts to a mechanical army, composed of machines, at three-pence a day, and you may calculate, beforehand, which side will be victorious, without being either a general, or a tactician. The one will follow its leader through the greatest dangers, the other will timidly seek safety in a deliberate retreat, or in a disgraceful flight. An army, therefore, requires something more than discipline, to excite military courage: the soldier must have passions, and if he has none, they must be given him.

Among the Romans, the love of plunder and rewards, the principles of honor and self-love, supplied the place of fanaticism and enthusiasm. This was the great secret of Alexander, of almost all conquerors, and especially of a man of the present age, notorious alike by his elevation, and by his fall. Honour was his constant theme; he placed it continually before the eyes of the soldier, as the grand aim of all his exertions and his toils: this magic word impelled the Frenchman to seek death at the extremity of the globe; it is what may be termed the metaphysics of warfare. Buonaparte had skill enough to perceive, that a nation naturally lively, intelligent, warlike, and of quick feelings,

ings, adored honor, as a lover adores his mistress, and that this is the best stimulus to that valour, by which victory is achieved.

The art of war, properly so called, presents four great periods, assignable respectively to the *Roman armies*, the *irruption of the barbarians*, the *invention of gunpowder*, and the *age of Louis XIV.* I shall take a rapid view of them, and shall then advert to the formation, the organisation, the force, and the tactics of the French armies, from the commencement of the seventeenth century to the present time; I shall state the changes and innovations which it has experienced, the various modes of management that were adopted, the probable causes of its successes and reverses; I shall proceed to notice the different remarkable plans of warfare, during the continental struggle, down to the day of *Waterloo*; I shall draw a parallel between the French armies, and those of other nations, in order to see, what we have borrowed from them, and what they have derived from us; and I shall conclude by an enquiry into the influence of military administration, in the successes of modern armies in France.

The ancients had scarcely any idea of those manœuvres and evolutions, which in our days tend to keep European armies in presence of each other, for whole months, without coming to action. With them, the parties were soon engaged; the strength or address of the combatants decided the victory: there needed neither magazines, nor dépôts, nor arsenals, nor lines of operation. All these considerations rather diminish our astonishment at the rapid marches of Cæsar in Gaul.*

Among the moderns, in consequence of the artillery, provisions, equipages, and articles of luxury, with which their armies are encumbered, several months of preparation are required to put them in motion: they must have convenient roads for their march; and when they at length reach the field, they cannonade each other at a distance, for whole days, without joining battle. Close combats are rare, and almost always partial: they never decide the victory, at least according to the ordinary rules.

Our system of warfare is, therefore, very different from that of the ancients; the difference is not, however, absolute: there are several points of affinity. Our present order of battle resembles theirs; they, like us, supported the troops actually engaged, by a second line, and a reserve.

* He usually made forced marches of 16 leagues in 24 hours.

The art of war was carried by the Romans to the highest point, at that time attainable; the formation of armies, the ground-work of all success, was with them essentially national: these armies had always the superiority, as long as this system lasted; but when once *auxiliary* and *foreign* troops had been admitted, they began rapidly to decline.*

In the early times of the republic, the citizens were convoked on the *Campius Martius*, for the formation of the legions; and this call included the *married* and *unmarried* men, from 17 to 46 or 50 years of age; no exemptions were allowed, except to those who had served twenty campaigns.

Before the legions were made permanent, the men, after being enrolled by the magistrates, were sent back to their homes until the period when they were embodied †; here we recognise the prototype of our *militia* and of our *conscriptions*, which are much superior however, in point of method, to the *recruiting* system of the ancients; but of this we shall speak in another place.

When the time of embodying arrived, the tribunes classed the men, according to their physical and moral qualifications. The young and the poor formed the *velites*, light troops, answering to our *chasseurs* and *voltigeurs*. ‡ The *hastati* were next in order; these correspond with the companies of the centre, in our regiments of the line. After them came the *principes*, the *triarii*, and the *equites*, or *cavaliers*. The Roman legion differed essentially in numerical force from a modern regiment, and in the judicious distribution of the various kinds of troops then employed. Under the consuls, its complement was 4,900 men; in the time of Scipio 4,800; during the civil wars, and under the emperors, it underwent frequent variations; but it never fell short of 4,900, or exceeded 6,000 men. A consular army was never more than 18,600 strong; it had only 1,800 cavalry, being about a tenth of its effective force, according to the formation stated by *Polybius*. In critical exigencies, the Romans united several such armies upon the same point; at the battle of Cannæ there must have been four, that is to say, nearly 80,000 men.

The strength of our regiments has varied much oftener, since the existence of standing armies; they have—consisted of 900,

* Scipio Africanus first introduced, into the Roman armies, the numerous auxiliary cavalry of Numidia, Spain, and Sicily.
Augustus.

† Polybius.—The Romans had no standing armies until the reign of
‡ The *velites* are sometimes confounded with the *archers*, or *slingers*, of the time of Cæsar; but the former constituted part of the legions, the latter were only auxiliaries, foreigners to Italy; those of Italy were called *social troops*.

800, 1,900, 1,800, and 2,000 men, for the infantry; and 900, 600, and 800 for the cavalry. The infantry regiments of the line were augmented, for a short time, by Napoleon, to four war-battalions, and one of *dépôt*. Now, our battalion exactly equals the Roman cohort;* this made an effective force of 4,000 men to each regiment.† The force and numbers of the companies, composing the battalions and regiments, has varied still more frequently.

Though we have retained something of the admirable system of that mighty people, we have made an unfortunate innovation by separating the cavalry, which also formed part of the legion; and have thus rendered our organisation defective. The Roman legion was a small army of itself, containing a due proportion of all kinds of troops, besides the necessary workmen and mechanics, for all military exigencies, so as to have every resource within itself, in whatever situation it might happen to be.

The Romans very justly placed all the strength of their armies in the *infantry*; the cavalry, or, in other words, the cavaliers, formed only the twentieth part of the legion; they often alighted, and fought on foot. But the troops were never followed, or accompanied, by those great bodies of cavalry, to whose necessities the march of our modern armies must be accommodated.‡

The defensive armour of the infantry was the *great buckler*, the *cuirass* §, the *helmet*, and the *ocrea*. ||

The offensive arms were the short broad-sword, and the *pilum* or javelin.

• The light troops wore for defence a leather cap, or helmet, an oval buckler of wicker-work, covered with leather; their offensive weapon also was the short broad-sword. They, besides, made use of a missile weapon, a sort of small spear or dart, about three feet long, pointed with steel; of which each soldier had seven.

The cavalry wore the helmet and cuirass, and carried a round shield or buckler; their arms of attack were a long sword, hung on the right side, the spear or lance, tipped with iron at each

* The cohort was from 400 to 600 men.

† This was nearly the strength of the Roman legion including cavalry; which with us is *not of the line*.

‡ In the prosperous days of the republic, the Romans had, at most, 200 or 300 horse to each legion.

§ It was of brass, and fastened on the chest by leather straps, covered, or adorned, with metal.

|| A sort of boot, covered with iron, to protect the soldier's right leg, which he placed forward in striking the enemy.

end, and three or four darts, similar to those of the *Velites*. The Romans, besides, very readily imitated the customs of other nations, and never hesitated to adopt the arms of their adversaries, when they found them superior to their own.

Their exercise consisted in casting the javelin, in practising the sword-thrust, in performing military marches of six or seven hours, at ordinary or quick time, over the most difficult roads. We must picture to ourselves the legionary soldier on his march; with his buckler fastened to the left shoulder, a sword hanging on his right side, the helmet in a case hung at his breast, two javelins in his right hand, his effects put on a kind of frame resting on his shoulders, on his back three or four, or even more, palisades, a pioneer's implement, and a bag of leather, containing corn for fifteen days. This burden was not less than 90 lbs., that is, double the weight carried by our modern soldiers.

The light troops exercised themselves in running, swimming, leaping upon a horse, to the right and left, behind the rider. Few natural obstacles could impede these troops on their march, or their excursions. Their joint manœuvres were very simple, and consisted in forming the *wedge*, the *orb*, the *globe*, and the *tortoise*. If a troop was surrounded, they wheeled into a circle, which was a resemblance of our square.

A legion in camp was never inactive; its leisure moments were employed in public works. Roads, aqueducts, bridges, and other works, of which extensive ruins are every where traced, are the labour of the Roman soldier, the first earth-worker in the world. To him gymnastic exercise was every thing; even when he was led to war, it was only a change of exertion.

The order of battle was formed on three lines, by classes, or by cohorts, ten deep. At Cannæ, at Zama, and at Pharsalia, there were no other dispositions; this order was equally suited to a march, or an engagement. The cavalry was posted, according to circumstances, on the wings, or in reserve, behind the legionary infantry.

The *Velites* began the engagement, and then retired upon the flanks of the legion, or through the intermediate spaces; for, as the Romans used the sword, they always formed in open order. The *hastati* then ran upon the enemy's line, throwing their javelins, at twelve or fifteen paces distance; they then rushed impetuously, sword in hand, on their adversaries, who had been disordered by the first charge. The other ranks supported that in advance; they mingled, and the battle became general, all the ranks engaging in it. If the *hastati* were repulsed, the *principes* marched to their aid; and causing them to fall behind, renewed the combat. The *triarii*, with one knee on the ground,
and

and covered with their bucklers, rallied the *principes*, in case of need, and forming a close phalanx, advanced. The enemy, already exhausted, vainly opposed their progress, and at last turned their backs. Then the *velites*, and the cavalry hastened in pursuit. Such was the admirable play of the three Roman lines.* It was by a triple combat; and by the suitable admixture of men, of all arms, imparting to the same body, both weight and velocity, the means of attack and those of defence, that these legions were so long formidable to the barbarians.

This order of battle was more perfect than that of the Greek, or Macedonian *phalanx*, because the latter was formed on one line only, of considerable depth indeed, so as to support the first rank by the others; but the last ranks too close upon one another, for fighting, and thereby involved in disorder, during action.

The Romans always encamped on their marches; and even in time of peace, when they were stationary. This was an excellent method. The moderns crowd their soldiers into unclean and unwholesome houses, they suffer them to decay in cantonments, or barracks, where they are left to themselves, twelve hours out of the twenty-four. There they contract all kinds of disorders, so that a body of ten thousand men, whether performing a march of twenty days, or remaining in villages for several months, leaves an eighth, and often a fourth of its men behind, or in the hospitals.† Besides, the abrupt transition from absolute inactivity to excessive fatigue, and almost continual bivouacs, is alone sufficient to thin the ranks. The most robust man cannot, without injury, sustain these alternations, of which the destructive effects operate even on the brute.

Paying little regard to local circumstances, in pitching its camp, a Roman army never considered itself in safety, except behind those formidable entrenchments, which in some places are to be traced at this day. For an encampment of a single night, they threw up a turf-parapet, three feet high; a ditch, eight or nine feet wide, was opened in front; and the platform was crowned with a row of those palisades, which the soldiers carried with them on their march.‡

* Justus Lipsius, Polybius, Vegetius.

† In 1810, the French regiments, arriving at Magdeburg, on their return from the Austrian campaign, had one-third of their effective force confined in the infirmaries and hospitals, on account of the itch. Several, consisting of 2,400 men, could not muster 600, fit for service.

‡ Vegetius compares a Roman army, loaded with its implements, and with many thousand palisades, to an itinerant fortress.

If they had to remain long in the same encampment, they made these fortifications still more solid: the ditch was twelve feet wide and nine deep, with a double row of palisades, flanked with square wooden towers, of two stories, about a hundred or a hundred and twenty feet distant from each other. On leaving the camp, to offer battle, or go in search of the enemy, they left in it their baggage, and their sick and wounded; and it afforded them a secure refuge in case of a reverse. Nothing could have been better provided; there were no stragglers, no hospitals left behind, no baggage lost, in the march of the Romans.

Cæsar, when before Alesia, being surrounded by an innumerable multitude of Gauls, defended his camp by the addition of caltrops, with sharp stakes, covered with brush wood, as a concealment to the snare; and he caused whole trees to be thrown into the ditches, their branches being cut and sharpened, to pierce and lacerate the assailants. The imagination is staggered by these gigantic labours, when we read in his Commentaries, that in the course of two months he had, at the same place, a ditch made of the usual dimensions, 14,000 *twises*, or fathoms, in circuit, having then only 90,000 men at his disposal. How diminutive do our labours in fortification appear, compared with those colossal works of Roman industry and grandeur. Another characteristic of the camps of this people was, that they were always on the *offensive*; that is to say, they were placed beyond the rivers, in order that there might be no obstacle between the legions and the enemy. Our bridge-heads (*tête de pont*) may have sprung from this idea.

Their marches were generally executed by the flank, on ten files, when the line of route allowed it; the *extraordinaries** were in the advanced guard, the right wing being at the head of the column, immediately followed by its baggage and that of the extraordinaries; then the two legions, each with their baggage, in rear; the left wing of allies, or auxiliaries, closed the march. The cavalry was distributed in rear of the legions, of which it formed part; otherwise it covered the flanks of the column, to the right and left.† In a retreat the same order was followed,

* Besides the legions, there were in each Roman army, what were called *sociæ troops*; namely, 6,700 *alarii*, or flank troops, infantry; 1,700 ditto *extraordinary*; 800 *alarii equites*, or flank cavalry; 400 ditto *extraordinary*: the auxiliary troops of the allies (*socii*) were composed of *Italians*, who were not Romans, until they had acquired the rank of citizens.

† On approaching an enemy, all the baggage was likewise collected in the rear.

with

with the exception of the extraordinaries, who, instead of being placed in the advanced guard, were in the rear guard. The space occupied by such a column was between eight hundred and nine hundred toises, or fathoms; to deploy in front, or on the flank, did not require more than seven minutes. We sometimes require an hour, to place in order of battle a division of 6,000 infantry, with their cannon.*

As every individual carried his own subsistence for nineteen or twenty days, the Roman armies had not those numerous convoys in their train, which follow modern troops, taking both men and horses from agriculture, for whole months, and exhausting the countries through which they pass. There was no need, in an expedition, either to protect the communications, or to ensure the rear. The provisions, that were distributed, consisted of corn, vinegar, salt, and barley; each foot soldier received 49 pounds of corn, per month, the horsemen double that quantity; the latter were also allowed 42 bushels of barley, for the sustenance of their horses. The rations were distributed every fifteen days. The quæstor collected the supplies at the precise time, on the appointed spot; having procured them, either by requisition in the conquered countries, or by purchase with the public money. The most troublesome charge was the conveyance of hand-mills, to grind the corn. In an expedition against the Parthians, it was necessary to abandon the pack-horses which carried them, and the situation of the army became, in consequence, very critical.† The soldier kneaded his meal himself, formed a paste of it without leaven, and baked it under the embers; this bread was easily prepared in camp, and habit probably rendered it palatable. The vinegar served to correct the insalubrity of the water. The French, I believe, are the first who in modern Europe introduced into their armies the mode of distribution, practised by the ancients. It does not appear that meat was ever regularly delivered to the Roman legions; and perhaps it was on this account, that they were followed by so great a number of merchants and victuallers, who established themselves around their camps.

By degrees, the Romans introduced changes into the organi-

* The *deployment*, or, if you please, the passing from the columnar order to the order of battle, is, of all manœuvres, that which requires the greatest celerity in modern armies, especially when performed in presence of an enemy. At Eylau, two French divisions were destroyed in a few moments, because their movement, under the fire of the Russian army, was too slow, and they were mowed down with grape-shot, before they effected it.

† Plutarch.

sation of their armies; every thing began to degenerate; they no longer employed any but auxiliary cavalry; foreigners and slaves were admitted into the legions, which were arbitrarily augmented in the last days of the republic.* When Augustus became to be master of the empire, he was at the head of 49 legions, and 19,000 horse, the remains of all those armies, which had figured in the civil wars. He added to them 10,000 *Prætorian-guards*, the *Urban guards*, and the *Provincial troops*. From that time the military art continually declined. The armies were filled with adventurers and vagabonds. Those soldiers who had conquered the world, became weary of bearing arms, and desired to be rid of the helmet and the cuirass, that they might fly more easily before the barbarians who filled the fields of battle. Under Honorius and Valentinian, they no longer made head against those irregular and undisciplined, multitudes who, from the cowardice of their adversaries, and by the impetuosity of their own courage, their bodily strength, and their numerous cavalry, were enabled to over-run the empire on all sides, and to consummate its destruction.

It was necessary for me to endeavour to give you a precise idea of the spirit and the organisation of these mighty armies, because they have served as a model to all others, and because, since the revival of the military art in Europe, and the invention of fire-arms, all the beneficial changes effected in the tactics of modern armies have approximated, more or less, to the great military principles of the Romans, as you will yourself perceive in the sequel.

When the barbarians had become masters of the empire, the art of war, which the Romans had brought to so high a degree of perfection, entirely disappeared; their conquerors fought without method. Hostile tribes rushed on each other, by surprise, like wild beasts, driven by hunger from their dens. Numbers and force decided every thing; in their tumultuous combats, these herds encountered with lance and sabre; the worsted, fled into the woods, whither they were not pursued; the prisoners were frequently massacred. Murder, rapine, and fire marched in the steps of the conquerors; the booty was carried away and shared, and they then proceeded on other expeditions. The Huns, the Goths, the Vandals, the Burgundians, and the Franks, knew no other mode of warfare. The commencement of this period, therefore, presents nothing either instructive or interesting, until the time of Charlemagne.

The splendid and important conquests of that prince prove,

* The army of Cæsar in Gaul was progressively increased to ten legions.

that his military talents and his armies were superior to his age; and lead us to infer, that his troops were much better organised than those of his adversaries. Unfortunately, the chronicles throw no light on this subject; it is not until the eleventh or twelfth century, that they afford some details on the soldiery, and the mode of making war.

The armies of that time were neither regular nor permanent; the feudal lords convoked their gentlemen and their vassals, marching in person at their head, on the first call of the sovereign. The duration of the service of the knights banneret was not, in general, the same; it depended on the nature of the vassalage. It was fixed sometimes at three months, and sometimes at forty days. Every one carried his own provisions for that time, and at its expiration the army was irrevocably disbanded, whether the war was terminated or not; every one returned home. It bore a close analogy to the organisation of a Turkish army. The military art then consisted in making a sudden irruption into the territory of the enemy, for the purpose of laying waste his lands; the people from the country retiring, if possible, with their cattle and their effects, to the castles, which served as depots of arms. The plains were deserted; the war grew tedious, and then the alternative remained of retiring, or disbanding.

The gentlemen, the men-at-arms (*gendarmes*), covered with iron armour, and bearing a lance, fought always on barbed horses; the serfs, who followed in their train, as infantry, almost destitute of arms, either offensive, or defensive, were a mere rabble of undisciplined peasants, scarcely able to handle a bow, or a sling. They fled at the first shock of the gendarmerie, who were, at that time, the sole strength of an army.

The arts now began to revive in Italy. They were preferred to the toilsome business of war; there were no national soldiers; and yet a multitude of petty rival states, the offspring of anarchy, were almost continually at war with each other. At this period appeared the mercenary bands, hired by adventurers. These bands, indifferent to the interests, which they embraced for the sake of money, were seen to pass alternately from the standard of the vanquished to that of the conqueror. They always spared their own men, when opposed to each other. They waged war by means of artifice and stratagem, which brings us back to the first elements of tactics.

An army was now no longer a confused and tumultuary mass. It consisted of organised bands, which were often as imperious, and as unruly, as the janissaries. When a prince had successfully terminated a war, he had to encounter another difficulty, namely, that of satisfying the claims of an insolent soldiery, or of suffering them to live in free quarters, in his provinces.

vinces. It is well known, what uneasiness was occasioned to Charles V, of France, by the troops called in history the *great companies*, about the middle of the 14th century. The soldiers of whom they consisted, to the number of 30,000, after having saved France, under the command of DUGUESCLIN, became its scourge. Peace being established with foreign powers, it was necessary to devise a new employment for their avidity, as well as for their bravery, in order to relieve the state from them. Duguesclin led them into Castile, where the *pleasing hope of pillage*, as the chronicle bluntly says, *promised them a new booty*. There was even some difficulty in prevailing on them to depart; but France was exhausted, and they had before them the treasures of *Peter the Cruel*.

Even at this epoch, warfare had attained certain fixed principles. It is observable, that *Duguesclin* pursued a methodical plan of campaign, against the English in Normandy, Brittany, and Poitou; always making slow advances, seeking advantageous positions, fortifying himself, avoiding general actions, leaving nothing behind him, and carrying, in his train, military engines, for the purpose of undertaking regular sieges.

The Swiss had just conquered their liberty. Those mountaineers, obliged to defend themselves against a numerous cavalry, and being too poor to hire any, hit upon the expedient of furnishing their infantry with the helmet and the cuirass, and of arming them with the halbert and the sword. Circumstanced as the Greeks were, when assailed by the numerous cavalry of the Persians, they were seen successfully to oppose to the Austrians those close phalanxes, bristling with pikes; and to triumph over their attacks. This example excited the admiration of all warlike nations; the Swiss pikemen were considered as the first infantry in Europe. Louis XI. took 6,000 of them into pay; and every prince wished to have some, as a counterpoise against the power of his neighbour. Thus all was committed to a body of mercenaries, who might go over to the enemy, in the midst of a battle, if that enemy offered a little more money. And as there was no national infantry, the Swiss were, at once, the support and the terror of the princes who paid them.*

At

* In 1494 when Charles VIII. retreated from the kingdom of Naples, he had under his orders 20,000 Swiss; they suddenly revolted, and demanded the pillage of Lombardy. The king, on the point of being detained captive by these foreigners, escaped to Turin, but he had to pay 900,000 livres, a considerable sum in those days, for the ransom of his ministers, who had fallen into their hands. (Philip de Commines, book 8. chap. 16.)

At length the sovereigns perceived that it was more noble, easier, safer, and less expensive, to arm and discipline their subjects, after the manner of the Swiss. The Germans, the Spaniards, and the French, successively formed bodies of pikemen, whose reputation soon equalled that of the foreign mercenaries. It was also felt, that regular and standing armies must always have the advantage over tumultuary levies and hired troops.

Charles VII. began the organisation of a regular army; he kept a body of 16,000 infantry, and 9,000 cavalry. The latter were divided into 15 regular companies, of 600 men each, or, according to the phrase of the time, one *hundred furnished lances*.

The *lance*, or man-at-arms (*gendarme*), had five persons in his train; an esquire, three archers, and a page or valet. The hundred *gendarmes*, all gentlemen, with lance in rest, ranged themselves in a single line; in the second rank were the hundred esquires, armed with swords; the three hundred archers performed the service of light cavalry, and as they sometimes alighted to use the bow, the pages were employed to hold the horses.

The 16,000 infantry are denominated, in history, "frank archers" (*francs archers*.) One half of this militia was armed with the pike, and the other with the cross-bow. Their defensive armour consisted of the helmet, and jacket (a sort of light cuirass.) They were divided into four bodies, and the body into eight bands, or companies, of 900 men each.

He who introduces an advantageous innovation into the military art, does not long retain the benefit; because every body hastens to imitate it. Louis XI. raised the standing army to 29,000 infantry, and 19,000 cavalry; and the other European powers were also under the necessity of maintaining regular armies.*

At the retreat from the territory of Milan, in the year 1524, Admiral Bouivet, and Count St. Sol, entrusted the French Artillery to the Swiss, who left it on the road, and returned to their mountains, (*Hist. de Mgr. Bayard; recherches de Pasquier*). At Pavia, Francis I. complained bitterly of the mutiny and revolt of the Swiss. In 1590, at the moment, when Henry IV. was going to fight the battle of Ivry, the five Swiss battalions, which constituted the greatest part of his army, threatened to go over immediately to the enemy, if their arrears were not paid. The king, who had no money, was in the greatest perplexity; when Sully fortunately provided the necessary sum.

* The different potentates afterwards rivalled each other, in augmenting their armies, without regard to the proportionate population of their states. Louis XIV. had, including the marine, 440,000 men in pay, during the war of 1701. The Roman empire at no time maintained so many.

Francis

Francis I. had a great and noble idea, in wishing to divide the French infantry into seven legions, of 6,000 men each. This outline of Roman organisation was relinquished, after the death of that prince; and recourse was again had to detached bands of 300 or 400 men. But as the details of management, both in the field and otherwise, were multiplied, it became necessary to form these bands into bodies of 2,000 or 3,000 men, which were called regiments, and were each commanded by a *mestre-de-camp* (or colonel). The regiment, being afterwards found too numerous to be conveniently managed in action, was subdivided into portions of 600, or 700 men, called *battalions*. The three kinds of force, composing these regiments, were distinguished by the several appellations of *skirmishers* (*gens de trait*), *archers*, and *pikemen*. The former, like the *Velites* of the ancients, dispersed themselves, as sharp-shooters, in advance of the pikemen, and these, drawn up in close order, had to sustain the brunt of the battle.

The cavalry was not yet brought to a just proportion with the infantry. That unwieldy gendarmerie, loaded with iron, and heavy arms, though well qualified to break the enemy's lines, being neither fit for reconnoitring, nor for pursuit, was, in part, metamorphosed into light cavalry, armed with the bow and sabre.

The art of war was gradually reverting to the usages of the ancients, when the invention of gunpowder, and of cannon, overthrew all existing ideas, and created a new system. Those terrible projectile engines, more formidable than any that had ever been known, were to produce a great change. But it was not, until the sixteenth century, that the portable tubes, indiscriminately called the *arquebuss*, the *musket*, and the *gun*, were introduced. The Marquis of Pescara gained, it is said, the battle of Pavia, by the successful use, which he made of the *arquebusiers*, against the French cavalry.

For a long period, no fire-arms were given to the light troops. The *arquebusiers* formed scarcely a fourth of the legions, under Francis I.; the remainder still consisted of pikemen, because the expedient of combining with the gun, the advantages of the pike, had not yet been thought of. Puisegur tried it at the commencement of the reign of Louis XIV., and from that time the fire-lock superseded all other weapons. About the close of the seventeenth century, this memorable change was entirely effected; pikes were no longer seen. The cavalry, at the same time, relinquished the lance for the carbine, but with less propriety, because its tardy and uncertain fire, could never reply quick enough to that of the infantry. The helmet, the cuirass,
and

and all other defensive arms were laid aside, perhaps rather too inconsiderately: for it should seem, that the better course would have been to endeavour to render them ball-proof; and, besides, as close fighting was not entirely discontinued, it was an inconsistency to abandon defensive arms, when the offensive were becoming more dangerous.

Before the period, when the French troops had generally adopted fire-arms, the order of battle was formed on six or eight ranks. The archers dispersed themselves, as sharp-shooters, in front, and on the flanks. Afterwards, as we have seen, the musketeers were employed as light troops, because, being unable to keep up a regular fire with *match-locks*, they could not fight in line. But after the musketry had been improved, they soon entered into the order of battle. They were placed in the front rank, supported in rear by four ranks of pikemen, whose long weapons extended before them, and defended them. Montecuculi observed this order at RAAB; and almost all the generals of Louis XIV. did the same, until the period, when the bayonet was adopted. It then became necessary to reduce the number of ranks, because the fire-lock, being shorter than the pike, could afford no defence to those in front. This reduction limited them at first to four, and afterwards to three, which are in use at the present day. The English alone draw up their infantry in two ranks; and they are perhaps in the right in this: for it must have been often remarked, that in firing, the third rank greatly annoys the other two, and awkward soldiers sometimes wound their comrades in front.

During all these revolutions and experiments in military affairs, the *light infantry* and the *infantry of the line* were confounded, through the similarity of their arms. There was no longer any difference between them; and thus was lost the advantage, which might have been produced by a regulation, adapted to two such distinct kinds of service.

Armies now came to be encumbered with guns, carriages, ammunition, and an immense train; their march consequently became more tardy, heavy, and timid; more dependent also upon roads and seasons. The smallest armies had to divide themselves into columns, to facilitate their evolutions: those of Turenne and Luxembourg, we may observe, consisting of 29,000, or 30,000 men at most, formed five of these columns. The centre, composed of the cannon and baggage, took the main road; it was flanked, to the right and left, by a column of infantry; and the cavalry of the first and second line, formed the columns of the wings. All these troops only kept the distance,

tance, necessary for deploying; and marching with the same depth, they were, for this reason, obliged to cut their passage through woods and fields, when no parallel road was found. The stoppage of a single column arrested all the others. Hence there is no reason to be surprised, at present, that a day's journey, of three or four leagues, was then considered as a forced march.

The line of battle was formed double, at four or six ranks; the infantry in the centre, the cavalry on the wings and in reserve. There was much discussion, in those days, concerning the relative advantages of the *shallow* and the *deep order*; as if there could be any reasonable ground, in the new system of war, for relinquishing the line for the phalanx.* The ancient tactics, however, still prevailed at times; they were even advocated by men, whose names and opinions carried great weight.†

At the fatal day of Hochstedt, Marsin and Tallard were beaten, in consequence of having inconsiderately placed cavalry in the centre of their line; an order of battle, no less faulty, because it paralyzed the movements of the infantry, and threw their ranks into disorder. The art of war, however, made gigantic progress under Louis XIV.; fire-arms of all kinds were improved; the bayonet was adopted; tactics were ameliorated; and the art of siege, by mine and battery, was carried to so high a state of perfection, by the genius of Vauban, that it has since made no considerable advances.

The great Frederick appeared: he simplified the whole system; and imparted to the manœuvres of infantry, a degree of order and precision, until then unknown. Quickness of movement, rapidity of firing, all the grand evolutions of the field, and every branch of tactics, were taught and exemplified by this master of the art.

The French revolution took place, and produced a terrible war, in which all nations were involved. Great warriors arose from obscurity; the most extraordinary enterprises were witnessed; and leaders came forward, who might be compared to those, whom the three Punic wars produced among the Romans. The most striking successes, and the most fatal errors, both

* It is manifest, that the effects of artillery and musquetry would be as destructive to the reserve as to the line, if it was brought up close to that line; and hence, in our present system of war, the *deeper* the order is, the more men are disabled by the fire of the enemy.

† The Chevalier Folard, in the Commentaries on Polybius; and subsequently Marshal Saxe himself, in his *Réveries*.

afforded important lessons of every kind. The speculations of military men, their plans, their resources, their expedients, were as various, as the theatre on which they appeared. The science of marches and of battles was exhausted; almost all the mechanical part of the military art made perceptible progress; but the system of war, founded on the use of fire-arms, does not seem to be as yet fixed — the management and conduct of war has evidently deteriorated. Opinions are unsettled; and experience has often only served to prove the inutility of general principles, when application of them is attempted, without modification.

Marshal Saxe was the man, who, in his day, best knew the temper of the French armies, and who availed himself of it most advantageously, for the attainment of objects, really useful in the progress of the art. The formidable English phalanx, already mistress of the field, learnt on the plain of Fontenoy, to what an extent able generals might profit, by the liveliness and impetuosity of our soldiers.

The Prussian army was then justly held to be the first army in the world. The military men of all Europe flocked to the reviews of Berlin, to study in the school of Frederick: they returned home, rich in theories, but poor in experience, falsely imagining, that the character of a people does not enter into the account of military calculation. They universally made an ill-judged application of some superficial notions. The Prussian tactics also engrossed all minds in France; and they were introduced into the army, with more eagerness than discernment. At the close of the reign of Louis XV. the Prussian exercise was the great concern of all generals and officers; the troops were worn out with minutiae and puerilities. The French soldier, who is less a machine than any other, being forced to assume the stiff and tiresome attitudes of the German soldier, became ridiculous, by being formal and awkward, under arms; he grew disgusted, and neglected the most essential parts of discipline: at last, there were none but mere troops of parade. The artillery alone preserved its reputation; because, instead of looking for examples to imitate, it was qualified to give them. All that related both to material and to construction, in the founderies and arsenals, was carried to the highest degree of perfection, under Louis XVI.

Hitherto the warlike habits alone had been changed; at length, the feelings of the soldier were attacked. It was nothing to have adopted the Prussian tactics; German discipline was also to be introduced. Monseigneur de St. Germain, who lent his name to the most fatal innovations, in the organisation of our armies, was blind enough to subject the soldier to the stick, and

the blows of the flat sword: he thus stifled that honour, in the name of which a French soldier will undertake any thing.*

From that period to the time of the Revolution, several unsuccessful and unfortunate experiments were made, tending only to render the organisation more uncertain. Projects abandoned as soon as conceived; reforms begun and discontinued; systems determined upon and revoked alternately, placed the physical and moral qualities of the army, in a situation truly deplorable; yet these were only the minor causes of its dissolution. The radical fault lay in the mode of recruiting, by voluntary enrolment. The army was filled with deserters, foreigners, adventurers, and vagabonds, ready to abandon their colours, on the first emergency. It is well known what expedients were used by recruiters, to ensnare young debauchees, whom their parents ransomed five or six times. Thus, the ranks of the army were thinned, to the profit of the military chest, but not to any real advantage for the state. Such, pretty nearly, was the French soldiery in 1788 and 1789.

Here the scene changes: the state was overthrown by po-

* Grenadiers have been known to ask to be shot, rather than undergo a punishment, so dishonourable, according to our ideas.

The word *honour* has a sort of charm in the ears of French soldiers: they are often heard to exclaim, "*I have the honour to be a French soldier.*"

One of them, who had leapt first into the enemy's trenches, was asked, what reward he would have; he answered, "*grenadier's epaulets.*"

Another, having been sent to reconnoitre a post, examined it a long time under a fire of musquetry; he returned, wounded, to give an account of what he had seen; a Louis d'or was offered him: "*General,*" cried he, "*these things are not done for money.*"

At the siege of Mahon wine was cheap; the soldiers got drunk, the service was ill-performed, and the severest punishments had no effect. The Duke of Richelieu issued orders, that those, who got drunk, *should not have the honour of mounting to the assault.* There were no more drunkards to be seen in the camp.

At Marengo, a regiment of dragoons suffered severely in a charge; Napoleon inspected those who remained after the action; he praised their bravery, and assigned them good ransoms. "*No, no,*" cried the soldiers, "*to-morrow we ask the honour of charging first.*"

General Marceau, when a private soldier, being taken by the enemy, made his escape; an officer, who saw him in disorder, said to him, "*What would you wish to have?*" A sabre, said he, "*to revenge my defeat.*" With such men one may do wonders.

† In the regiments there were *second colonels*, *second majors*, *second captains*, &c. These appointments, and many others, were merely ephemeral. The suppression of the *Royal grenadiers*, and of the *household troops*, entirely disorganised the army. The former of these bodies was the best part of it, being composed of the choice of the militia, and therefore of a formation truly national. By the suppression of the king's household troops, a set of men were lost, equally brave and useful in critical conjunctures:

litical troubles: the army was suddenly left to itself, in consequence of the defection of its leaders and its officers; one part of it disbanded, and the rest stood by their colours; new officers arose, from obscure stations, and took the command. There ensued great disorder, confusion, licentiousness, want of discipline: all the ties of subordination were at once broken, all the characteristics of the warrior effaced, and France had no longer any defenders. Battalions were required to be levied in haste, and to be marched to the frontiers, which were already invaded by the enemy. The French were the first to hear the voice of the ancients, which tells them, that *that every citizen owes himself to the defence of his country*. A call* was made on the whole population; they arose, they marched, and a million of men were in motion.

These citizens, snatched from a life of ease, and finding themselves, for the first time, in camps, were no sooner armed, than they appeared in line. The field of battle was their school, enthusiasm was their discipline, and fighting their sport. Their only maxim was to be first in attack; for these inexperienced cohorts, led on by some veterans of the old army, disdained alike those scientific manœuvres, which they did not comprehend, and that thundering artillery, which their courage held in contempt. They crossed their bayonets, this was all they knew, and set up their songs of victory, to carry, in full course, the batteries of the enemy, disconcerted by their boldness.

The French soldiers were, in all times formidable, when they attacked the enemy, at close quarters. Frederick one day said to one of our officers, who stood by, to observe the rapidity, with which his battalions fired: "*Do you think, it would be easy to resist so quick and smart a fire?*" "Sire," replied the latter, "*in France we are, at this moment doubtful, whether we shall not discontinue the use of gunpowder.*" There was no exaggeration in this reply. No French general, well acquainted with the temper of his troops, hesitates, to close with the enemy, in this manner, at the decisive moment. The ardour of the Republican armies had almost rendered cannon useless, and forced their adversaries to dispense with them. But as enthusiasm gradually abated, the attacks of the infantry became more timid, and the artillery more necessary, and more numerous. At last, the French armies began to encumber themselves with a prodigious quantity of artillery; and of two opposing armies,

* This call included all unmarried men, from the age of 18 to 25, under the name of the first requisition.

that which on the day of battle had the greatest number of cannon in play, was generally victorious.*

The amalgamation of the remains of the army of the line, with the new bands, was effected by *brigading*. The confusions of the political storms gave birth to an organisation before unknown. The infantry was distributed into *divisions, brigades, demi-brigades, and battalions*; and there were *generals of division, generals of brigade, and chiefs of brigade*. The latter, whose rank corresponded with that of *colonel*, and of *mestre-de-camp*, exercised similar functions at the head of the demi-brigade, the force of which consisted of three battalions, or 2,400 men. Three adjutant-majors were appointed to each demi-brigade, to aid the chiefs of battalion, and supply their places when absent. The majors were suppressed, as well as the lieutenant-colonels. A council was formed for the administration of military affairs, in which each rank had a representative; this council had under its orders a *quarter-master-treasurer*, for the business of details. The administrative department has been singularly complicated, since that period. In no European army is there so much writing as in the French army. The furnishing of a ration of bread, an ell of cloth, or a pair of shoes, gives rise to heaps of papers; which occasions the loss of much valuable time to the soldiers, does not remedy abuses, and renders the operations of war dependent on the delays of official formality. I shall have occasion to recur to this subject.

Promotion, allowed solely to seniority at every step, was one of the greatest faults in the organisation of the army, at this epoch. The most unfit men were raised in less than six months, from the rank of *corporals* to that of *chiefs-of-battalions*; and after two or three battles, a *lieutenant*, or a *captain* became a *colonel*. Things were carried from one extreme to another; in the old army promotions had been lavishly granted through favour, and here they were blindly left to chance.

The cavalry and artillery retained, in some degree, their ancient structures. The heavy cavalry was very properly diminished, in order to augment the light cavalry, and dragoons. †

There

* Under Louis XIV., an army of 90,000 had no more than 40 cannon, in its train; during the *seven years' war*, an army of that strength employed 190 or 200, that is to say, five times the number: when the war of the Revolution ceased to be a war of enthusiasm, the artillery took the leading part in the armies. At *Austerlitz*, at *Jena*, at *Friedland*, at *Wagram*, at *Dresden*, and at *Leipzig*, there were not less than 1,200 cannon in play, on each side.

† The Duke de Rohan in his excellent work, *The Perfect Captain*, written at the commencement of the 17th century, was of opinion that the cavalry, at that

The brigading was nothing but a faint imitation of the Roman legion, though the numerical force of a brigade was nearly the same. The mode of warfare rendered stationary artillery useless; wherefore, there were no longer any parks of artillery, or materials of reserve, in the train of an army. The cannon were equally distributed among all the divisions, in the proportion of two four-pounders, or six-pounders at most, to a battalion. There were no waggons attached to the battalions; each had a certain number of pack-horses, for carrying articles strictly necessary. * This gave greater facility to the movements and marches; luxury was no longer known in the French armies; and I remember that, after the battle of Hunschoot, our soldiers laughed heartily at finding mattresses, tea-caddies, and coffee-pots, among the English baggage that fell into their hands.

The Prussians were the first who employed flying artillery, so rapid in its movements as to accompany either infantry or cavalry. The first idea of it was conceived by Frederick. Some rude attempts, however, were far from accomplishing the object in view; they merely consisted in putting a double draught of cattle to pieces of small calibre; the gunners, destined to serve them, were carried after them on *wursts* †, a conveyance attended with great inconvenience. For these *wursts* could not pass every where, and when they broke down, the men, being at once dismounted, could no longer serve. This was the light artillery, which appeared in France in 1792 and 1793.

A Frenchman seldom invents, but he improves, very rapidly, on what others have struck out. The engineers of the light artillery were mounted on horseback, and then this force became terrible and destructive. It did the most essential service; it decided battles; and the immense superiority which it gave us,

* They were then denominated *platoon-horses*.

... is obliged

obliged the hostile armies to imitate us; but our light artillerymen always maintained their superiority. The dexterity of their manœuvres in this service was astonishing. I have seen sixty batteries of this description, before Dresden, reply with incredible celerity to those of the Austrian army, and silence them all, in the space of three hours.*

One fault, however, was committed; it was that of embodying in regiments, a force destined by the nature of its service, equally with the foot artillery, to be disseminated over all points of the scene of action. It should seem, that the utility of both would be much greater, if they were distributed proportionally along the line, of which they ought to form part. Of this Napoleon appears to have been aware, when he created a *regimental artillery*, which was attached to each corps of infantry of the line.

It is singular enough, that in 1793, no thought had as yet been entertained, of organising, and training, to military discipline, the *waggoners*, destined to conduct the artillery. It is hardly to be believed. This measure, so simple, so natural, so eminently useful in the service of the artillery, has only just been adopted. A hasty recruiting always took place at the commencement of a war, which brought together a number of vagabonds, who were formed into irregular bodies, and intrusted with the horses and cannon. These waggoners, who received high pay, engaged for a very short time, and having, besides, no emulation, nor motive to exert themselves in the service, were, in general, awkward, cowardly, slovenly, and insubordinate. As they received from the state only *subsistence and pay*, which last was wholly at their disposal, they had neither clothing, equipments, nor arms. They were always ready to desert, with their horses, when occasion offered. Sometimes, also, this important service was abandoned to the cupidity of a company of contractors, to whom the horses belonged. The consequence was, in 1792 and 1793, during the first campaigns, that the state sometimes paid for 30,000, when there were not even 10,000 effective, owing to the connivance of those, whose duty it was to muster them, and make the returns. During this period, most alarming depredations took place, which did not terminate but with the democratic government.

In the midst of all these new regulations, the light infantry disappeared a second time. The training of this force is much

* On the 27th and 28th August 1813; the sixty batteries consisted of about 240 pieces.

slower and more difficult than that of the infantry of the line; it requires more intelligence, strength, and address in the soldier. There was no time either for forming, or exercising them at the target; therefore, the soldiers of the line performed this service also, but with an inferiority the more fatal to them, because they were opposed to the *Thyrotes* and the *Croats*, the best light troops, and the most skilful marksmen, in Europe. Yet, what is remarkable, this was the very thing, which afterwards rendered us formidable. Acting alternately as sharpshooters, and in line of battle, we became accustomed to both modes of fighting, and the whole army was equally fit for either service.

The existence of such great bodies of men had rendered the use of tents and barracks impracticable; the pernicious custom of lying constantly in bivouac was introduced among us; a custom which gave us a decided superiority over the enemy, but which occasioned a waste of men, out of all proportion to the levies, and which, in a short time, enfeebled an army by sickness. This innovation certainly caused a greater loss of men, than the fire of the enemy.

Several remarkable changes took place in arming, clothing, and equipment. The infantry at first relinquished the hat for the *Athenian helmet* of lackered leather, adorned with a crest of black horse hair, and furnished with chin-bands, covered with metal; but the cocked hat, I know not why, was resumed; it is an odd head-dress, very inconvenient for the use of arms, affording no defence against rain, and the most unsuitable of any for military service. The white coat was laid aside for the blue, though the one was no better than the other.* The long coats, fitting close over the chest, with great hanging skirts, so inconvenient to the foot soldier on the march, so troublesome in every movement of the body, so ridiculous to the eye not accustomed to them, were still retained. The irrational way of hanging the cartridge-box, by a bandaleer, behind, and strapping the knapsack to the man's shoulders, which becomes painful in a few

* In all times, there has been a greater or less sacrifice of utility to show, in military apparel. The first thing desired is, that the soldiers should please the eye, as if the object of their organisation was stage-effect. Gray for the infantry of the line and for cavalry, and green for the light troops, are certainly the most suitable colours, for reasons which need not be explained. The round, short, and wide *jacket*, covering half the thighs, and affording the body free motion, would surely be better than those tight coats, which keep the soldier in continual torture.

hours, and hinders him from acting, was preserved. The musket was taken from the foot artillery, the heavy cavalry, and the dragoons, because by those three kinds of force it is seldom used; and it is particularly inconvenient to the horseman. The pistol might have been advantageously substituted for the musket, in the foot artillery; who had no defence left them but the sabre.

The heavy cavalry continued to wear the cocked hat; the dragoons the helmet, with a floating mane; the chasseurs and hussars the cap, which they still have. The sword of the two former was always straight, and adapted for the thrust; that of the other two was curved, to serve for cutting.*

The *etat major*, or staff, was not brilliant; the splendour of uniforms and gold lace would have sorted ill with armies, exposed to all kinds of privation, and supporting every hardship with admirable fortitude; armies, which considered tents as a luxury, and whose leaders were only the first of the soldiers.

The military administration had been utterly overthrown; a new regulation, arising in the midst of disorder, and of a furious war, of which the chances were incalculable, must necessarily bear the characteristics of its origin.

The objects of all military administration are manifestly to provide for the wants of an army, by the most simple, the most natural, and the most economical means. To secure, at once, the welfare of the troops, and the interests of the state; to facilitate the operations of war, by the calculations of foresight; to diminish its horrors, by regularly supplying the soldier with those articles, which he must else procure by force and violence; to husband and prolong the resources of a country, which by disorder would be speedily exhausted.

These objects were scarcely at any time attained, during the wars of the revolution, and, at the present day, they are at a greater distance than ever. In the train of the Republican armies were seen multitudes of agents, who, like flocks of vultures, followed them, in their expeditions, and had the art of creating famine, in the midst of plenty, or of organising dearth, in the midst of triumphs. Administrators, commissaries, of every kind

~~and in the train of the Republican armies were seen multitudes of agents, who, like flocks of vultures, followed them, in their expeditions, and had the art of creating famine, in the midst of plenty, or of organising dearth, in the midst of triumphs.~~

* In the opinion of the most experienced military men, the straight sword, for thrusting, ought to be generally adopted. - They argue, that the wounds from this weapon, at all times dangerous, cause death to a much greater number of the enemy, than the curved sabre, the wounds from which are, generally, soon cured; but such reasoning presupposes a war of extermination. It is like suggesting the use of poisoned shot.

and

and denomination, composed within themselves a numerous army of useless people; who, far from attending to their functions, daily compromised the military operations by their cupidity, or their ignorance. The first thing which Buonaparte did, on arriving in Italy, was to clear his army of them; after conquering Egypt, he found out a very simple way of making them good for something; he obliged them to shoulder a musket, and mount guard. If the legislation has become a labyrinth, it is because the people were incessantly making new laws, when they ought solely to have been occupied in enforcing the execution of those already existing.

We now come to the period, when fourteen armies, in the most destitute condition, assumed the offensive on all the points of a vast territory, and fought not only for the expulsion of their enemies from French ground, but for their annihilation, in those gigantic battles, which terminate a campaign by a crash of thunder. Officers and soldiers were all at once placed between victory, and the scaffold: the unsuccessful general, with great docility, offered his head to the convention*; another, equally daring, presented himself to take his place: France had at that time a million of soldiers, and not a single chief. After the loss of the lines of Weissembourg, there were no longer any generals: the proconsuls† ordered every soldier who felt himself destined by nature for command, to place himself at the head of the army, threatening, with all the wrath of the people, the presumptuous man who should dare to assume a burden, capable of overwhelming his weakness. This call, in a conjuncture so desperate, inspired terror rather than ambition: only eleven officers presented themselves; they contracted the obligation to conquer or die; and they are the men, who subsequently changed the destinies of Europe.‡

The army of the Rhine, a long time beaten, was one of the first to signalise itself, by attacking and re-taking those famous lines, which are rendered impregnable both by nature and by art.

In a second letter, I shall call your attention to the constitution and the operations of the most mighty system of war, that was ever conceived, and show how it was applied to the defence of the French territory; in which system it was always held as a prin-

* *Biron, Custines, Houchard, Beauharnois, and several others, passed suddenly from the field of battle to the scaffold.*

† *St. Just and Lebas.*

‡ *Among them were Kleber, Pichegru, Dessoix, and Hoche.*

ciple, to bear constantly on the flanks of the invading armies, instead of opposing their march in front. We shall enquire into the advantages, and the abuses of the conscription; the more recent innovations, made in the organisation of the armies, after the concentration of power, and the re-establishment of monarchical government; as well as the influence of these innovations on the military spirit, and the art of war.

INDEX.

America, Spanish, 376. Impolicy of supporting the colonies against the Mother Country, 377. Jealousy of the continental powers against Spain, 378. Value attached to silver in the early periods of commerce, *ib.* Sir Walter Raleigh's fictions, *ib.* Cromwell's views, 379. Capture of Jamaica, *ib.* Scottish Company, 379, 380. Attempt on the Spanish dominions by King William and Queen Anne, 380. Successive attempts made by the British ministry, 380—383. Generous conduct of England, 384. Declaration of the Central Junta, *ib.* Its dilatory conduct in respect to the colonial possessions, 385. Declaration of independence by the colonies, *ib.* Instructions to General Layard, 386. Proffered mediation of England, 387. Rejection by the Cortes of all British interference, *ib.* Terms proposed by the English, 388. Fidelity of the viceroyalty of Peru, 389. Revolt and restoration of order in the presidency of Chili, *ib.* Proceedings at Buenos Ayres and Monte-Video, 389, 390. Civil war between the settlements, *ib.* Predatory excursions of Artigas, 391. March of the Brasil army, *ib.* Removal of the junta of Buenos Ayres to Tucuman, *ib.* Return of the Kingdom of New Granada to its allegiance to Spain, 392. Reduction, by force, of Carthagena, 393. War waged by the province of Caraccas, *ib.* Tumultuous proceedings there, 394. State of the kingdom of Mexico, 395. Horrors committed by the contending parties, 396. Impolitic conduct of the Spanish Cortes, *ib.* Proclamations addressed to the Americans by Ferdinand, on his first arrival in Spain, 397. Partial reestablishment of tranquillity, *ib.*

Angouleme, on the Duchess of, 314. Her Diary, *ib.* Saying of Buonaparte concerning this Princess, 316. Feeling of the English in her respect, *ib.*

Armies, on the French, 461. Superiority of courage over combinations, 462. Principal periods in the art of war, 463. State of the Roman armies, 464. Mode of attack, 466. Encampments, 467, 468. March, 468. Subsistence, 469. Degeneracy, 470. Expeditions of the Huns and other barbarians, *ib.* Conquests of Charlemagne, *ib.* Soldiery of 11th and 12th centuries, 471. Idem, 14th century, 472. Swiss troops, *ib.* First organization of a regular army by Charles VII., 473. Discovery of gunpowder, 474. Progress of the art of war under Louis XIV. 476. Changes effected by Frederick the Great, *ib.* Alterations occasioned by the French Revolution, *ib.* Impolicy of adopting Prussian tactics, 477. Influence of the word Honor, 478. Little use made of artillery at the commencement of the Revolution, 479. Division of the army into brigades, 480. Flying artillery, 481. Regimental ditto, 482. Waggon train, *ib.* State of the French forces at the beginning of the Revolution, 485.

Cadastre, or general land survey in France, 334. *Contribution foncière*, *ib.* Its divisions, 335. Provincial *cadastres*, 337. Parcelary survey and valuation of communes, 342. Expense attendant on the measure, 344.

Code,

- Code*, on the revision of the French, 130. Confused state of the laws in France, 131. Necessity of reformation, *ib.* Multiplicity of plans, 132. Chambers of Deputies, *ib.* Difficulty of legislating, *ib.* Committees, 133. Course of proceeding traced, *ib.* Code Napoleon, 135. Division of laws, 368. Triennial revision, 369. Its advantages, 373.
- Colleges*, on the Electoral, and Chamber of Deputies, 100. Misrepresentations respecting the former, 101. Election ordinances, 102. Candidates obliged to belong to that class of persons paying a certain contribution, 105. Abolition of salaries, *ib.* Comparative view of property in England and France, 106. Independency of the deputies, 107. Their moderation, 108. Declaration of the majority of the Chamber of Deputies, *ib.*
- Corporations*, Municipal, of England, and on the Corporation of London in particular, 15. Political institutions of England unshaken, 16. Cause of their stability, 17. Corporations, ecclesiastical, *ib.* Ditto, lay, 18. State of the people at the time of the conquest, *ib.* Burghs, *ib.* Charters of the city of London, 19. Origin of parliaments, 20. Important distinction between the Commons of England and *Tiers Etat* of France, 22. Barons, or freeholders, 23. Early influence of the Commons, 24. Importance of the corporation of London at the Revolution of 1688, 449. Its constitution, *ib.* Freemen, 450. Chartered companies, *ib.* St. Paul's school, 451. Merchant Taylors' ditto, *ib.* Christ's Hospital, *ib.* Emmanuel's ditto, *ib.* Expense of Guildhall entertainments, 453. Liverymen, *ib.* Common Halls, *ib.* Common Council, 454. City revenues, *ib.* Embarrassed state of its finances, *ib.* Aldermen, 455. Sheriffs, *ib.* Lord Mayor, *ib.* Incomes arising from trade, 456. Recorder, *ib.* Common Serjeant, 457. Town Clerk, *ib.* Chamberlain, *ib.* Orphan's fund, *ib.* Public works, *ib.* State of parties, 458. Charitable institutions, 460.
- Correspondence*, on that of Mr. J. F. with Buonaparte, 398. Reason for giving to the communications the form of *Notes*, 402. Note addressed to Napoleon in 1811, 403.
- Deputies*, Chamber of, their proceedings, 136. Reprehensible mode of employing the influence of the crown in elections, 137. State of parties, 138. Strength of that of the royalists, 139. Their principles, *ib.* Independents, 140. King's speech, *ib.* Liberty of the press, 142. Discussion of the budget, 143. Anecdote concerning Monsieur de T—, *ib.* Law on Elections, 145. Foreign loans considered, 146. Party virulence, 298. Motion proposed by M. Chateaubriand, 299. Inability of France to make good its payments to the Allies in the stipulated time, *ib.* Reconsideration of the law on elections, 300, 301. Retrenchments, 301. Robbers, 302. Groundless reports, *ib.* Speech of M. Lally Tolendal, 303. Importance of the military treaty with Switzerland, 308. Law on the suspension of individual liberty, 309. Letter from the Princes to the King, 311. Majority obtained by the ministers in the law of elections, 313.
- Distress*, on the complaints of agricultural and commercial, in England, 1. Augmentation of the wealth of the country, 6. Ditto of

of population, *ib.* Ditto of debt and taxes, 7. Temporary causes of distress, 7—10. Permanent ditto, 11, 12. Disaffected party in England, 13. Circulating property, 14, 15.

Drama, on the present state of, in England, 206. Its influence, 207. Drury-Lane theatre, 208. Number of play-houses in London, 211. Italian opera, *ib.* Disgraceful direction given to the public taste, 212. Length of performances, 213. Kemble, *ib.* Charles Kemble, 215. M'Cready, *ib.* Young, *ib.* Kean, 216. Miss O'Neil, 217. Mrs. Siddons, *ib.* Anecdotes of Garrick, 218. The Gamester, 218—220. Expenses of the winter theatres, 220. Addison and Johnson, 221. Shakspeare, 221. 222. Situation of society in England, 222, 223. Reading clubs and libraries, 224. Newspapers, *ib.* Milton, 226. Shakspeare's *Hamlet*, 227. Corneille, 229. Racine, *ib.* Voltaire, *ib.* Lobby and Saloon company, 230.

Ducis, Eloge of, by M. Deseze, 267. Foundation of the French Academy, by Cardinal Richelieu, 268. Its restoration by the Bourbons, 269. Character of M. Ducis, 271. His study of Shakspeare, 272. Writings, 274. Honorable principles, 276, 277. Retirement from public life, 279. Charity, *ib.* Refusal of Buonaparte's brilliant offers, 280. Interviews with Louis XVIII. 283—286. Death, 287.

Education, on the state of, in France, 200. Primary instruction, 202. Progress of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster's system, 203. Girls' school, *ib.* Secondary instruction, *ib.* Interregnum of Education, 204. Normal school, *ib.* Central ditto, *ib.* University, *ib.* Lyceums, *ib.* Colleges, *ib.* Royal and communal ditto, 205. Special instructions, *ib.* Means of mutual improvement not wanting in France, *ib.*

Fouché, his letter to the Duke of Wellington, 147. Not known in France, *ib.* Betrayed both the Bourbons and Buonaparte, 150. Deceived the Duke of Wellington, 152. Joins Louis XVIII. 153. His avowed motives for accepting the ministry of police, 154.

George II., on the political events at the close of the reign of, 317. Richard Glover, *ib.* His poem of Leonidas, *ib.* Habeas Corpus bill, 318. Prussian treaty, 319. Mr. Pitt's speech, *ib.* Ways and Means, 320. Military transactions in Germany, 321. Policy of the King of Prussia, 323. Military events continued, 323—325. Descents of the English in France, 325. Capture of Senegal and Goree, *ib.* Naval successes, 325, 326. Transactions in North America, 326. Mr. Townshend, *ib.* Opening of Parliament, 327. State of parties in 1758, 328. Hessian treaty, *ib.* Loan, 329. Character of Mr. William Beckford, *ib.* Attack made on Mr. Legge by Mr. Pitt, 330, 331. Triumphs in the East and West-Indies, 331. Proceedings in North-America, 332. Death of Generals Wolf and Montcalm, 332. Surrender of Quebec, 333.

Hamlet of Ducis, compared with that of Shakspeare, 409—427.

Introduction, i.—xx.

Ideas,

- Ideas*, (Liberal,) Royalist (Ultra,) Reflections on these terms, 95. Remark of Cardinal de Bernis, 98. Danger of indefinite phrases, *ib.* Obscurity of Cromwell's speeches, *ib.*
- Jaquelin*, on Louis de la Roche, and on French parties, 445. Jaquelin accompanies Louis XVIII. to Ghent, *ib.* Visits England, 446. Raises troops in La Vendée, *ib.* Perishes in action, *ib.* Royalist party, 447. Ministerial ditto, 448. Orleans faction, *ib.*
- Jews*, on the state of the, in France, 231. Their peculiar situation considered by a commission. 232. Labours of the commission interrupted by the Revolution, *ib.* Admission of the Jews to political and civil rights by the National Assembly, *ib.* Decree of 1808, 236. Mont de Piété, 238. Grand Sanhedrim, *ib.* Declaration of principles, 239. Rabbins, 242. Population, 244, 245.
- Junius*, 83. Anxiety of the English on this subject, *ib.* The admiration of his style an article of faith, 84. Was a vindictive libeller, *ib.* His true name not yet discovered, *ib.*
- Juries*, on the French, 427. First instituted by the Constituent Assembly, *ib.* *Code d'instruction Criminelle*, 428. Qualifications of jurymen, *ib.* Jury of Accusation, 430. *Idem* of Decision, 432. Address to juries, 434.
- Mendicity*, on the means of eradication, 112. England prolific in voluntary subscriptions, 113. Report of Count Pastoret, 114. Callousness of Buonaparte, *ib.* Plans for checking the growth of beggary, 116. Dépôts for the poor, 118. Domestic arrangements, *ib.* Boards of superintendence, 119. Division of the indigent into four classes, 120. Schools, *ib.* Choice of trade, 121. Punishments considered, 122, 123.
- Missions*, on the religious, in France, 439. Folly of preferring foreign to domestic missions, *ib.* Decrease of spiritual strength in France, 441. Idea of an itinerant court of morality, 442. Mission to the towns of Orleans, Angers, and Nantes, *ib.* Its beneficial effects, 444.
- Parties*, on the state of, in France, 123. Prospect of amendment, 124. Its short duration, *ib.* Two classes of men in France, 125. The terms Constitutional and Unconstitutional considered, 127. Ministerialists, *ib.* General reflections, 128, 129.
- Press*, on the state of, in France, 177. Cardinal de Richelieu, *ib.* French Academy, 178. Authors, at one period, paid by the government, *ib.* Public opinion, 179. Monastic orders, *ib.* Jesuits and Jansenists, *ib.* Philosophers, 180. J. J. Rousseau, 181. Institute, *ib.* Comparative treatment experienced by learned men in France and England, 182. Law against the liberty of the press, 184. Its partial repeal, *ib.* Royal Charter, 186.
- Reform*, Parliamentary, 246. Immutability of English institutions, *ib.* Power of the press, *ib.* Security of property, 248. Consideration enjoyed by the Judges, 250. Influence of wealth, 251. Composition of the House of Commons, 253. Weight of that of the Peers, 255. Boroughs, 259. Assumed abuses, *ib.* Their futility exposed, 260—266.
- Royalist*, Ultra, term of. Vide *Ideas*, 95.

Royalists, considerations on those of Britany, 85. Discontent of the Breton nobility, *ib.* Duchy of Britany united to France by marriage, *ib.* Contract between the two states, *ib.* Project for suppressing the parliaments, 86. Remonstrance to the King, 87. Arrest of the deputies, *ib.* Arrival of a fresh deputation at Versailles, *ib.* Release of the old deputies, 88. Dismissal of M. de Brienne, *ib.* Assembly of the states of Britany, *ib.* Refusal of the *tiers etat* to deliberate with the clergy and nobility, *ib.* Murder of two members of the privileged order, in open day, *ib.* Election of deputies for the states-general, *ib.* Armand Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouerie, 90. Quits France for America, *ib.* Enters into the revolted colonies' service, *ib.* Returns to his native country, 91. Marries a lady of rank, *ib.* Is nominated colonel of cavalry, *ib.* Resigns his command, *ib.* Organises a powerful confederacy, 92. Repairs to Coblenz, and submits his plan to Louis XVIII., *ib.* Returns to Britany, *ib.* Attacked in his own house, 93. Second journey to Coblenz, *ib.* Flies from his home, *ib.* Order of the *Fendeurs*, *ib.* Takes refuge in a forest, 94. His death, *ib.* The secret of it betrayed, *ib.* Sad effects of the disclosure, 94, 95.

Schools, on the parochial, of Scotland, and on the education of the lower orders of society in general, 345. Importance of this subject, *ib.* Scotch establishment, 349. Origin, 351. Schoolmasters, 352. Influence of the clergy, 353, 354. *Idem* of religion, 356. *Idem* of education, 357. Imperfections in the institution, 361. Dr. Bell's system, 362. Impolicy of subjecting youth to daily labour, 363, 364. Plans of amelioration considered, 364, 365.

Societies, political, 48. Existence of secret confederacies, more particularly in Germany, 49. Their connexion solely with modern history, *ib.* Neither Buonaparte nor Fouché possessed an accurate notion concerning them, 50. Professor Krug, *ib.* Rise of the *Tugendbund*, or League of Virtue, *ib.* This association not of a secret nature, 51. Its object, 52. Organisation, 53. Females excluded, 54. Patronised by the Prussian government, *ib.* Its enemies, 55. The society designed solely for Prussia, 289. Prussian subjects only could become members, and ceased to be such if ever absolved from their allegiance, *ib.* Napoleon would not tolerate it, 291. Its members pledged to each other to fulfil conscientiously their civil duties, *ib.* Its statutes too much incumbered with formalities, *ib.* Benefactions, 293. Laudable exertions of its members, *ib.* Schill's conduct considered, *ib.* Dissolution of the society, 294. Reflections on the improbability of its having given rise to any secret *League*, 295.

Spain, on the affairs of, 56. Character and general disposition of the Spanish nation, 57, 58. Origin of the Juntas, 59. *Idem* of the supreme government, *ib.* National pride, 60. Powers given by the kingdom of Valencia to its deputies, *ib.* Project of deposing and transporting the Juntas to Manilla, 62. State of the press, *ib.* Duplicity of the Central Junta, *ib.* Establishment of the Council of Regency, 63. Meeting of the Cortes, 64. Rise of the two parties, the *Liberals* and the *Serviles*, 65. First instance

stance of the interference of the public in the proceedings of the National Assembly, 66. Parallel between the Cortes and the French Convention, *ib.* Influence of the mob at Cadiz, 67. Fanatical constitution enacted by the Cortes, 68. Council of Castile, 69. Case of Richard Mead, 70. Inquisition, 71. Tribunal of "*Protectors of Religion*," 73. Laws against heretics, *ib.* Decree for the abolition of the Inquisition, 74. Dismissal of the Regents, 75. Discontents of the clergy, *ib.* Banishment of the Pope's Nuncio, *ib.* Retreat of the French troops from Spain, 77. Madrid freed from the enemy, *ib.* Removal of the newly-elected Regents from Cadiz to the capital, *ib.* Affair of the Gallician deputies, *ib.* Power of the populace at Madrid, 78. Arrival of Ferdinand in his dominions, 79. Petition to the King, *ib.* Decree abolishing the Cortes, 80. Restoration of the old form of government, *ib.*

War, on the Nepal, 187. Situation and boundaries of this empire, 188. Seizure of twenty-two villages by the Nepaulese, 189. Declaration of war by the British, 191. Defeat and death of Major-General Gillespie, 192. Surrender of Amer Sing and his army to Major-General Ochterlony, 193. The Rajah of Nepal sues for peace, *ib.* Treaty concluded, 194. Non-fulfilment of its articles by the Rajah, *ib.* Re-commencement of hostilities, *ib.* Second defeat of the enemy, *ib.* Fresh solicitations for peace, *ib.* Ratification of the first treaty, 195. Critical state of India at this period, *ib.* Eminent talent displayed by the Marquis of Hastings, 196. Character of the Nepaulese, 197. Advantages arising from the success of the war, 198, 199, 200.

Wesley, John, life of, 26. His family, 27, 28. Providential escape from the flames, 30. First educated at the Charter-house, 34. Afterwards at Oxford, *ib.* Resolves to devote his time to religious duties, 35. His ordination, 37. Elected Fellow of Lincoln College, 38. Origin of the name Methodist, 39. Number of Methodists at their commencement inconsiderable, 40. Wesley's intimacy with William Law, 42. Singularity of dress and austere habits, 43, 44. Embarks as a missionary for Georgia, 46. Series of his printed journals commence from this period, *ib.* Becomes acquainted with Moravians, 47. Arrives in safety at the New Colony, 48. Enamoured with Miss Causton, 157. Subsequent disappointment, 158. Departure from America, and arrival in London, 159. Determines to become the founder of a new sect, *ib.* Regulations of the society, 161. His *conversion*, *ib.* Makes a short visit to Germany, 162. Commences field-preacher, 164. His credulity, 167. Separates from the Moravians, *ib.* *Idem* from Whitefield, *ib.* Weekly meetings, 168. Quarterly visitations, 169. Rise of lay-preachers, *ib.* Journeys, 171. Establishes a seminary at Kingswood, 173. New Methodists, or Kelhamites, *ib.* Marriage with the Widow Vizelle, *ib.* His death, 175. Progress of Puritanism, 176.

